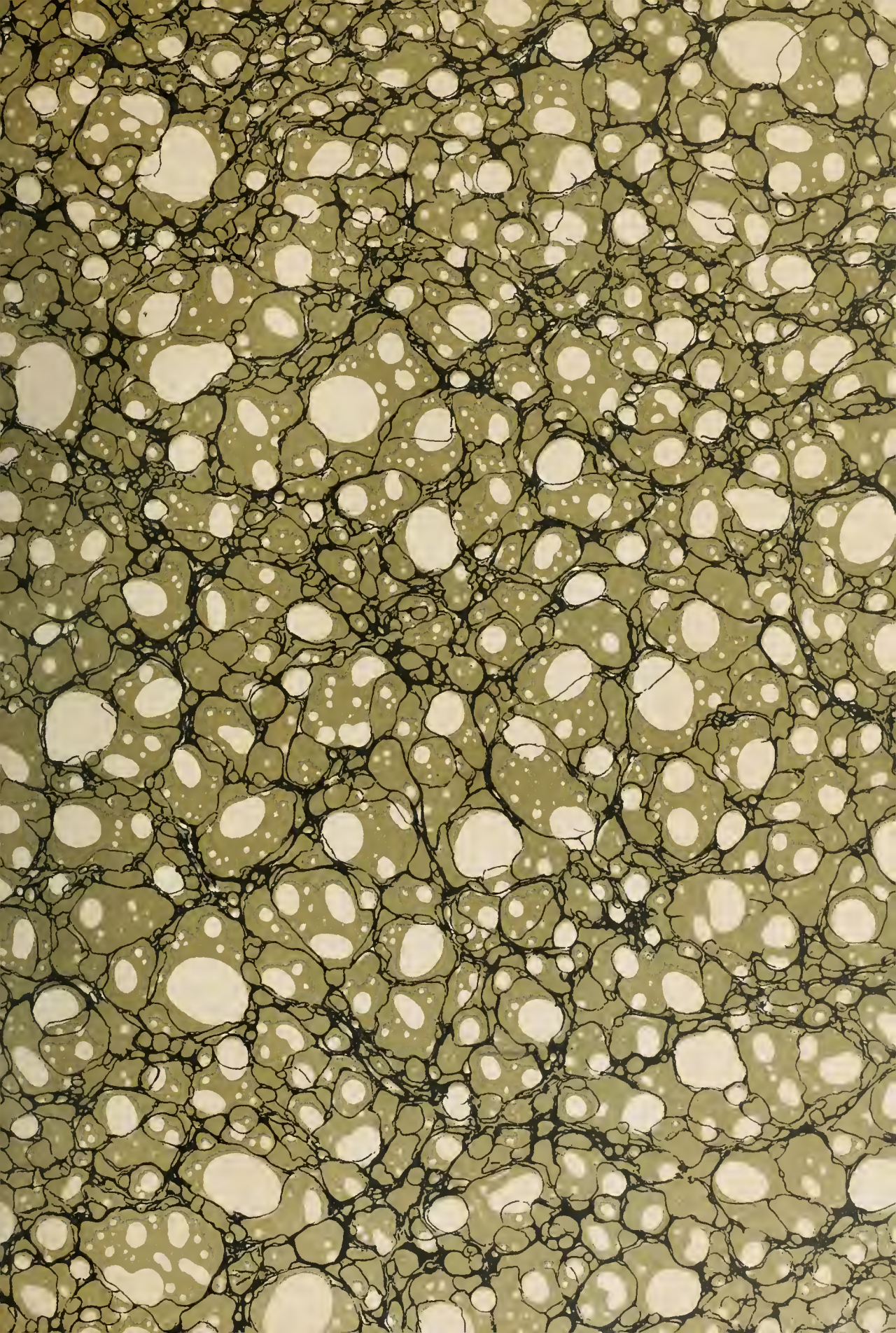




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DEATH OF CAESAR

RIDPATH'S HISTORY OF THE WORLD

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE CAREER
OF THE HUMAN RACE FROM THE BEGINNINGS OF
CIVILIZATION TO THE PRESENT TIME

COMPRISING

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS
AND
THE STORY OF ALL NATIONS

FROM RECENT AND AUTHENTIC SOURCES

COMPLETE IN NINE VOLUMES

BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL. D.

AUTHOR OF A "CYCLOPÆDIA OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY," ETC.

VOLUME III

PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED WITH COLORED PLATES, RACE MAPS AND CHARTS,
TYPE PICTURES, SKETCHES AND DIAGRAMS

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PREFACE TO VOLUMES III AND IV.



NOW purpose to resume the narrative of historical events by recounting in the first half of the present Volume the marvelous story of Rome. This will

involve, first of all, the transfer of our station from the countries of South-eastern Europe, dominated for several centuries by men of the Hellenic race, to the great central peninsula of the Mediterranean. Without pausing in this connection to sketch even an outline of the Roman Kingdom, the Republic, and the Empire, I merely mention the point of view from which the narrative is to be composed, and note the unusual circumstance that the history of Rome, viewed in its whole extent, reaches far across the domain of what are usually known as the Dark Ages.

Having completed the story of the Ancient World, the narrative, under the plan adopted, will next lead us to consider the social and political condition of the Barbarian Races, and the various kingdoms which they established, by way of Feudalism and the Crusades, to the Free Cities of Mediæval Europe.

In following out this plan, it shall be my aim not only to produce a succinct narrative of the leading events which may claim our attention, but also to consider, from time to time, the *causes* which have determined them and the *relations* by which they are bound together. Without such linking of fact to fact, without such tracing of the oftentimes obscure lines of antecedence and consequence, any narrative

of historical events must, of necessity, be of little interest and value.

But why, and for what end?

No fact is more patent in the literary tendencies of our times than the growing demand for historical writings. The eagerness of the average intelligent reader to widen the horizon of his knowledge by learning something of the past, has become almost a passion. He seizes and devours whatever presents itself as History with a hunger quite phenomenal. It is natural that this avidity for historical works should tend to their multiplication and improvement.

This disposition of the American people to seek the more solid literature of History augurs well for both the present and the future. It indicates, first of all, the existence of an improved taste among the masses, and a more healthful hunger among the few. The death of a vicious literary appetite in a people marks the beginnings of their solid strength and prosperity, just as the birth and prevalence of that appetite mark the germinal stages of decline in the virtue and vigor of a State.

But what of the historian and his work?

This: The writing of history exercises a powerful influence in subduing the irrational prejudices and passions of human nature. The writer, if actuated by motives that may be openly avowed, will not have proceeded far until the truth-telling impulse becomes dominant over every other disposition of mind. To ascertain the truth, and to speak it without fear or favor, kindles a torch in which all minor considerations are consumed as moths in a flame. The eager preference which the

historian feels at the beginning to have events result in this way or in that expires in the glow of a nobler enthusiasm. The original anxiety to find things other than they are is first neglected and then forgotten.

The tyro in history feels that, whatever else may be at fault, his own party, his own sect, his own country, are, and have ever been, infallible. Soon, however, he begins to be disabused. He sees the cause to which he has been so ardently attached infected with the same weakness as the other cause which he has so vehemently opposed. He beholds his party deliberately espousing the wrong principle, simply because that principle promises success; his sect, revamping a dogma because it is expedient; his country, narrowing the limits of human liberty because it is profitable.

At the first the writer is shocked at these discoveries. To find that the cherished is no longer the true seems to be the proclamation of returning chaos—the moral and political ruin of the world. For the moment, the writer is ready to condemn himself as the chief of sinners, simply because he has made a discovery.

Anon the sky begins to clear. Facts, principles, events, begin to appear in a new light. The historian becomes willing to learn. He sits down patiently at the feet of the Past. Soon his agitated nature feels no further alarm. His discoveries trouble him no more. He becomes calm and confident. He reverses his long-cherished convictions and feels no horror. He finds himself able to say without a shudder that Cæsar the patriot was killed by Brutus the parricide. He writes without compunction that the Reformation was mixed with dross, afraid to avow its own principles of action, content to stop with a half-emancipation of the human mind. He recites without alarm the coarseness and brutality of the sterling Cromwell and the elegant philanthropy of the profligate Charles II. He fearlessly writes that the French Revolution, with all of its bravado and frenzy, was the

grandest event of modern times—the Renaissance of Man; and that the old Slave-holders of the South were provoked and tantalized by those who were not slave-holders themselves only because they were born and bred in a happier latitude. To admit all this, and a thousand things still more appalling, is not to introduce a social and moral chaos into the world, not to reverse or confound the principles of right and wrong, not to despair of the grandeur and glory of human nature. It is merely to be taught instead of to teach; to hear instead of to speak; to accept fallibility as the law of human intelligence and character; to cast the demi-gods and devils out of the historic drama, and to accept Man as the actor.

The historian must either lay down his pen or cease to be a partisan. The alternative is before him. The two qualities of partisanship and historical truthfulness can not long co-exist in the same mind. The one will expel the other. In such a case a divided sovereignty is impossible.

As with the writer, so with the reader of History. A certain kind of literature tends to excite in the minds of both author and reader those very prejudices and passions which ought to be allayed. Of such sort is the American party newspaper, whose motto is to concede nothing and to speak the truth when it is necessary. A little above this level is the independent journal or magazine, whose independence is generally maintained until what time the political caldron begins to boil. Thenceforth its neutrality is little less than a profounder partisanship, cloaked under the assumption of judicial fairness. It remains for history to stand aloof from the petty broil, and to hold up as a patient rebuke to the present tumult the lessons of the tumults past.

The historian sees—must see—all things in a different light from that by which the multitude is guided. To him the delusion of the passing hour is nothing. It is impossible for him to yield to the current whim, the preva-

lent passion. He understands in a general way that the old party is wrong; that the new one will soon become the old, and will be just as abusive and proscriptive as its predecessor. He knows that the attempted alignment of an old party or sect on a new issue—concerning which, in the nature of the case, there can be no conscientious accord, no enthusiasm of conviction—is an outrage against reason, a crime against civilization. But he is compelled to see his protest overborne and trodden under foot of men.

All these considerations have tended to give to historical writings, especially those of the last century, a tone of calmness and candor for which we should search in vain in any other class of productions. How poor and pitiful, how worthy of nothing except contempt, must appear that alleged history which libels the past for the sake of flattering the present! Such a work is fitted for no place so well as an obscure corner in the Library of Universal Vanity.

Not only should the historian be above the narrow prejudices of his party, his sect, his local station; he should also be the friend of freedom and of man. Understanding, as he does, that freedom is the prime condition of happiness, he should, in every case wherein the question relates to the enlargement of human liberty, send from his bugle the tocsin of no uncertain sound. He that believes that man is as free as he ought to be should choose some other profession than history. He who would force back the currents of human life into the narrower and shallower channels through which they have flowed in the past, may make an apostle of pessimism, but can never make a historian. Little as there has been in the records of our race to kindle the enthusiasm and inspire the hopes glowing in the better nature of man, yet has there been enough to furnish a ground for faith and to lay a foundation for philanthropy. In an age when the pessimist is abroad, sowing ashes in the gardens of promise, teaching

a tempted race to mock at trust, to doubt truth, and to despair of human goodness, it is the high office of the historian to put away the evil prophet and to hold on high that inextinguishable torch which shineth in the darkness.

Time would fail to enumerate the qualities which are essential in the historian and his work. By common consent the historical narrative is regarded as the most serious and elevated species of literature in prose. To the meretricious methods, freely adopted by writers on a lower plane, to stimulate curiosity and excite a flagging interest, the historian must be and remain a stranger. Albeit, he becomes accustomed to the clear mountain air in which things are revealed as they are. He is satisfied that the ruined tower, the villages clustered in the valley, the porch of the distant Capitol, the army marching,—shall be seen in the classic outline of reality, the naked chastity of truth. He hopes that others, like himself, may come to prefer the unadorned beauty of the real to the distempered masquerade of shadows and phantoms.

I repeat, therefore, that the growing taste for historical writings is one of the most healthful signs of our times. It indicates the appearance, if not the prevalence, of a spirit among the American people to which the last generation was a stranger. It foretokens the overthrow of superstition and the downfall of the demagogue. It marks the limit of the growth of those political and social vices which, like the deadly nightshade, distill their poison in the dark. Such a hunger in our people for a knowledge of the past and its lessons shows an anxiety for the present and a care for the future of our country.

Since it is granted to the author to speak freely in his Preface, I may say that the hope of presenting to the general public a clear and readable, if not elaborate, account of the principal events in the History of the World—believing as I do that such a work, if successfully accomplished, may contribute something

to the welfare and happiness of men and to the perpetuity of institutions—has been and is the inspiration of the beginning, as it will be of the completion of this work. I shall take leave of my task with no need to be reminded of the imperfections of these volumes, but with the earnest wish that they may, notwithstanding all blemishes and defects, prove

to be a source of pleasure and profit to readers of every class. I trust, moreover, that the critic, though he find much in these pages to be condemned, may also find somewhat to commend; and that the reader, though he be disappointed in many particulars, may realize in other parts of these volumes at least a partial fulfillment of his expectations.

GREENCASTLE, *March*, 1890.

J. C. R.

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INTRODUCTION TO VOLUMES III AND IV.



AMONG the States and kingdoms which men have reared as the political bulwarks of progress and civilization, ROME has an easy preëminence. The structural qualities which gave to her her rank and grandeur were permanence and colossal magnitude. If we reckon from the founding of the city to the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, we have, in *time*, a span of more than twenty-two centuries—a greater reach of duration than has fallen to any other civil organization known to history. If we measure from the mountains of Wales to the borders of Parthia, we have, in *space*, a stretch of fifty-three degrees of longitude—a breadth of territorial extent only rivaled by that of the United States and the Russian Empire. If we consider her physical development, we find in her martial valor and successful conquest a record unsurpassed in the annals of mankind. If we study her political system—her law-making, her methods of administration, her legal procedure and constitutional habit—we note a structure as broad-based as the confines of human reason, as regal and majestic as the Pyramids. From every point of view the mightiness of the Roman power stands forth in tremendous outline, against the background of the past. Above her brow is set a tiara of significant emblems, and at her girdle are hung the keys of the subject kingdoms of the world.

The beginnings of the history of Rome are set in the prehistoric shadows. Myth, tradition, legend of men and fable of the gods, are mixed and mingled in the story. A city is founded on a hill by the wolf-nursling twins of Rhea Sylvia and Mars. There are half-robber heroes struggling for the mastery—Roman, Sabine, Etruscan—descendants of

tribal ancestors of unknown name and station. There are interceding women with disheveled hair, strong as their armored brothers, brave as their warring lords. Then comes a line of kings, mostly mythical, fabled in the Vergilian hexameters—in the Augustan rhapsody—in which the Trojan blood is made to rule in Latium three hundred years. Glimpses of truth flash here and there on the hill-tops, until the Elder Brutus comes and Tarquin skulks away.

More brilliant—less fabulous—is the story of the Republic. The Age of the Consuls is the age of rising fame. In mere prowess a greater than the Greek is here. Without the artistic genius of his rival—without the subtlety, the wit, the intellectual acumen, song-craft, and tongue-force of the son of Hellas—the sturdy republican of Rome surpassed him in stalwart vehemence and the stroke of his sword. Stand out of the wind of that strong weapon, O Barbarian! for it is sharp and swift!

From the times of Africanus to the age of Cæsar the strength and majesty of the Republic were displayed to the best advantage. If Julius could have had his way, there might have been still greater exhibitions of individual and national renown. If peace came by empire, glory did not come by despotism. Doubtless civilization flourished under the first Cæsars, and the ponderous genius of Rome struggled to find expression in letters and the arts. But the Latin race was wanting in originality. What the Greeks did with so much ease under the inspiration of nature, that the Roman artists and literati strove to effect by imitation. The old robber instincts had to be evoked ere Rome was made splendid with the canvas-visions and stone-dreams of Hellas. The trophies of all lands were swept into the Eternal City, and her palaces shone with foreign gems and borrowed raiment.

It is the judgment of Gibbon that, on the whole, the happiest period of history was the Age of the Antonines; that then the comforts of human life were more generally diffused, and its sorrows, misfortunes, and crimes fewer and more tolerable. Had the historian lived a century later he might have changed his verdict; but it can not be doubted that in some fair degree the Empire was peace; nor is there any period in the Imperial course more worthy to be commended than the middle of the second century. From that time forth the decline was manifest. The crimes of the earlier Cæsars were the crimes of violence and audacity; those of the Imperial régime were the colder, but not less deadly, vices of a depraved court and a decaying people.

Coming to the times of Justinian, we note with admiration how the robust genius of Rome still asserted itself in the perfection of her jurisprudence. It is at this point that the Roman intellect is at its best, not indeed as a creative force, but as a great energy, producing order in the world and equity among men. Here was elaborated that massive civil code which Rome left as her best bequest to after ages. From the luminous brains of Justinian's lawyers were deduced those elements of jurisprudence which, abbreviated into text-books and modified to meet the altered conditions of civilized life, have combined to furnish the *principia* of the best law study in the universities of modern times.

The later history of the Roman Empire has much of melancholy in its texture. Not without sorrow will the reflective mind contemplate so majestic a ruin. The reader is destined to see a narrowing territory and a decaying national life. He must witness the crushing in of the Imperial borders by a race of barbarians. He must hear the hoarse growlings of the Teutonic warriors as they pour at last through the passes of the Alps, and, farther on, the shouts of the sons of Islam as they hover in clouds around the capital of the East. Rome had dealt roughly with the nations. She had been a harsh schoolmistress to the Gentiles. The barbarians and the men of the desert had learned from her that pity is folly, and humanity a weakness. For a season they ravened as wolves about the contracted ramparts of civilization, and then broke through

and devoured the remnant. The harsh cadences of a speech most guttural were heard in the palaces of the Western Cæsars, while distant a thousand years the shadow of the semilune of the Prophet was seen rising over the towers of Constantinople.

Great, however, is the change of aspect from the old ages of history to the new ages which follow. The Ancient World went back—seemingly—into primitive chaos and deep darkness. The wheels of evolution lagged, stood still, revolved the other way. Black shadows settled on all the landscape, and civilization stumbled into ditches and pitfalls. The contemplation of the eclipse of old-time greatness by the dark orb of barbarism may well fill the mind with a melancholy doubt respecting the course and destiny of the human race. It is only because the eye of philosophy is able to see beyond the apparent retrogression and to perceive that the real motion of humanity, like that of the inferior planets, is ever onward, that confidence returns and hope sits again serenely smiling amid the ruins of the classical ages.

For the collapse and downfall of ancient society two general causes may be assigned. The first of these was the decay of those peculiar virtues which constituted the ethical and intellectual strength of the Græco-Italic races. These virtues were ambiguous in some cases and immoral in others, but they formed the basis and strength of the famous peoples who first civilized the peninsulas of Southern Europe. In course of time the vital principles around which, as a nerve system, the States of Greece and Rome had become organic and risen to renown, began to weaken and fail. From that day the diathesis of apoplexy may be noted in the florid features of Ancient History. It was merely a question of time when some incidental violence, done to the obese and swaying body of antiquity, would precipitate the fatal catastrophe.

The second cause of the collapse was the impact of barbarism. For centuries the silent Nemesis—she

“Who never yet has left the unbalanced scale”—

bottled her wrath against the offending peoples who held the Mediterranean. At last these seals were loosed, and the barbaric tornado was

poured out of the North. Through the Alpine passes came the rushing cohort of warriors, each with the rage of Scythia in his stomach and the icicles of the Baltic in his beard. The great hulk of Rome tottered, fell, and lay dead on the earth, like the stump of Dagon.

It is with the *débris* of this great convulsion and overthrow that we shall be occupied in the after-half of the present Volume. Rather is it with the new barbaric life, which began at once to grow among the ruins of Roman society that the reader will be most interested and most instructed. In the humus and mold of antiquity the roots of a rude but vigorous nationality spread themselves, and a new civil order sprang into being in Western Europe. The wild tribes of the North, ceasing at length to ravage, settled on the soil. The Teutonic warriors built for themselves castles, became hunters of wild beasts as of old in the German woods, masters of serfs and vassals.

In this after-division of the present Volume, embracing the first five Books of Mediæval History—the reader's attention will be directed, first of all, to the ethnic origin, the tribal life, the manners, customs, and institutions of the Northern Barbarians. The story of the inroads of those fierce freebooters will be briefly recited, and a sketch will then be given of their attempts at reorganization. This will involve an outline of the history of the Herulian and Gothic Kingdoms in Italy, the conquests of the Longobards, and the establishment of the Vandals and Visigoths in Spain and Africa. From this we may turn to the incoming of the Franks and the founding of their kingdom in Gaul. The annals of the Merovingians—one of the darkest chapters in the age of darkness—will next demand our consideration, down to the time when the battle-axe of Martel, whirling in the sun, shall spread terror among Arabs on the field of Poitiers.

A profound interest may well be taken in the establishment of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain. Here, half-hidden in the fogs, drenched with perpetual rains, dwellers in rude huts by the banks of muddy rivers, and under the oak-woods, the rude forefathers of the English race planted themselves, never to be shaken. The account of these warlike, half-piratical, man-hunting Anglo-Saxons,

progenitors of civil liberty, makers of the Witenagemote, ale-horn rioters, brawling singers of war-song and sea-lyric—mere outbursts of barbaric vehemence—will ever be to the man who speaks English an Epic of the Dawn.

The struggle of the Franks with the Saracens in Southern Gaul forms the connecting link between the history of the half-civilized barbarians of Western Europe and the more refined Mohammedans of Spain and Africa. The Poitiers battle-field makes the transition easy from Paris and Aix to Cordova, to Mecca, to Baghdad. The Arabian Prophet may furnish the theme of the ensuing chapters—he and his compeer warriors and enthusiasts. Doubtless the story of Islam may seem to Western readers in some measure haze-clouded and remote; but to him who takes a philosophic view of the movement the rise of Mohammedanism and its early vigor will ever furnish a theme of wonder and profit. The story has its value and interest in this, that it presents the Semitic race in its highest stage of progress and achievement. If the age of Moses and the Prophets is the Heroic Age of Shem, the time of the early Caliphs is the Augustan Era of Semitic civilization. At this high period of Islam the Crescent stood for knowledge, urbanity, and art.

The first successful effort at the reorganization of Western Europe was made by Charlemagne. That great warrior had the true Imperial genius, and his struggle with the barbaric chaos which he inherited was worthy of the man and the occasion. Could he have drawn his lessons from history and philosophy instead of the monkish unwisdom of the age, the present aspect of the States of the West would doubtless be different from what it is. The error in his plans was the error of misinformation, and the shadows in his mind were a part of the cloud-mist of the epoch.

The age succeeding that of Charlemagne was politically—but not socially—the lowest bend in the downward curve of the Dark Ages. All bonds were loosed; disintegration was complete. Nothing was left but lands and people. The individualizing tendency was triumphant, and all political units stood apart. There was no longer a civil aspect; and that which, under other conditions, *would* have been the civil aspect, became—FEU-

DALISM. The study of this strange institution, with a sketch of the Feudal States reared upon it, will occupy our attention for a considerable space in the present Volume.

Shrill was the clarion which, near the close of the eleventh century, sounded in the ear of Western Europe. It was the call of Christendom to rise against the Turk. Islam was triumphant in the East. The war-torch, lifted high in Arabia, had been seen as far as the confines of Parthia, the Thracian Chersonesus, the Straits of Mandeb, the Pillars of Hercules. This flaming beacon was a menace and an insult to the followers of the Cross, and they bitterly resented the taunts of the Moslem. The field of Tours had become a tradition of pride to the Christians and of wrath to the Mohammedans. The occupation of Jerusalem by the Islamites weighed heavily on the heart and conscience of the West. The sacrilege was not to be endured. Doubtless if the Christians had been permitted still, as of old, to visit and revisit the tomb of their King, the outbreak of rage might have been postponed for a season. But the time came when the mild-mannered and polite Arabians were themselves obliged to give up the Holy City to another family of the sons of Islam, different as might be from the men of the South.

These were the Turcomans, the Barbarians of the East. What the Huns had been to Western Europe in the times of Attila, that were the iron-forgers of the Altai to Syria in the times of Togrul Beg. Jerusalem was taken by them. The Holy Sepulcher was profaned and the Western pilgrims treated as dogs. This transfer of the City of David from the hands of the urbane Arab to the hands of the ferocious Turk was a fire-spark to the barbaric magazines of the West.

It is not needed, in a brief Introduction to the History of the CRUSADES, to give more than a passing notice to the prime fanatics who organized the insurrection. They were men of passion and vehemence. Their work was to incite to frenzy, to kindle beacon-fires, to play upon the superstitions of the multitudes, to raise the storm-cloud and fan the tempest. Such were Peter of Picardy, and Walter the Penniless; and such, on a higher plane, were Urban and Godfrey. The movement which they directed has no parallel in history. The West-

ern kingdoms were agitated as if shaken by a great wind. Whole districts were depopulated. Nations rose, took arms, and marched. A wild fanaticism flamed in all minds, inasmuch that not to burn with the common zeal, was to be a reprobate and traitor. Gradually the excitement worked upward from the peasant's hut to the baron's castle, from the hamlet of the vassal to the city of the suzerain, from the serf to the king. The First Crusade was a national mob of half-crazed enthusiasts under their own chief fanatics; the Third was led by the great princes of Christendom.

In the last Book of the present Volume the story of the Crusades will be given from their beginning, in 1096, to the collapse of the Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem, in 1291. We shall trace in their order the successive expeditions on their march by way of Rome or Venice, Constantinople or Alexandria, to strike the infidels in Asia Minor and Palestine. Many are the exploits, the episodes, the side adventures with which these annals teem. The reader will hardly fail to note that, as soon as the fiery zeal of the first attacks is over, a spirit more rational takes possession of the Crusaders, and in proportion as this spirit prevails the crusading fervor abates and disappears. Each assault is less vindictive than the preceding, and the rage of murder gives place to the courtesy of war.

Involved with the common current of this history is the closely related account of the rise and development of the Orders of Knighthood. Salutary in their origin, striking in their progress, dangerous in the culmination of their strength, these orders dominated in the East, and greatly changed the course of subsequent events in the West. In their history they present the common spectacle of organizations which at first exist as a means unto an end, and afterwards as an end to which all things else are but the means. Worthy of sympathy and admiration in the beginning, they become, in the course of time, worthy of little but distrust and antagonism. Albeit, the history of the Knights presents some of the finest examples of heroism and devotion known in the annals of valor.—Such, then, are the great themes which, in their elaboration, are to furnish the subject-matter of the current Volume.

RIDPATH'S
UNIVERSAL HISTORY

VOLUME III.

BOOK X.—ROME



MAP VII.
ANCIENT ITALY.

From Thalheimer's Ancient History, by permission.

Scale of Miles.
0 50 100 150



Book Tenth.

ROME.

PART I.—THE KINGDOM.

CHAPTER LII.—THE COUNTRY.



FROM the Alps to Cape Bruttium, there lies ITALY. The great midmost peninsula of Southern Europe, dropping from the north into the Central Mediterranean, stretches

between the parallels $46^{\circ} 30'$ and 38° of north latitude, and the meridians $6^{\circ} 35'$ and $18^{\circ} 30'$ east from Greenwich. The length of the peninsula, from the Rhetian Alps to the Strait of Messina, is six hundred and sixty miles, and the greatest breadth of the Italian *leg*, measured in the latitude of Tuscany, is one hundred and seventy miles. The area of the peninsula proper is 94,160 square miles, and of the same, inclusive of Sardinia and Sicily, 114,850 square miles.

The length of the Italian coast line is a little more than two thousand miles, and the same is throughout its whole extent regular and well-defined. It is thus in a remarkable manner discriminated from the coasts of Greece, the latter being in every part broken into bays

and inlets. From the shores of Italy, except the so-called *spur* and *heel* and *toe* in the extreme south, not a single considerable peninsula extends into the sea; and we look in vain into the surrounding waters for the multitude of little islands which everywhere cluster about the coast of Hellas.

The name Italy is variously interpreted. According to Timæus and Varro, the word is derived from the Greek *italos*, meaning a calf, a country in which cattle abound. Thucydides and Dionysius of Halicarnassus derived the name from a mythical King Italus, by whom the country is said to have been ruled in pre-historic times.

The great fundamental facts in the physical structure of Italy are the ALPS and the APENNINES. By the former it is separated from the rest of Europe. All the way around from the Gulf of Genoa to the head of the Adriatic, beginning with the Maritime chain and ending with the Carnic range, these tremendous barriers circle about the valley of the Po, shutting out the colder regions of the north from the land

of the vine. The peninsula itself is supported through its whole extent, from Genoa to Reggio, by the Apennines, which, winding from the north, and constituting a continuance of the Maritime Alps, bend down the center of the *leg*, until they divide above the Italian *instep*, the western branch being deflected in an almost southerly course through Calabria to the strait of Messina, and the other forming the back wall of Apulia. Italy is thus divided into two great slopes—the eastern, with the broad valley of the Po at the north, falling away to the Adriatic; and the western, descending to the Gulf of Genoa and the Tyrrhenian Sea. From the backbone of the Apennines, on either side, lateral ridges branch off toward the coast, and between these the Italian rivers, gathering their waters from the central highlands, make their way down to the ocean.

Geographically considered, the peninsula is divided into three parts. The first is **NORTH-ERN ITALY**, or the Valley of the Po. From the Maritime Alps, along the northern shore of the Gulf of Genoa, the Apennines trend to the south-east, almost reaching the Adriatic at Ariminum. From this natural barrier to the Alps on the north stretches a vast low plain, two hundred miles in length and about sixty miles in breadth. The whole region is drained by the river **PADUS**, the largest in Italy, which with its more than twenty-five tributaries, great and small, sweeps down, in a due easterly course, from the foot-hills of the Swiss Alps, in the extreme west, to the Gulf of Venice. The broad valley is at its mouth, measuring from the nearest approach of the Apennines to the Adriatic northward to the Carnic Alps, about a hundred and twenty miles in breadth. This great division of Italy includes the ancient provinces of **CISALPINE GAUL**, **LIGURIA**, **VENETIA**, and **ISTRIA**, and is one of the most fruitful regions in all Europe. On the south it was bounded, next the Adriatic, by the Rubicon, and next the Gulf of Genoa, by the **Magra**.

Reaching southward from the two streams just mentioned—at which point the Italian peninsula proper may be said to begin—extending along the west coast from the **Magra**

to the **Silarus**, and on the east from the **Rubicon** to the **Frento**, lies the next major division of the country, called **CENTRAL ITALY**. Strongly discriminated is this region from the great **Padus** valley of the north. Instead of the broad, open plain, with its many streams converging into one, we have here the massive shoulders of the Apennines heaved up in every part, filling with their central range and lateral offsets almost the whole peninsula from east to west. The plains and valleys are numerous, but small, and irregular in outline. The central mass of the mountains is broken up chaotically, especially from the main ridge towards the west; but on the east the ridges descend with greater regularity to the sea. This complicated structure of the mountain range becomes more noticeable towards the south. Below the forty-fourth parallel of latitude the ridges reach within forty miles of the sea. The greatest valleys of Central Italy are those of the **ARNO** and the **TIBER**, which rivers, the largest in the division under consideration, have been properly called the “key to the geography of this part of the peninsula.”

Perhaps no other region in the world presents, within equal geographical limits, so great a variety of climate as does Central Italy. While the snows still lie on the uplands of **Samnium** the corn ripens in the plains of **Campania**. All along the Tyrrhenian shore, the olive flourishes, but within forty miles of the coast line it disappears. On the **Samnian** hills, no more than a day's journey from the genial bay of **Naples**, the scenery is that of highlands, and the fingers are bitten with the piercing air. In these extremely variable conditions were laid the foundations of that tribal diversity which characterized the early races of Italy. The mountaineers of the **Sabine** hills, rude and simple in their manners, and warlike in disposition, were strongly discriminated from the softer and more luxurious people of **Campania**, **Latium**, and **Etruria**.

Central Italy comprised the countries known to the Romans as **ETRURIA**, **UMBRIA**, **PICENUM**; the state of the *Sabini*, *Vestini*, *Marsi*, *Peligni*, *Marrucini*, and *Frentani*; **SAMNIUM**, **LATIUM**, and **CAMPANIA**. Of these various

provinces an extended account will presently be given.

Southern Italy embraces all the lower part of the peninsula—the *ankle* and *foot* of Italy. The natural boundary on the north is, on the Adriatic coast, the river Frento, and on the Tyrrhenian sea the Silarus. The mountain ranges in this part of the country sink gradually to lower levels, and the plains have a wider extent. The Apulian district, next the *Mare Superum* of the ancients, is a low-lying country, spreading out to the sea from the declining ridge of the Apennines. The Bruttian region, however, is nearly all mountainous in character, and Lucania is traversed from north to south by a range of no mean elevation. Around the shores of the Gulf of Tarentum, especially on the north and west, a multitude of streams gather their waters from the Italian *insep*—a plain country of great fertility—and discharge into the sea.

The principal of the ancient states embraced within the limits of Southern Italy were the greatly elongated province of APULIA on the east, including its subdivisions of *Damnia*, *Perecentia*, *Calabria*, and *Iapygia*; LUCANIA on the west, and BRUTTIUM on the south, the latter being the *foot* of Italy. The sea coasts of these states are of the greatest beauty and fertility, but the interior mountainous districts are comparatively sterile and inaccessible. In Calabria, which constitutes the *heel* of Italy, there is a great want of running streams, but the proximity of the sea, superinducing rains and copious dews, renders the region of superior fertility, in so much that Strabo represents it as “bringing forth all things in great abundance.”

As already intimated, the climate of Italy varies greatly with the elevation of the particular district and its distance from the sea. Considered as a whole, the country is one of the most beautiful in the world. The condition of its sky and air was not dissimilar to that of Greece. Though Italy, of all the European countries, has the greatest annual rainfall, yet the sky is the bluest and most beautiful to be seen anywhere in the world. The atmosphere is singularly pure. The rains come in storms of excessive severity. The rivers run a

rapid course, and under the influence of sudden hurricanes are swollen into floods, which sweep all before them. But the atmosphere with the morrow clears to its profoundest depths, and the beholder sees above him only the cerulean curtains of the fathomless heaven.

The Alps and northern Apennines receive great quantities of snow. These, with the approach of warm weather, melt and descend in yellow torrents, which spread a layer of slime over the river-beds and adjacent valleys. The proximity of these snowy mountains to the surrounding seas tends powerfully to temper and vary the climate and to adapt it to nearly all the products of Central and Southern Europe.

The ancient Italian seers and bards were specially enthusiastic in their praises of the loveliness of their native land. Ever and anon the verses of Vergil respond harp-like as they are swept by the invisible fingers of nature. Dionysius and Strabo, though little given to ecstasy and rapture, take fire under the inspiration of Italian landscapes, and in modern times the immortal verse of Byron has borne its rapturous testimony to the splendor of this land of song and art:

“The clouds above me to the white Alps tend,
And I must pierce them and survey whate’er
May be permitted, as my steps I bend
To their most great and growing region, where
The earth to her embrace compels the powers
of air.

Italia! O Italia! looking on thee,
Full flashes on the soul the light of ages,
Since the first Carthaginian almost won thee
To the last halo of the chiefs and sages
Who glorify thy consecrated pages.”

In fertility the plain of Campania possessed a soil which rivaled the fecund valleys of Egypt and Babylonia. Along the lowlands of Apulia olives grew, not surpassed by those of any other land under the sun. The vineyards of Etruria, as well as those of the Falerian and Alban hills, yielded such fabulous clusters of grapes as are said to have been brought out of the land of Canaan by the spies of Joshua. On the slopes of the highlands and in the northern valleys were the richest pastures, in which flocks of sheep and goats gathered unlimited supplies of herbage. Higher on the mountain

sides were magnificent forests of timber, and for the transportation of this to the ship-yards of the coast the numerous rivers furnished unlimited facilities. The hills were stored with valuable minerals, and the streams were alive with fishes. The average temperature of the year, marking extremes of neither heat nor cold, ranged with pleasant vicissitude through those medium degrees under which the bodily

spreading out toward the Great Dipper and the more refined peoples of the peninsula. The harbors on both shores, without affording too great facilities of approach, were sufficiently numerous and commodious. The general position of Italy, moreover, situated midway between the great empires of the East and the rising nations of Western Europe, made her a vantage ground for the development of polit-



ITALIAN LANDSCAPE.

and mental powers of man present their greatest vigor and perfection.

It will be seen, moreover, by the thoughtful student of history that politically considered, Italy had a powerful foundation in nature. On three sides her position was insular; the enemy must approach by sea. On the north, the vast bulwark of the Alps, sweeping around from sea to sea, stood an impassable barrier between the barbarous races,

ical power. Nor can it be said that these great natural advantages of situation have been lost with the lapse of time and the shifting of national centers. To the present day the Italian peninsula retains all the native resources requisite for the germination and growth of a mighty state, the antecedents of preëminence, the suggestions of empire.

The present climate of Italy has been somewhat modified from what it was twenty centu-

ries ago. It is evident that the classical writers in describing the climatic excellence of their country, used as a standard the countries of the East—Greece, Asia Minor, Babylonia, Egypt. This fact will account for the praises often bestowed upon the Italian summers as free from excessive heats. It is clear, however, that in Modern Italy the average temperature is considerably higher than in the days of the Roman Republic. Horace describes Socrate and the Alban hills as covered with snow. The Tiber is spoken of by Juvenal as having, even at the approach of winter, a sheet of ice from bank to bank. Nor is it to be conceived that these distinguished and critical writers, poets though they were, would have departed in their descriptions from the truthfulness of nature.

Another change, from ancient to modern Italy, is the introduction of pestilential conditions into various districts of the country. In some provinces, which formerly supported large and flourishing populations, miasmatic influences are now so prevalent as to forbid any other than a desultory and imperfect cultivation of the soil. This is especially true in the Roman Campania and along the fertile coasts of Southern Italy. The latter region, where once flourished the finest of Greek cities—Sybaris, Crotona, Rhegium—has been depopulated by pestilential causes. It is likely, however, that even in the days of the Republic, the Roman states, especially the low-lying provinces near the coast, were afflicted with malaria, and were frequently wasted with violent pestilences.

In the times of the Roman ascendancy, the volcanic forces were more actively at work in and around the peninsula than at the present day. Timæus states that eruptions of *Ætna* still occurred after Greek colonists had settled in that neighborhood. The traditions relating to Lake *Avernus* evidently point to similar convulsions of nature. Nor is the current opinion that *Vesuvius* only began to be an active volcano with the great eruption of A. D. 79, founded in fact; for the authority of *Strabo* may be cited in testimony that the mountain from time immemorial had given, at intervals, the lava of his heated caverns to

the surrounding plains. Earthquakes were alarmingly frequent, though their violence was as a usual thing not such as to occasion great losses to the people. The visitation was generally in the nature of the subsidence of large tracts of land, the toppling down of rocks and precipices, or the sudden change of a river-bed to some other part of the valley. At intervals, however, the shocks were so great as to throw down towns and cities and scatter dismay through the whole peninsula.

The volcanic regions of Italy are divided into two sections. The first includes what was the larger part of the ancient *Latium*, or the modern *Campagna* of Rome, and also the southern portion of *Etruria*. The other embraces the remainder of Old *Latium*, the *Vesuvian* region, and the hills surrounding Lake *Avernus*. Between these two districts extends the chain of the *Volseian* mountains, being an offset from the *Apennines*. The former territory is about one hundred miles in length by fifty or sixty miles in breadth; the latter is considerably less in area.

The productions of the Italian peninsula—to which several references have already been made—will be more fully considered under the heads of the various provinces. For the present it is sufficient to note the fact that a large number of the products of Modern Italy most valued by the present population are of recent introduction, and were either unknown or disregarded by the ancient Romans. The corn and rice, to the raising of which the plains of *Lombardy* are now so largely devoted, were not known, or at least not cultivated by the people of the Republic. The same may be said of the oranges which abound in *Liguria* and in the vicinity of *Naples*. In the southern provinces the aloes and cactuses, which now so greatly adorn the sea-coasts, were no part of the ancient vegetation. The mulberry tree was well known to the Romans, and was to some extent valued for its fruit; but its chief use began subsequently to the introduction of the silk-worm, in the thirteenth century. It only remains to add that a considerable number of the fruits and other products which were common in the times of Roman greatness were exotic; but

the larger part were indigenous to the peninsula.

The mineral wealth of Italy was by no means fully developed in the classical ages. It seems, indeed, to have been the policy of the government to discourage the exploration and opening of mines. This is to be accounted for on the theory that before the Romans became predominant in the peninsula the knowledge of the existence of such mines would tend to incite invasion, and after the Roman ascendancy was established the armies of the Republic could take the treasures of other states more easily than to dig them from the earth.

Grains of gold were found in the beds of some of the streams descending from the Alps. Silver also existed in a few districts, though not abundantly. In Etruria were valuable mines of copper; and this metal, as is well known, was the one chiefly used by the Romans in the coinage of money. In Noricum and at Ilva were fine mines of iron, but the production of this metal was greatly retarded by the difficulty of extracting it from the ore. The other minerals most valued by the Romans were cinnabar, calamine, and white marble, the latter being produced from the quarries of Luna of a quality which, for the purpose of sculpture, was reckoned superior to that of Greece.

Such was the physical character of the Italian peninsula as to forbid the formation of great rivers. The Padus, or Po, is the only stream of the first class, according to the European standard. The Arno and the Tiber, though among the most celebrated in history, are less than many of the tributaries of the Rhine, the Rhone, and the Danube. The rivers of Northern Italy, fed as they are with the perpetual snows of the Alps, maintain throughout the year a comparatively constant volume; but the streams which descend from the Apennines, though frequently in the winter season swollen to roaring torrents by the prevalent rains and snows, sink into their beds in summer, and become mere insignificant brooks. In this respect the Italian rivers are to be classed with those of Greece.

The great central basin of Northern Italy is traversed through its whole extent from

west to east by the Padus. This river is about three hundred and eighty geographical miles in length, though the direct distance from its source in Mount Vesulus to its mouth on the Adriatic is but two hundred and thirty miles. The volume of the river, near its confluence with the sea, is very great; for the stream has, meanwhile, been swollen by numerous tributaries descending on the north from the Alps, and on the south from the Apennines. Of these auxiliary streams no fewer than eighteen are enumerated by Pliny, and to this list modern geography has added quite a number.

Of the rivers of Northern Italy which do not join their waters with the Po, the most important is the Adige, the ancient Athesis. Its general course is parallel with that of the Padus, and its volume, though not at all comparable with that of the parent stream of the great basin, is by no means contemptible. To the east of the last named river are found in succession the Brenta, known in classical geography as the Medoacus; the Piave, or Plavis; the Tilavemptus, and the Sontius. In that part of Liguria south of the Apennines, are a few small streams, the most considerable being the Varus, the Rutuba, and the Magra, the latter constituting the southern boundary of Northern Italy on the west.

All the rivers of Central Italy take their rise either in the main ridge or lateral branches of the Apennines. The most important of these streams are the Arno and the Tiber. The latter flows through a valley spreading out in a southerly direction, from its sources in the mountains on the borders of Etruria and Umbria to its mouth at Ostia. The whole length of the stream, which is the most important in this division of the peninsula, is, in a direct line, one hundred and forty miles.

The most important of the smaller streams of this region taking their rise in the hill-country between the Arno and the Tiber are the Cæcina, the Umbro, and the Arminia. South of the Tiber, the more considerable streams are the Lirus and the Vulturnus, both of which flow through the Campanian plain. Further down the coast is the Silarus, which forms the boundary between Southern and Central Italy. The remaining streams of the western coast are mere

mountain brooks, which roar and plunge along for a brief season in the winter, dwindle in spring, and run dry in summer. The longest of these creeks is the *Laüs*, which divides the provinces of *Lucania* and *Bruttium*.

On the eastern or Adriatic side of the peninsula the rivers are many, but of small importance. Between the borders of *Cisalpine Gaul*—where the *Rubicon* forms the boundary between that province and the peninsula proper—and the *heel* of Italy, are sixteen rivers, which enumerated from north to south and designated by their classical names are as follows: the *Ariminus*, the *Crustumius*, the *Pisarus*, the *Metaurus*, the *Aesis*, the *Potentia*, the *Flusor*, the *Truentus*, the *Vomanus*, the *Aternus*, the *Sagrus*, the *Trinius*, the *Tifernus*, the *Frento*, the *Cerbalus*, and the *Aufidus*. The *Frento* constitutes the boundary between Central and Southern Italy. The *Aufidus* is by far the longest and largest of the sixteen streams which fall into the *Adriatic*.

In Northern Italy the melting snows of the southern slopes of the Alps are in several parts gathered into inclosed valleys, which must be filled brimful before they can overflow into the tributaries of the *Padus*. Thus are formed those celebrated Alpine lakes which are reckoned among the most beautiful in the world. The principal of these are the *Lacus Verbanus*, the modern *Maggiore*; the *Lacus Larius*, or *Como*; the *Lacus Sebinus*, or *Iseo*; and the *Lacus Benacus*, or *Garda*. These sheets of water are long, narrow, and deep, and reflect from their placid faces the shadows of beautiful shores, the image of cerulean skies.

Very different in shape and character are the lakes of Central Italy. These are collections of waters in the craters of extinct volcanoes, generally without an outlet, circular in form, small in area, but very deep. The largest of these volcanic lakes is the *Lacus Vulsiniensis*, the modern *Bolsena*. It is in Southern Etruria, and has a circumference of about thirty miles. Other lakes of similar sort are the *Sabatinus*, or *Bracciano*; the *Ciminus*, or *Vico*; the *Albanus*, the *Nemorensis*, and especially the *Avernus*, in *Campania*. In the same province are the *Lacus Trasimenus* and the *Lacus Fucinus*, both of which are formed

by an aggregation of waters in natural basins of non-volcanic origin.

The principal mountains of Italy, detached from the regular chain of the *Apennines*, are *Amiata*, in Central Etruria; *Ciminus*, a group of volcanic heights; *Albanus*, *Vesuvius*, *Vulturnus*, and *Garganus*. Of these peaks the highest is *Amiata*, which rises 5,794 feet above the level of the sea; and the lowest, the *Mons Albanus*, which has an elevation of three thousand feet.—Such in brief is a sketch of the principal physical features of the peninsula of Italy.

Turning to the consideration of the Roman provinces, and beginning at the north, we have, first of all, the great district of *CISALPINE GAUL*. The name so used distinguishes the country from *Gallia Transalpina*, or *Gaul Proper*, lying beyond the Alps. The province is bounded on the north and west, by the mountains; on the south, by *Liguria*, the *Apennines*, and the northern boundary of *Umbria*; on the east, by the *Adriatic* and the province of *Venetia*. The vast country thus defined consists of the great and fertile valley of the *Padus*, and viewed as it respects extent, is by far the largest, and as it respects agricultural resources, the most important, of all Italy.

The second province of Northern Italy is *LIGURIA*. It is bounded on the west by the river *Varus*; on the east, by the *Magra*; on the north, by the *Po*; and on the south, by the *Gulf of Genoa*. It thus includes the whole of the *Maritime Alps* and the upper portion of the chain of the *Apennines*. The former mountains descend almost to the sea, and the lateral branches form headlands along the coast throughout a great extent of the southern boundary. The whole province, except on the north, where the slopes descend into the valley of the *Po*, is exceedingly mountainous. The *Ligurians* were a race of highlanders who, from their situation as well as disposition, participated but slightly in the momentous affairs of Italy.

The remaining state of the North was *VENETIA*, at the head of the *Adriatic*. It extended from the foot of the Alps, where they descend to the sea, to the mouth of the *Po*, and westward to the river *Adige*. The boundaries of

the province were somewhat variable. At one time the whole district was included in Cisalpine Gaul. At another it was consolidated with Istria as the Tenth Region of the Empire. Even when the Adige was settled upon as the western limit, the district of Verona, lying on the right bank of that river, was included with Venetia. On the east the boundary was the country of the Carni. The general character of the province was similar to that of Cisalpine Gaul, from which it is separated by no strongly marked natural features. The country is a plain extending to the very foot of the Alps. The streams are fed from the snows of the mountains, and pursue a short and rapid course towards the sea. The coast is bordered by a tract of lagoons and marsh-lands, and in these several of the streams wander aimlessly till they are lost in swamps.

The province of *ISTRIA*, sometimes included in Venetia, and sometimes considered as a separate state, was for the most part a peninsula dropping from the north into the Adriatic. The natural limits of the province were clearly marked except on the north, where the boundary was fixed by a line drawn from the Gulf of Trieste to that of Quarnero. The district thus defined was about fifty miles long and thirty-five miles in breadth. It was not a country of great natural fertility, the soil being calcareous and rocky. Nevertheless it was well adapted to the production of olives; and the oil of Istria was considered superior to any produced in the country except that of Venafrum.

Passing into Central Italy and proceeding down the coast of the Adriatic, we come to the province of *UMBRIA*. It extends from the seashore to the valley of the Tiber, which river constitutes the greater part of its western boundary. On the south the district abuts against the country of the Sabines, the northern boundary being Cisalpine Gaul. The province is traversed centrally by the Apennines, by which it is divided into an eastern and a western slope, the latter falling off toward the Tiber valley, and the former descending to the Adriatic. On the east the boundary is Picenum and the sea. Umbria is one of the most ancient provinces of Italy, the people being regarded as the oldest of the Italian races.

The language spoken by the Umbrians was related to the Oscan and the Latin, but strongly discriminated from the speech of the neighboring Etruscans. The country, even from primitive times, was a land of pastures and flocks. The sheep and cattle were regarded as the finest of all Italy. The southern portion of the territory between Etruria and the Apennines was well adapted to the cultivation of the vine and the olive. In this part of the country were fine orchards, and the general fertility was such as to give it a reputation among the most desirable tracts of the peninsula.

The province of *PICENUM* extended along the Adriatic for a distance of one hundred miles. On the west its boundary was the central ridge of the Apennines. On the north and south the natural boundaries were the rivers *Æsis* and *Natrinus*. This territory was known in the times of Augustus as the Fifth Region of Italy. It is a district of great fertility and beauty. Backed on the west by the loftiest portion of the Apennine range, it falls away in rolling hills and gentle slopes to the seas. The forests on the mountain sides are among the finest in Italy; while on the lower levels near the coast rich pastures are interspersed with olive orchards, vineyards, and fields of corn. The Picenian apples were celebrated by Horace and Juvenal, and its olives were reckoned the best produced in Italy.

To the south of Picenum and Umbria lay the large state inhabited by the five tribes—the *Sabini*, the *Vestini*, the *Marsi*, the *Marrucini*, and the *Peligni*. The country had the Adriatic for an eastern boundary, and Etruria and Latium on the west. Its geographical features were not dissimilar to those of the two states on the north. The Apennines stretched through the territory centrally from north to south, leaving the Sabines on the west, and the other tribes on the Adriatic slope. The district of the Sabini was a rugged region about eighty-five miles in length, but the soil was more fertile than its situation in the hill-country would have indicated. The principal products were oil and wine, and the plant known in modern times as *savin* (*herba Sabina*) has here its native home. The Sabines, how-

ever were a pastoral rather than an agricultural people. The mountaineers reared herds of goats, and among the foot-hills flocks of sheep and droves of mules bore witness to the interest taken by this primitive people in the breeding of stock. The other tribes in this part of the country devoted themselves to like pursuits; but the Vestini and Marrucini devoted more attention to the tillage of fields than to the raising of animals.

The state of APULIA was one of the largest, and, historically considered, not the least important in Italy. The limits of the province were very variable. By some geographers it has been made to include the whole of South-eastern Italy, from the country of the Frentani on the north to the extremity of the peninsula. This would embrace the whole of the district known to the Romans as Calabria. It does not appear, however, that such an extension of the name Apulia is warranted by the facts. The physical features of this part of Italy were strongly marked, and contributed, no doubt, to shape the history of the country. The northern half of the province, extending from the Tifernus to the Aufidus, is a continuous plain, sloping from the mountains to the sea. In one part the Apulian Apennines, here broken into isolated masses, reach the Adriatic, and, rising in Mount Garganus, constitute the *spur* of Italy. The hill country is covered with forests. The plain of northern Apulia is a district of great fertility. The whole province was noted for its fine breeds of horses and sheep, the latter being regarded as the best in Italy.

The district known as CALABRIA constitutes the south-eastern portion of the Italian peninsula. By the Greeks this province was called Massapia, or Japygia. It is the *heel* of Italy. It may be considered as extending from the promontory of Garganus to the frontiers of Lucania. On the west it was limited by a line drawn from the Gulf of Tarentum at a point a little west of the city of that name to a point on the Adriatic between Egnatia and Brundisium. From the position of these boundaries it will be seen that Calabria was very nearly identical with the present province of Otranto. Virgil has described the

Calabrian landscape as "a low coast of dusky hills." The soil is calcareous, but is well adapted to the cultivation of the olive and the vine. The country was also noted for its abundant yield of honey. The Calabrians, like their northern neighbors, were famous breeders of horses, and the cavalry service of the Republic and Empire was frequently recruited from this province.

On the west, between the Gulf of Tarentum and the Tyrrhenian sea, lay the large State of LUCANIA. On the south it was bounded by Bruttium; on the north, by Samnium, Apulia, and Campania. This province was originally a part of the ancient Ænotria, the name Lucania being unknown until after the time of Thucydides. The physical character of the district is, like that of so many of the other Italian states, determined by the Apennines, which traverse the whole country from north to south, rising in the group of Monte Pollino to the height of seven thousand feet above the level of the sea. Between the central chain and the western coast, the whole country is filled up with rugged mountains, but on the eastern coast, the hills fall off more gradually, and near the borders of the Gulf, extensive plains stretch from the foot-hills to the shore. The products of the province are almost identical with those of northern Lucania, the olive and vine being the chief gifts of nature to the husbandman.

BRUTTIUM constitutes the *foot* of Italy. By the ancient geographers, the name of the people, the Bruttii, was always used to designate the country, the word *Bruttium* being invented by more recent writers. The land so named was bounded on the north by Lucania, and all other sides by the sea. Along the Lucanian frontier the breadth of the district is no more than thirty miles, but further south the width is considerably greater. The entire length of the peninsula is about sixty miles, and its shape has been immemorially likened to a boot, the heel of which is formed by Calabria on the other side of the Gulf. The country is traversed through its whole extent by the Apennines, now broken into irregular masses, and in the northern part scattered from coast to coast. The mountains are cov-

ered with forests, but the timber of this region is less valuable than in the districts further north. The climate is very mild and would be still warmer but for the highland character of the region, and the recurring storms of wind and rain. In early times Bruttium was more subject to Greek influences than any other state of Southern Italy.

Before passing to the consideration of the remaining provinces of Central Italy, a few words in general respecting the country of *MAGNA GRÆCIA* will be appropriate. This name was given by the Greeks to those countries of Southern Italy in which they had established colonies. These settlements were planted on the shores of the Tarentine Gulf, in different parts of Bruttium, on the western coast of Lucania, and at Cumæ in Campania—though by most authors *Magna Græcia* is not regarded as extending beyond the northern frontier of Lucania. A few writers have included the Greek settlements in Sicily with those of the main-land, though they are generally considered as distinct colonies.

The geographical description of this country known as Great Greece, together with a sketch of its climate and products, has already been given in the paragraphs on Calabria, Lucania, and Bruttium. The country at a certain epoch was one of great importance, involving the relations, and at that time uncertain predominance, of the Greek and Latin races in the West.

One of the oldest Grecian colonies established in Italy was that of *CUMÆ* in Campania. Its date has been assigned to the year B. C. 1050. It was by its position isolated from the other settlements of the Hellenes in the Italian foot, and with its two dependent towns of *Dicaarchi* and *Neapolis* has a history of its own.

Next in order of establishment were the Greek colonies in Sicily, which, according to current chronology were planted between the years B. C. 735 and 685. The most powerful of these settlements was the city of *SYRACUSE*, situated on the east coast of the island about midway between *Catana* and *Cape Pachynus*. Second in importance to this was the colony of *AGRIGENTUM*, on the south-west coast, between *Selinus* and *Gela*. On the main-land, that is, in

Magna Græcia proper, the principal Greek city was *SYBARIS*, on the western shore of the Tarentine Gulf. It was one of the oldest of the Hellenic colonies, its founding bearing the date of B. C. 720—only a few years after the planting of Rome. The Sybarites claimed an Achæan origin; but the Troezenians also constituted a part of the original colony. The city grew to be wealthy, luxurious, powerful. Its period of greatest splendor was from B. C. 580 to 560, at which time it was one of the chief cities of the West.

Only second in importance to Sybaris was *CROTONA*, on the eastern coast of the Bruttian peninsula. This, like the sister city, was founded by the Achæans, the date being about B. C. 710. The settlement grew rapidly into a powerful colony. The walls measured twelve miles in circumference. The authority of the city was extended across the peninsula, and other colonies were sent out from the parent hive. Like Sybaris, Crotona became wealthy and luxurious. During the sixth century she was recognized as one of the most civilized and powerful of all the Western cities. The situation was one of the most healthful in Italy, and the manner of life adopted by the citizens—modeled after the severe system of discipline prevailing in Peloponnesus—conduced to give to the inhabitants a robust development and manly character. Six miles distant from the city was the famous temple of the Lacinian Juno, said to be the oldest in Italy. The site is still marked by a single Doric column, which from its bold position on the head-land, is seen far out at sea, and constitutes a landmark for sailors.

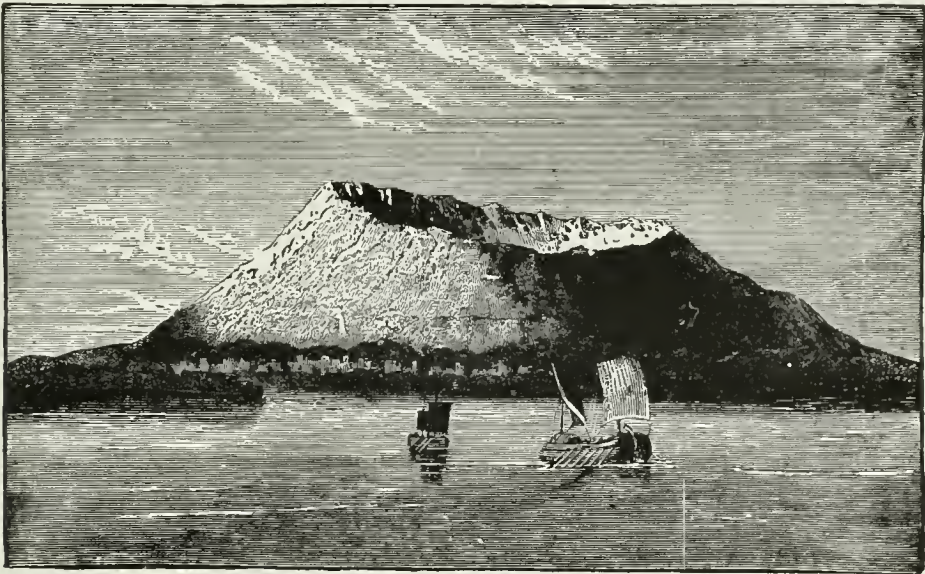
Next in rank among the Hellenic colonies of *Magna Græcia* was the city of *LOCRI*. It was situated on the south-east coast of the Bruttian peninsula, near the southern extremity. As the name indicates, the original colony was composed of Loerians from Central Greece. The date of the foundation was about B. C. 700. Of the early history of the colony not much is known; but if tradition may be trusted it was here rather than in Hellas that the first code of written laws was formulated by a Greek. It is said that a certain Zaleucus, a kind of Solon of the West, prepared a statute

for the city, and that the equity of the laws thus framed gave great peace to the colony. Certain it is that the work of Zaleucus was heartily praised by Pindar and Demosthenes as a model worthy of imitation. The lawgiver is said to have flourished about 660 B. C. Of the general character of the Hellenic cities in Magna Græcia something has been already said in that part of the Eighth Book relating to the Sicilian expedition of the Greeks; and not a little remains to be presented hereafter.

Resuming the consideration of the geography of the Italian states, we come on the north-west of Lucania to the coast province of

group of volcanic hills rising abruptly from the level country between Cumæ and Naples. The loftiest of these elevations is the Mons Gaurus, whose slopes produced the finest wines in all Italy. On the other side of Naples is the great isolated peak of Vesuvius, a true volcano, which before A. D. 79 was reported by Strabo to be "extinct for want of fuel," but after that date was never suspected of having gone out.

After its fertility and climate the next most important advantage possessed by Campania was its sea coast. This is in many places indented in such a manner as to furnish a haven



MOUNT VESUVIUS BEFORE THE GREAT ERUPTION OF 79 A. D.

CAMPANIA. It is bounded on the east by Samnium, on the north by Latium, and on the west by the sea. The coast line is more broken than that of any other part of Italy. A large portion of the district is that celebrated plain noted anciently for its productiveness, and in modern times for its malaria. It is the most beautiful and fertile province in all Italy. The climate is one of the mildest and most equable in the world. The landscapes were the delight of ancient travelers, who never wearied in their praises of the beauty on every hand. In two places the uniformity of the plain, sloping gently from the Apennines to the sea, is broken by remarkable natural features. The first is a

for ships. The Bay of Naples is justly ranked among the finest in the world, as it is certainly the finest in Italy. Around its shores the luxurious Romans built numerous towns and villas, so that, according to Strabo, the whole bay seemed to be lined with a continuous city. Just north of Naples, and included within the headland of Misenum, was the Bay of Baïre, with two excellent harbors. In the times of the Empire this region became one of the most frequented in Italy, being a populous sea-port and place of resort for the wealthy.

There is little doubt that the genial climate of Campania had an enervating effect upon the people. In ancient times the inhabitants

were reputed unwarlike. The population was frequently changed by the aggressiveness of surrounding nations. The thermal springs abounding in the neighborhoods of Baia, Puteoli, and Naples were well adapted to the wants of those who were rich enough to indulge in the luxury of a sea-side residence, but they were not conducive to the development of manly virtues.

Lying eastward of Campania was the great interior province of SAMNIUM. It was traversed throughout by the central chain of the Apennines, and nowhere approached the coast. The territory is almost wholly mountainous. The conformation of the country is determined in every part by the main range or their lateral branches. The climate is strongly discriminated from that of the Campanian and Apulian slopes. The warm sea breezes, wafted from the south-west into the Bay of Naples, reach not the Samnite hills. Here the cooler airs of the Apennines prevail, and the breezy proximity of the mountains is felt alike in nature and in man. Samnium is a land of flocks and pastures. The valleys and occasional small plains are well adapted to cultivation, and the usual crops peculiar to this belt of Italy grow in considerable abundance.

The great north-western province of Central Italy is ETRURIA, one of the most ancient states of the West. On the north, it is bounded by Liguria and Cisalpine Gaul; on the east, by Umbria and the country of the Sabines; on the south, by Latium; on the west, by the sea. The coast-line measures a little over two hundred miles. The region thus bounded is exceedingly variable in geographical character. On the north, its proximity to the Apennines and its rugged elevations give it an almost Alpine aspect. Mount Amiata here rises to the height of 5,794 feet. Further south are tracts of rich alluvial soil. The country about the mouth of the river Arnus is especially fertile and beautiful. Along almost the entire eastern frontier lies the valley of the Tiber, fruitful in the things sown, and interspersed with pleasing landscapes. South of the Arnus, the whole breadth of Etruria is filled up with a range of hills, extending from the river Clanis as far as the sea.

This region, like Umbria, is a country of flocks and herds. Some of the hills rise to a height of two thousand feet above the level of the sea. On their green slopes the sheep and goats crop the pasturage, and herds of fine cattle find their satisfaction to the Tuscan herdsmen. The southern part of Etruria has a lower level and a milder climate, approximating in character the adjacent districts of Latium. At a few points on the coast the hilly ridges of the interior jut out into headlands, and an occasional bay or inlet furnishes an adequate haven for them that go down to the sea in ships.

The remaining state of the central portion of the Italian peninsula is LATIUM, within whose borders near the northern frontier stood the capital of the world. The province is bounded on the east by Samnium and the land of the Marsi; on the north, by the Sabini and Etruria; on the west and south, by the sea and Campania. This was the land of the Latini, one of the most ancient peoples of Italy.

At first, the name was limited to the *territory* occupied by that noted tribe; but afterwards when the Hernici, the Æqui, and the Volsci were conquered, the limits of the province were extended to the boundaries recognized in the times of the Republic. The climate of Latium was almost as genial as that of Campania, and the fertility was such as to rival the best portions of the peninsula. Along the northern border lay the valley of the Tiber, which, with the tributary Anio, drained the country eastward to the highlands of the Marsi. South of the Tiber and next the coast lay the extensive plain occupied by the ancient Latini. Further inland, in the same region were the Alban Hills, so noted in the early history of Rome. In the south of the province a chain of highlands extends from the valley of the Liris westward to the coast, thus cutting off the country of the Ausones from the rest of Latium. On the eastern frontiers, the hill-country of this province was productive in the apple, the olive, and the vine; while the lower plains yielded abundant crops of grain. Such in brief is an outline of the geography and products of that great peninsula whence sprang

"The Latin race, the Alban fathers and walls of lofty Rome."

CHAPTER LIII.—THE PEOPLE.



F the ethnic affinities of the LATIN RACE something has already been said incidentally in the history of the Persians and the Greeks. Like them, the Romans belonged to the great Aryan or Indo-European family of nations. The Greek and Latin languages, if other evidence were wanting, prove conclusively the original tribal identity of the two races by which they were spoken. The institutions of the two peoples also, springing naturally into existence under the necessity of their surroundings and the impulse of innate preference, point with equal certainty to the primitive unity of the Græco-Italic race. On every side we are confronted with like indications of the original oneness of those strong nations by which the eastern and central peninsulas of Southern Europe were colonized, peopled, dominated, raised to unequivocal supremacy over the surrounding nations.

While it is certain, however, that the Greeks and Romans were descended from the same original stock, the particular relationship of the two races is not so definitely known. On this point the several prevalent theories bear the marks of plausibility rather than of certainty. One view is that from the point of Asiatic origin, the Hellenic tribes, making their way westward, constituted one migration, and the Italians another. A second view is that the Græco-Italic race began and long maintained its migratory movement as a single body or group of tribes, and that after reaching Europe one of the races, in some prehistoric epoch, was deflected or differentiated from the other. If this theory be the correct one, it is fairly safe to affirm that the principal migration was the Italian, and that the offshoot from this was the Hellenic stock. It is the opinion of many profound scholars that the Hellenes were the youngest of the Aryan tribes in Europe.

If with a view to determining the relative seniority of the two races an appeal be made to the languages which they spoke, the testimony is strangely conflicting; for, while in some respects the grammatical forms of Greek are more archaic than those of Latin, on the other hand much of the structure of the latter language is more ancient than that of the former. Of the original speech, the Latin has preserved the ablative case, which in the process of linguistic decay was dropped from the Greek. Several of the forms of the verb *to be*, in Latin, are more closely allied to the Sanskrit original than the corresponding forms in the language of the Hellenes. But, on the other hand, the dual number of Greek nouns and the middle voice of the verb are a relic of primitive forms no longer found in Latin. These facts would seem to indicate that the two races left the Asiatic homestead and came into Europe by distinct migrations, and that the Græco-Italic tribes were not in prehistoric times so intimately associated as many scholars have been led to believe.

Like the Greeks, the primitive Italians preserved no traditions of those migratory movements by which the ancestral tribes were thrown into the peninsula. They, too, believed themselves to be born of the earth. They were indigenous. They sprang from the glebe. The story of migrations and tribal vicissitudes was the invention of the poets of later ages, and was unknown to the immediate descendants of those great ancestors who were said to have come from foreign shores.

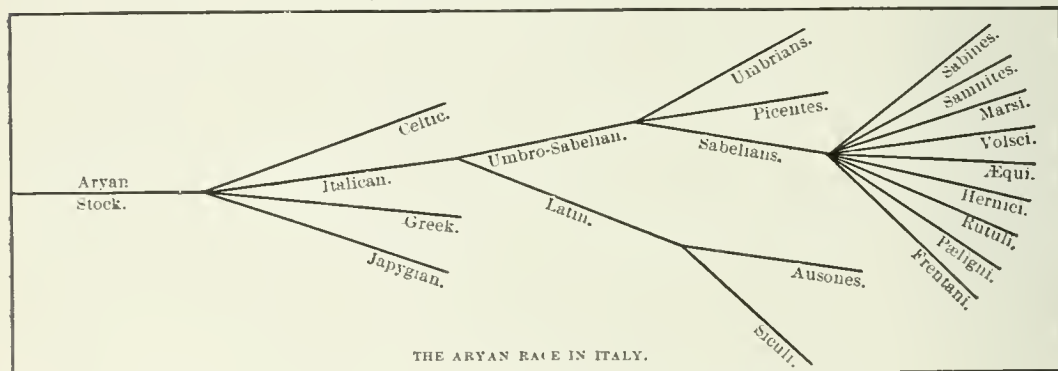
The most ancient people of the Italian peninsula were the PELASGIANS—that primitive stock of mankind which seems to have been diffused in the most ancient times through the whole of Southern Europe. This race constitutes the substratum of all succeeding populations. Beneath the Umbrian and Oscan crust, beneath the oldest Hellenic colonies of the south of Italy, is spread the work of this prehistoric people. The Pelasgic stock withal,

itself perhaps an elder sister of the Greek and Latin races, seems to have had an unfortunate career. They were ground between the upper and nether millstones of the barbarians and the Hellenes.

In Italy, however, it is clearly evident that the foundations of religion, of property, and of law were laid by the Pelasgians at a time long anterior to the advent of the Latins. At this epoch these people appear to have been scattered from Etruria to the Bosphorus. In the Greek states of Argolis, Attica, and Arcadia, in the south-western part of Central Italy, and even in Spain, the Pelasgic monuments have survived every vicissitude. Monstrous blocks of hewn stone, built into massive walls which the ages have not been able to

believed—by Jason, the Pelasgic god of medicine; and it is thought that the adjacent towns of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Marcina were founded under similar auspices. In the valley of the Tiber the towns of Tibur and Falerii had an Argive—probably a Pelasgic—origin.

In Etruria there were said to be twelve Pelasgian cities, and in the country south of the Tiber twelve others. The names of these settlements are in many instances the same as those of Greece and Asia Minor.¹ A like identity is noticeable in the ancient local names of Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, Central Greece, the eastern shores of the Ægean, and the Italian peninsula—a circumstance which can be accounted for in no other way



shatter, bear witness here and there to the presence and work of a race worthy of something better than oblivion.

Nearly all the coasts of Italy were held by the Pelasgians. It is believed that most of the colonies came from Arcadia. Of this class were the peoples known as Ænotrians and Peucetians. Another group were the Tyrrhenian Pelasgi, thought to have been from Asia Minor. These founded the towns of Cere, Tarquinii, Ravenna, and Spina—the latter being on the site of Venice. On the coast of Latium the Argive Pelasgians obtained a foothold. Here were built the town of Ardea, with its King Turnus, and Antium, founded by his brother. Rome itself was originally a Pelasgic settlement. Near the modern Salerno the ancient temple of the Argive Juno was built—if tradition may be

than by the early distribution of the Pelasgic race over all those widely distant regions.

Notwithstanding the great dispersion of this primitive people; notwithstanding the fact that they planted in all their colonies the seeds of law, of property, and of religion; notwithstanding the other fact that they built in Argos and Etruria those eternal ramparts of hewn stone over which all succeeding generations have clambered and all revolutions have swept in vain, yet the race itself perished and disappeared from history. There is no example of

¹ The original identity of the Pelasgians with the Græco-Italic family is strongly indicated in such facts as that mentioned in the text. Thus the twelve Etruscan and twelve Latin towns of the Pelasgi correspond with the twelve townships into which Attica was divided, as well as with the twelve Ionian, twelve Æolic, and twelve Doric cities of Asia Minor.

a more complete destruction. The Cyclopean ruins are their only monument. The Greek historians, when referring to them, do so in a tone of contempt and hatred; and the few traditions which are thus left on record of the primitive people are unfavorable to their character. Dark deeds of blood are vaguely hinted at. Thus we are told that the women of Lemnos strangled all their husbands in a single night; also that Phocian prisoners were stoned to death by the people of Argylla.

Such references, however, are but another example of the proverbial dislike displayed by warlike tribes towards the primitive agricultural and pastoral peoples whom they displace. The Pelasgians were of precisely this peaceable type. They worshiped the subterranean gods who give the wealth of the field and the mine. They loved the earth for its gold and its corn. The worship of the dragons, the serpent-gods, the great and violent agents of transformation and destruction, such as the wind, the storm, the fire, seemed to them the worship of magicians rather than of men.

The peace-loving and industrious Pelasgians were assailed with merciless severity by the warlike races coming from the East. It seemed also that nature became hostile. About the time when Italy was invaded by the new peoples there were earthquakes in divers places. Volcanic eruptions made the land a terror. Severe droughts parched the fields into dust and stubble. Then the priests told the Pelasgians that their promise to give a tenth of all they had to the gods had not been fulfilled, for the tenth of the children had been spared. Then human nature revolted. The Pelasgi gave up in despair and scattered into foreign lands. They were pursued, taken, made into slaves. So did the people of Central Greece to those who came within their power. So did the Hellenes who settled in Magna Græcia to the native population of *Ænotria*. So did the invaders of the western coast to those whom they found in Latinum and Etruria. It thus happened that that portion of the original population of Italy which did not fly into foreign parts was gradually absorbed by the conquering tribes of Oscans and Umbrians and Latins.

The next stage in the ethnic history of the ancient Italy is that which considers the races last mentioned. The relations of the Umbrians to the Pelasgi, whether they were or were not themselves Pelasgic in their origin or kinship, can never perhaps be ascertained. Certain it is that in the earliest times those people were spread from sea to sea in the northern part of Central Italy, and were not by any means confined to the district of country which afterwards retained their name. There are many traditions of their power and greatness. By and by, however, the Etruscans on the west began to make conquests, and are said to have taken three hundred Umbrian towns. The territorial limits of the parent state were thus greatly curtailed, and the Umbrians were finally confined to the country east of the Apennines.

The science of language has shown conclusively that the Umbrians were of the same family with the other Italic races—the Oscans, the Latins, and the Etruscans. It appears that the celebrated tribe of the Sabines was Umbrian in its origin. Indeed, the territory of these hardy mountaineers was originally a part of the parent state. It is also known that the Senonian Gauls, inhabiting the shores of the upper Adriatic, expelled the Umbrians from a portion of the territory which they had originally occupied in that region, thus further curtailing their original territory.

After the Romans began their bold career, they came in contact with the Umbrians beyond the Ciminian forest. The relations of the two people were at first friendly, but afterwards, when Rome was engaged in the Etruscan war, a portion of the Umbrian tribes—which seem withal to have had no common government—took sides with the Etruscans, and were thus with the other enemies of Rome involved in a common ruin. As soon as Etruria was subjugated the consul Fabius turned his arms against the remaining tribes, and the whole territory was, in a brief period, obliged to yield to Roman domination.

The second of these ancient peoples of Italy was the *ETRUSCANS*. Their language and institutions were quite strongly discriminated from those of the Umbrians, the Oscans, and

the Latins. No problem in modern scholarship has more exercised the ingenuity of the learned than the question of the origin of the Etruscan nation. By the ancients this people was regarded as of Lydian origin; but that hypothesis, of which the Father of History is himself the author, has been either abandoned or modified by modern scholars. The Herodotian tradition is to the effect that Atys, king of Lydia, had two sons, Lydus and Tyrsenus, the former of whom gave his name to the paternal dominions, and the latter, being driven forth by a famine, migrated with a portion of the people, and landing on the western coast of Italy, in what was then the territory of the Umbrians, began a conquest of the country. The colonists were first known as Tyrseni, and afterwards as Etruscans.

Without presuming to decide the worth or worthlessness of this tradition, it is sufficient to say that recent researches in the sciences of language and history have shown almost conclusively that the Etruscans were a composite or mixed people. It appears that in Southern Etruria the old Pelasgic race continued to occupy the country, and in their descendants constituted the bulk of the more recent Etruscan population. Just as the Pelasgians of Cœnotria, or Southern Italy, remained as a subject race, to be assimilated by the Hellenes of Magna Græcia—just as the same substratum of population was first overrun and then absorbed by the colony of Æneas—so in Etruria the old Pelasgic stock was blended with the invading people and gradually lost under their domination. It has been ascertained that the invaders in this instance came from the north, that they retained their own language, though in a modified form, as well as their religious institutions, but received the arts and civilization of the people whom they subdued. Nor must the third element in the Etruscan population be omitted from the discussion. As said above, the UMBRIANS for a long period included Etruria within their dominions. The ruling class was thus Umbrian in character, and gradually influenced the whole body of the people, especially in the northern districts of the territory. It should not be forgotten, however, that all of the movements here described oc-

curred at a period long anterior to the beginnings of authentic history.

After the invading Tyrseni, or Etruscans, had once permanently established their authority in the country the state rapidly rose to influence and power. Before the period of Roman dominion the fame of Etruria widely extended both by land and sea. They gave their name to the western ocean, which was thenceforth known as the Tyrrhenian or Tuscan Sea. They extended their authority beyond the Apennines, and carried their settlements into the valley of the Padus as far as the foothills of the Alps. Here, again, we have the unmistakable marks of tradition, for the cities of Etruria proper were twelve in number, and so also were the colonies beyond the Apennines. On the south, also, the Etruscans succeeded in extending their authority as far as the limits of Campania, and on this part of the coast the traditional twelve cities were likewise founded. Of these, it is believed that the principal were Capua, Nola, Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Marcina, all of which are conceded to have had an Etruscan or Pelasgic origin.

At the same time that the territorial limits of Etruria were thus widened the vigor of her people was rapidly gaining the ascendancy at sea. The Tyrrhenians became a race of bold and hardy navigators. They fitted out great navies, both for commerce and for war. The people, especially of Southern Etruria, became seafaring in their habits. Having acquired the supremacy in the Western seas, they turned their prow to the East, and competed for the carrying trade of the Ægean islands. They established colonies in Corsica, which afterward fell into the hands of the Carthaginians, and it has even been maintained that some of the most ancient settlements of Sardinia were of Etruscan origin.

The position of the city of Rome, near the northern frontiers of Latium, and but a few miles from the border of Etruria, brought on an early conflict between the two peoples. Romulus himself engaged in war with the Veii, just across the Etruscan line. His own city was, as is well known, made up of a composite and not very select population, part of which was of Tuscan origin. The Cælian Hill was

appropriated to this class of the people; and it is a part of tradition that the two Tarquins owed a part of their bad fame to the fact that they were Etruscans. The fall of the Veii was the first step—as the defeat, in B. C. 283, of the Etruscans by Fabius Maximus at the Vadimonian Lake was the last—in the work of subjugating Etruria to the Romans.

The next of the ancient Italian peoples requiring our attention were the OSCANS, called by the Greeks the Opicians, or Ausones. Their territory adjoined the country of the CENOTRIANS on the north, and embraced Campania as its center. The district, however, occupied by the Oscans extended northward into Latium, and eastward across the peninsula. The people were thus a kind of central race in Italy, having the Pelasgic CENOTRIANS on the south, and the Umbrians and Etruscans on the north. From the Oscan language it is definitely known that the original tribe had a close race-affinity with the Latins. The two tongues, indeed, are but cognate dialects of the same speech—a fact which has led to the remark of Niebuhr that if a single book written in the Oscan language had been preserved we should have little difficulty in deciphering it.

The earliest movement of the Oscans from their original seats appears to have been their spreading into Samnium. To what extent this country was subjugated by them can not be certainly known, but the likelihood is that they became, and continued for a long time, the dominant people of that state. It is believed, moreover, that the Volscians and the Æquians were Oscan tribes, as was also the colony at Reate, which afterward descended from its highland position and became a part of the composite family of Latini.

The first foreign aggression made upon the territory of the Oscans was by the mountain tribe of the SABINES. According to tradition these warlike people descended upon their more quiet neighbors of Samnium, and easily overran the province. They were fewer in number than the people whom they subdued, but easily kept the mastery of the subject district. It is one of the earliest examples of a tribe of conquerors residing among the conquered and acquiring their language and habits. By this

union was formed the race of the SAMNITES, destined to bear so important a part in the early history of Rome. It is related, however, that the governing class in ancient Samnium was driven out by the Sabine invasion, and that these expelled people, retiring into Latium, combined with the immigrant LATINI to form that composite body of population known as the Latin race. It should also be remarked that the linguistic changes effected by the conquest of the Oscan Samnites by the Sabines, and the union of the Samnian language with that of the incoming Latini, were slight and unimportant; for all these tribes alike spoke dialects of that Græco-Italic speech which was diffused through all the West as far as the borders of Hispania.

It is proper in this connection to add a few words respecting those strong primitive tribes which inhabited the hill-country lying east of Latium and Samnium. The most important of these mountaineers were the Sabines, or Sabellians. The original seats of this hardy people were in the lofty ranges of the central Apennines. It was from this vantage ground that, as we have just seen, they descended upon and expelled the Oscans of Samnium. The center of Sabine influence was thus carried towards the west. Several of the surrounding nations claimed their descent from the people of the Sabine Hills. Thus did the Piceni, who in historical times held the district of Picenum; as did also the Peligni and the Vestini—the latter, indeed, representing themselves as an original Sabine tribe. It has even been claimed that the more celebrated race of the Frentani, occupying the large and valuable territory on the Adriatic coast, north of the *spur* of Italy, was of a Samnite, and, therefore, of a Sabine, origin. Nor do some ethnographers hesitate to affirm that the Lucanians were the descendants of a Samnite colony, planted within the limits of ancient CENOTRIA. Thus were the Sabines distributed from the frontiers of Umbria and Etruria on the north to the Gulf of Tarentum and the borders of Bruttium.

That Italian people, however, with whom history is most concerned, were the great race of the LATINS. All the ancient authors are agreed in regarding them as a tribe distinct from the

Volscians and Æquians on the one hand, and from the Etruscans and Sabines on the other. The old writers also agree that the Latini were a mixed people, and not the descendants of a single tribe. Tradition records in what manner the mixture was effected. Father Æneas, prince of Troy, son of Anchises and Venus, fled from the ruins of the city which had just been sacked by Agamemnon and his Greeks, and taking his father, his son, and a company of refugees, escaped into foreign lands. After seven years of wandering the colony came, under the guidance of fate, to the shores of Latium. Here the native tribes—the aborigines, so called by the Latin authors—were ruled by their king, Latinus. With him Æneas, led on by the promise that he should become the founder of a great state and nation, went to war. Latinus was killed, and his subjects incorporated with the immigrant people. To make the union secure, and to win the affections of the conquered tribe, Æneas married Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, thus recognizing the royalty of the native line. The combined people became the Latini. Iulus, son of the great Trojan leader, founded Lavinium. He became king of Alba, and from him were Romulus and Remus descended.

This tradition is further elaborated by Cato and Varro, who make the population already existing in Latium previously to the Trojan immigration to have been itself a mixed race. By these authors it is stated that the aboriginal Pelasgic tribes had been conquered by a race which came down from the Central Apennines. The old people were called the Siculi, and the new were these leading Samnites, who had been driven from their own territories by the Sabines, as already narrated. With the lapse of time a union of the dominant and subject tribes in Latium was effected; and this composite people was in its turn amalgamated with the Trojan colonists to form those Latini who were the principal actors in the drama of early Rome.

It will thus appear that the Latin race was composed of two principal elements, both of an unmistakable Aryan, or Indo-European origin. Of the two peoples that combined to constitute the Latins, the one was allied by

race affinity to the Græco-Pelasgic family, and the other with the Oscan or primitive Italic stock; but both were traceable, albeit by different routes, to the same Asiatic source. Whatever may be the value of the various traditions, how far soever from the truth the fictions of the credulous historians and poets of the classical ages may fall from an actual solution of the prehistoric problems of the Roman race, certain it is that this great people had an origin in common with the Greeks and the Celts, the Persians and the Hindus. They were all Aryan and all descended from that vast fountain of human power and enterprise, the old Bactrian homestead of all the Indo-European peoples.

The first conquest made by the Latins was that of the RUTULI. These were a prehistoric tribe living in Latium at the time of the Trojan immigration. Their capital town was Ardea, a colony established at a very early period by Pelasgian Argives. It is said by Niebuhr to have been the chief maritime city of Latium in the times preceding the coming of Æneas. The Latins made war upon the Rutuli, and it is not wonderful that the latter, a peaceable people, should have been overcome by the descendants of Eastern warriors. From the first, Æneas and his successors adopted the policy of incorporating the subjugated tribes with the Latins. By this means the process of race-composition was carried on to an extent not often equaled in the beginnings of national history. In a short time there was grouped about Alba Longa a confederation of friendly cities. Finally, the capital town was destroyed and its people removed to ROME. With that event the supremacy previously claimed and exercised by Alba was transferred to the new city on the Tiber. The other Latin cities, however, were slow to recognize the leadership of the ambitious town of Romulus, and made a league to prevent the usurpation. This alliance was supported by the people known as *Prisci Latini*, that is, Ancient Latins—an appellation which may have owed its origin to the fact that those who composed the league supported the old *regime* rather than the assumptions advanced by the early kings of Rome.

For generations not a few the claims of the Latin cities to be independent of the successors of Romulus were maintained with varying success until at last, in B. C. 493, a treaty was concluded between the parties by which an alliance on terms of equality was effected and the conditions of peace determined for a long period of time. From this date the consolidated race was known as ROMAN, but the term *Latii* has ever been retained as the name of the sonorous and powerful language which was destined to reverberate from the Forum and become the depository of law for all civilized nations.

Such is a brief general sketch of the various races which contributed to populate the Italian peninsula. Under the leadership of Rome the primitive nations were first conquered and then unified. A national type was established. The people became Romans. In the distant states—Calabria, Bruttium, Liguria, Venetia—the provincial character remained; but the distinction between these provincial populations and the Romans of Latium was nothing more than that which has always obtained between the capital district and the outskirts of a great state. It remains to notice briefly the physical, intellectual, and moral qualities exhibited by this race in the days of its grandeur.

The Roman character was one of great strength. Its outlines are strongly marked; the features are unmistakable. The Assyrians have been called the Romans of the East. With equal propriety the Romans may be called the Assyrians of the West. In both races there was the same robustness. In both, vigor predominated over delicacy. Whether in himself or in his work the Roman had an excess of naked brawn. The profile of his activity is striking in every feature. After two thousand years the word *Roman*, as applied to human character and endeavor, is still spelled with a *capital*: the reference is to the *race* rather than to the *idea*. It implies the possession of those coarse, strong qualities of personality which make up in force what they lack in refinement.

The Roman was intensely *practical*. He was a man of business. His heroes were men

of business. He looked to results. There was always an end in view—an aim to his endeavor. Ideal pursuits were left to others. He was a man without a reverie. His life was one of gain or loss. Each day told in some way upon the question at issue. It either carried him further from his object or brought him near to the goal. Not that the end sought was always worthy. Not that the struggle was always noble, or the work always done in honor. It was sufficient that the affair should be undertaken with vigor and prosecuted with success. The outcome must justify the beginning. It was business. Take the case of Æneas. How little ideal! How devoid of sentiment! What an abominable lover! Did his love had no more effect on him than on a man of terra cotta. His business called him away. He must go over to Latium and kill Turnus and build a town! Such was the hero created by the epic muse of the Augustan Age, and the Romans thought him admirable!

The man of the Tiber was little susceptible to impressions. He was a cause rather than an effect. The verb of his daily life was never in the passive. When he said *pœnit* me there was some good cause, some sudden softening of the season or fatal reverse of fortune. Nature impressed him but little. How seldom are the skies and the stars referred to in the poems of Horace! What has he to say of the birds and the flowers? One can well imagine that when the Apulian bard sings of the flood that carried the fishes into the top of the elm, he would fain have had them for his breakfast.

The Latin literature reflects but faintly the harmonies of nature, the wonders of cloud and sky, the grandeur of the universe. That second sight, which seeing behind the imperfect outlines of natural forms the ideal of the thing more beautiful becomes the creative genius of poetry, was wanting in the Roman bards. They sang of life and manners, of politics and the state, of commerce and of war. But those sentiments which are born of dream and reverie found but a feeble echo on the harp-strings of the bards of Rome.

Prominent among the mental characteristics of the Roman should be mentioned his *reso-*

luteness of purpose. He was capable of pursuing his object with unwavering steadfastness and persistency. It is hardly possible to conceive of two characters more unlike, as it respects continuity of purpose, than those of the Roman and the Greek. The latter was fickle and vacillating. What he could not undertake at once and complete with *éclat* and enthusiasm, he hesitated to enter upon at all. Like the modern Parisian, he was the victim of all the winds that blew. He shouted in victory, and wailed in defeat. He was capable of the most ecstatic elevation of feeling in one moment, and the most dismal depression of spirits in the next. Not so the Roman. He took the buffetings of fortune with the same unwavering mood with which he received the intelligence of triumph. It was not apathy, not impassiveness, but that iron resolution which enabled him to bear the ills and calamities of life, and to give to those who witnessed his demeanor slight sign of disappointment, and none at all of despair. The history of those long-continued wars by which the Romans became the masters first of Italy and then of the world, is, for the indomitable persistency with which they were renewed and prosecuted until opposition could no longer lift its head, without a parallel in the annals of the world.

To the Roman no defeat was final. He renewed the conflict. Reverses meant no more than delay. The besieged town was only seemingly impregnable. The hostile army had only the appearance of defiance. The foreign nation was invincible only for a season. If one general could not conquer, another could. If one army—one fleet was annihilated, another rose in its stead. Mountains, rivers, the broad expanse of ocean, the trackless waste of desert sand—what though all these interposed between the Roman and his purpose? His resolution grew by the encounter with obstacles. North, south, east, and west, he urged his way against opposition that would have appeared appalling to a less defiant spirit. He came to consider himself the man of destiny. His city and his state had been assured to his ancestors by the gods. The will of the deities was supreme. Fate could not be reversed. The City of the Seven Hills was decreed to be the mistress of

the world. Why should a race that knew itself to be the coadjutors of the supernal powers falter in its onward march or quail before the pitiful array of enemies? In the early career of the Roman people there was something of that resolution, born of a belief in destiny, which marked the course of the Mohammedans in the seventh century.

The *ambition* of the Roman reached to the horizon. He hungered for power, and what he desired he strove for. The Roman race was flung upon what was then the western frontier of the world. Civilization, refinement, luxury, these lay to the east. The West was surrounded with barbarism. To create a new world greater than the old, to build the ramparts of an imperishable state, to make that state triumphant over her foes, to conquer great nations, to grind into dust and servitude whatever opposed the onward progress—such was the dream of the man who made his home by the Tiber. The great generals of the Republic fought to make Rome glorious. It was their ambition to spread the renown of the Latin race to the borders of the world, and to ride proudly at the head of the triumph, bringing trains of captives into the Imperial City.

Coupled with this ambition was *vanity*. The Roman people were vain, rather than proud. One may well be astonished at the existence of such a quality in such a race. As a general rule, there was no flattery or adulation which Roman greed was not ready to swallow. The egotism of the average man of the city was as inordinate as it was obtrusive. Hardly one of the great Romans was free from the vice of personal vanity. They were vain of their deeds, vain of their name, vain of their rank, vain of themselves. Cicero was as self-conceited as it is possible to conceive of in one of such ample talents and learning. He considered his own eloquence as something marvellous. He was as much concerned about his periods as about the Catilinarian Conspiracy. Hardly could he address the Senate without referring to his title of Father of his Country. He would keep his countrymen reminded that that august degree had been conferred on him by Cato! The greatness of Julius Caesar

but half redeems the pages of the *Gallic War* from the charge of inordinate vanity. Even if the book had been written by another, it would appear vainglorious in its praises of the commanding general. The name of Cæsar blazes on every page. In battle, according to his own report, he was both leader and host. *Cæsari omnia uno tempore erant agenda*, says that distinguished author of his own part in the conflict with the Nervii. "Cæsar had every thing to do at once. He had to bring out the standard, to sound the trumpet, to call back some soldiers who had gone too far to the front, to draw up the battle line, to exhort his men, to give the signal for fight." In all this there appeared no immodesty either to the general himself or to his countrymen. How unlike is the narrative to that given by Xenophon of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks!

The Roman was a *man of war*. His ancestor Romulus was begotten by Mars, the Bruiser. Remus, who had in him some of his mother's tenderness, was beaten to death with a club. The fratricide became the founder of the city. Like ancestor, like descendant. From the first there was blood on the escutcheon. It was a famous band of robbers gathered there on the Capitol Hill. They built and fought. They spoiled their neighbors. They took what they could, and then took the remainder. Compunction there was none. To feel remorse was to be a woman. To kill was necessary. The reeking battle-field with its thousands of dead but whetted the appetite for more. War was a business. Peace was tame. The sword was the principal thing.

Another quality of the Roman mind, which has proved of great benefit to the world, was its *love of order and unity*. Antiquity was chaotic. Greece reigned by art, not by order. The Greek mind seemed incapable of entertaining a vast and orderly scheme. There was local brilliancy, but the stars swung loose in space and had no center. We see the mighty intelligence of Pericles, of Plato, of Demosthenes, struggling on with little appreciation of a cosmos in human society. Institutions remained isolated. There was much development of the individual, none of the state.

Social order came by evolution. It was in

Rome that this great fact first appeared. Alexander may have entertained the concept, but his ambition overleaped itself. He scattered the Greek language and culture. His successors brought back the arts and culture of the East. But society remained chaotic. Indeed, there never was a time when in the most enlightened parts of the world disorder more reigned than in the epoch succeeding the death of Alexander the Great. It was left for the Roman to build on orderly principles the first great state. His lawgivers were not of the type of Solon and Lycurgus. The sages of the Eternal City were a Senate of equals. They were the fathers of society. The Roman law *grew*. It was an objective adaptation of means to ends. Greek legislation was for the greater part ideal. The Lycurgian statutes were wholly, and the Solonian for the greater part, evolved out of the consciousness of their respective authors. With far less intellectual acuteness, the Romans were the better law-makers. Under their enactments society became a body politic. Unity was attained. The fierce broils of the Patricians and the Plebeians did not send their disquieting influences deep enough to disturb the fundamental principles of order in the state. Around this central fact the municipality of Rome became a government, having its functions and adaptations. Around this all Latium, and then all Italy, was centralized. The Roman race attained solidarity. Even the subject nations, while hating the stern power by which they had been subdued, fastened themselves to it, and ultimately came to look upon the great unit as a shield against barbarism.

It was of great advantage to the world that such a political power should exist. The commonplace grandeur of the Roman mind was of precisely the kind and degree to grapple with the problem of government. It rose to the level of politics, but not to the level of philosophy. The epoch had dawned when a good lawyer was more necessary than a great thinker; when stability with liberty was better than chaos with freedom. This necessity was supplied by Rome. She gave the civilization of practicality, of adaptation, of solid construction, which promised durability to civil insti-

tutions and order to society. The government which was thus contrived and the laws which sprang into existence under these conditions had in them the elements of perpetuity; and

In moral qualities the Romans were not unlike the Greeks. A fair consideration, however, of the relative characters of the two races would concede the superiority to the



FLOWER GIRL OF ROME.

Although the repose of mankind was postponed to remote ages and distant climes, yet far more than ever before were the conditions of social melioration secured under the auspices of the Roman race.

former. In the earlier times of the Republic, though there was much savage barbarity displayed by her people, yet were the sterling virtues at such a premium as to merit the praise which has been bestowed by succeeding

generations. The craft and subtlety of the Grecian character were generally despised by the early Romans. True it is, that when the interests of the Republic seemed to be imperiled, the reasons which the conscience of Rome discovered for adopting a given course of conduct were frequently of a sort which could not be defended in a court of genuine morality. But the Senate of Rome never openly avowed an immoral principle of action. The conscience of the Republic would deceive itself with casuistry and false precedents; but the thing resolved on, when once the question had been decided, was, thenceforth, defended as both right and expedient. Nor does it appear that the fatal facility with which the Greeks were in the habit of justifying the means by the ends found a frequent lodgment in the Roman mind. Perhaps, the practicality of the people of Latium led them to the conviction that an honorable course in the transaction of affairs was, in the long run, more expedient than that duplicity with which the crafty races of antiquity were in the habit of entangling themselves. At any rate, the moral integrity of the Romans was not often shaken from its pillars.

The international affairs of the states of antiquity were generally transacted by means of embassies. The modern expedients of diplomatic correspondence and of ministers resident had not yet been adopted by the unskillful and suspicious governments of the Old World. It was in the instructions given to ambassadors sent abroad that the average national morality was most easily discovered. Here it was that the conflict between interest and jealousy on the one hand, and right principles of action on the other was most hotly waged. The embassies sent out by Rome were generally characterized by integrity and fair dealing. By such bodies an appeal was nearly always made to justice. Nor are instances wanting in which the current interests of the state were apparently sacrificed by the legati and Senate rather than violate the imperfect codes of the times, or run counter to an existing treaty.

The Romans generally kept a compact even with the foe, and during a period of five hundred years, the records of the Republic are

stained with fewer acts of treachery than are those of any other ancient nation. True it is that when the consul Posthumius, in the disaster of the Caudine Forks, had made a treaty with the Samnite Pontius, unfavorable to the interests of the state, the Senate refused either to ratify the compact or to put the army again into the power of the enemy, but a justification for this rare procedure was found in the assertion that Posthumius *had no right* to make a disgraceful treaty with the enemy of Rome. As a general rule the Senate kept faith even with the barbarians. Numberless traditions have preserved the records of the moral heroism of the Romans. From Virginius to Regulus, and from Regulus to the mother of the Gracchi, the annals of the imperial city are filled with the stories of the moral heroism of her people.

The private and domestic morality of the Romans was also superior to that of the other



ROMAN MATRON, DRESSED IN STOLA.
Museo Borbonico, Rome.

Aryan nations. The Roman hearth-stone was the sanctuary of the virtues of home. Monogamy was the law of the state. There was a consequent elevation of motherhood, and a

recognition of domestic ties well calculated to preserve the purity of the fountain of society. It appears, too, that the Roman father was less castaway in his domestic habits than almost any other man of antiquity. He was bound to his offspring by true paternal feelings. In his son he recognized the rightful heir to his own place in the state when the same should be vacant, and in his daughter one of the prospective matrons of Rome. In the society of Greece, it was generally the *hetæra* who shared the counsels and confidence of the man of her choice; but in Rome it was the wife who was thus honored and trusted by her lord. It is certain that more examples of sublime motherhood under the sanction of law, and of wifehood under the sanction of affection, can be adduced from the annals of the Roman Republic than from the domestic records of any other ancient people. So long as the names of Lucretia and Cornelia, of Horatia and Portia, remain in the literature of the world, so long will the matrons of Rome continue to be held in honor.¹

In person the people of the Roman race were strongly discriminated from those of other nations. In stature they were above the average of the races of the East, but were lower than the stalwart tribes of the North. The Roman had neither the symmetry of the Greek nor the heavy muscles of the Assyrian. His bodily form was between these two extremes. In endurance, however, he was, perhaps, the equal, if not the superior, of either. His features were of a type peculiar to itself. The delicacy of the Grecian outline has here given place to strength and severity. Beauty has yielded to impressiveness. National character is written in every line. The mastery of the world was possible only to a man with such a visage. The Greek face was artistic; the Ro-

man, masterful. The one was beautiful; the other, strong. The ideal expression of the one gives place to the stern resolve of the other. Here are the protruding chin, the firm set mouth, the deep furrows in the facial muscles; above all, the tremendous aquiline nose, standing out defiantly against every menace of barbarism; the saturnine brows, heavy with great purposes; the large head, broad between the ears, and mounted on a neck strong enough for one of the gods—a physiognomy never to be mistaken for that of any other than the man of the Imperial City.

As already said, the Roman stature was not above the average of the Western peoples. It was in strength rather than unwieldy proportions that the soldier of the legion surpassed his contemporary destroyers. Both of these facts—the medium height and great muscular power of the Romans—are fully attested by the size and weight of the weapons carried by the legionaries, as well as by many references in Latin literature. It was only in comparison with the monstrous Gauls and Germans that the bodies of the Romans appeared to be dwarfed to insignificant proportions. In this case the disparity in size was such as to excite the comments if not the ridicule of the Northern giants.¹

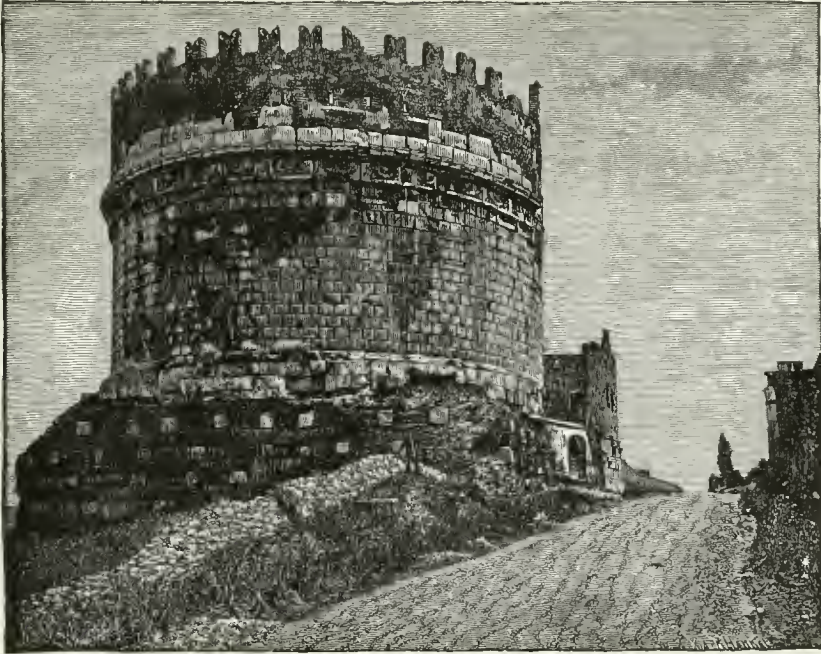
In the display of bodily power and activity the Romans consistently gave themselves to the practical. Rome was massive in every part. Here was achieved a solid grandeur never before equaled except in the valley of the Nile. There was no trifling in the great works undertaken by the Latin race. The building seemed to be for eternity. Take the Appian Way. Observe the spirit in which it was conceived and executed. Stretching down through the whole length of Latium and Cam-

¹The above sketches of the genius and character of the Romans are purposely drawn from the times preceding the Empire. Although Roman civilization rose with the age of Augustus, and subsequently to a splendor never attained under the Republic, yet the vices of luxury came also, and the heroism of the early Roman character rapidly declined. In the chapter on Manners and Customs, the material will be drawn mostly from the times of the Empire.

¹It is related by Cæsar in the *Gallic War* that when, on a certain occasion, he had cooped up in a walled town a band of the huge barbarians of Gaul they came out on the ramparts and made game of the Roman veterans. "What," said they, "are you setting up that tower out there for? How can such diminutives as you bring down that engine against the walls?" "For," says Cæsar with evident mortification, "in comparison with the magnitude of the bodies of the Gauls, our own brevity is a thing of contempt."

pania, and by its branches connecting all the states of Southern Italy, behold its breadth, behold its paving-stones! What a thoroughfare! Built, too, by a blind censor, three hundred years before the Christian era! Take the Cloaca Maxima, conceived by Tarquin the

of this great sewer of primitive Rome. After five centuries Agrippa will sail through it in a boat and find not a stone displaced! It was in such works as these that the genius of the Roman architects and masons found its native element. The national sentiment



THE APPIAN WAY.—TOMB OF CÆCILIA METELLA.

Elder no more than a century and a half after the founding of the city. Behold its subterranean arch, thirty feet in height, all hewn stone—not a particle of cement! Neither Egypt nor Babylon can produce the parallel

scorned the temporary and perishable. The vast and solid structures which gave to the city the epithet *Eternal* were but the reflex of the mighty innate energies of the race of Romulus.

CHAPTER LIV.—ARTS AND LEARNING.



WITH the exception of a few modifications in the styles of architecture, the Romans did not create a single new art. They were peculiarly unoriginal. It is in this respect that the strongest contrast may be drawn between them and the Greeks. The latter were ideal and creative; the former, practical, imitative.

In the early days of the Kingdom and the Republic art was disprized. Nothing was further from the nature and disposition of the old Roman than the artistic reverie—the dream which sees the outlines of beauty. The painter and the sculptor would have found poor patronage in the city of Ancus and Tarquin. In the days of Regulus a masterpiece exhibited in the Senate would have won small fame for its author.

It was only when the conquering armies of the Empire brought home to the city the wealth of vanquished nations that a taste for art began to be cultivated in a soil to which the plant was an exotic. With the coming of wealth and splendor the natural taste of the Roman for whatever conduced to magnificence and grandeur led him to become a patron of that for which he felt no spontaneous enthusiasm. With no native genius for production, he hired others to produce for him. With little inner susceptibility to the charms of artistic beauty, he came to admire in a perfunctory way and by the force of fashion the work of foreign genius. In the spoliation of distant cities he sent home shiploads of statues and paintings to adorn the barren halls and palaces of Rome.

Then came the importation of the artist rather than the art. The city of the Tiber began to create for herself, but to create by proxy. The Roman stood by, much as a master would stand by a servant, and watched the inspired fingers of foreign genius while they created for him and his city the forms of light and beauty.

Now it was that the culture of the Greeks diffused itself in Italy. From the central heart of Rome the skill of Hellas was carried into all lands. Greek artists were employed to do for the Romans what they could not do for themselves. It was by means of this foreign genius, working under Roman orders, that the temples, palaces, and villas of the Eternal City were adorned. Thus was created that Græco-Italic culture which prevailed from the closing days of the Republic to the downfall of the Empire.

From a consideration of these facts it will readily appear that the history of Roman art will be meager. It is essentially the history of Greek art in the West. Instead of a regular development from germinal forms to a full artistic efflorescence, we have in the case of the Romans the history of an exotic, already in bloom, transplanted from foreign shores, and cultivated with a certain coarse tenderness by a people who learned to admire what they could not produce. None the less, a few traces of the primitive arts of Italy are found, and of these a sketch may prove of interest.

As early as the planting of the first seeds of progress in Latium the civilized life had already been assured by the people of Etruria. As already said, they had become a seafaring race, and by their contact with the people of Cyprus, Phœnicia, Carthage, Ionia, and Greece had acquired the rudiments of art-culture. It thus happened that many elements were present in the formation of the artistic tastes of the primitive Etruscans. At the first the Phœnician models were most followed; but the superiority of the Grecian styles were soon recognized, then preponderated over the older styles, and became the prevailing type. Nevertheless, the art of the Etruscans fell far short of its model. We are indebted to the opened graves of Etruria for whatever treasures we possess of the æsthetic skill of that ancient people. From the works thus exhumed we are able to form some notion of the painting, sculpture, ornamentation, and decorative ability of the Etruscan artists, and to measure their inferiority rather than their approach to the excellence of the Greeks. The coloring and design of the Etruscan paintings are crude and imperfect. The sculptures, which are for the most part statuettes done in terra cotta, are so defective in form and expression as scarcely to rise above the level of caricature. It appears, moreover, that Etruscan art contained within itself none of the germs of progress. The old types are adhered to with the fond folly of barbarism, and even in the case of those Grecian specimens which are found in Etruria there has been an evident attempt on the part of the artist to conform his work to the rudeness and archaism of Etruscan models.

At the first the Romans had no images of the gods and built no temples. It is believed that the primitive art-culture of the people of the Tiber was introduced from Etruria. The earliest builders of Rome were Etruscans. In so far as art was cultivated at all in the Sabelian and Latin cities it was of the same type as that prevalent in Etruria. It is reported by tradition that Etruscan workmen were employed to build the Cloaca Maxima. An artist of the same race, named Volcanius, is said to have been procured by Tarquin the Elder, to decorate the temple of Jupiter in the capitol.

In the case of the Romans, however, they seem to have discovered that the works of the Greeks surpassed those of the Etruscans. As early as the times of Servius Tullius sculptors from Greece are said to have furnished statues for the Roman temples. About the middle of the fifth century B. C. it became a custom with the Romans to honor the benefactors and great men of the city with statues set up in the public squares and other conspicuous places. For the production of these works Greek artists were exclusively employed. Henceforth it became a fashion to patronize the chisels of Hellas. The noble and wealthy Roman of the later Republic took the Greek sculptor into his employ with the same sentiments which are entertained by the American millionaire in importing a teacher of Italian or a dancing master from Paris. During the century and a half which preceded the establishment of the Empire—after Greece was overrun and spoliated by the armies of Rome—the actual rape of Greek art began. Every Roman general was expected to bring home a cargo of those beautiful works with which Hellas had adorned herself in the days of her glory.

These splendid art treasures were borne along with thousands of other trophies in the barbaric train of the Roman triumph. They were set up with a sort of sensuous gratification in the temples of the gods and the villas of the nobles. The home of the patrician was no longer complete until it was decorated with some of the spoils of the land of beauty. The miserable social and political condition of Greece led to the exile of her artists. They followed their own works to Italy. They took up their abode in the city of the Tiber, and became therein the nucleus of artistic activity. The shelter of the Republic was grateful even to the foreign sculptors who had no longer any country of their own.

By the middle of the second century before the common era the art of Greece had reached its ultimate development in all directions except one. The classical art had generally preferred repose as its subject. Tremendous action was not often chosen as a theme by the Peri-

clean sculptors. Sometimes the rule was varied. The battles of the Centaurs, on the metope of the Parthenon, give evidence of the powers of the school of Phidias, when action rather than repose was the subject of the work. Still it was the calmness and beauty of the single



COLOSSUS AT RHODES.

statue rather than the struggle and agony of a group which generally gained the preference with the artist of the Classic Age.

It was at this epoch that two new schools arose, not indeed to surpass, perhaps not to rival, the artists of the Periclean age, but rather to give a new direction to the genius of the times. These were the schools of Rhodes and Pergamus. In the former city there was a great burst of intellectual activity. Art and science received a new impulse. It was one of the favored seats of the Imperial Republic. Here were produced those two famous masterpieces the *Laocoön* and the *Farnese Bull*, both

displaying in the highest perfection the possibilities of marble to represent tremendous action. Rhodes became a city of art. Three thousand statues and a hundred colossal figures gave proof of the extraordinary activity of the Rhodian sculptors. One of their works, the Colossus of the Sun-god, standing at the entrance of the harbor, was deemed worthy to be enumerated among the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World.

The school of Pergamus took its rise from the reign of King Attalus I. The works which have been preserved of his times are for the most part single pieces and portions of the memorials erected by him to commemorate his triumph over the Gauls. The subjects chosen are mostly the self-destruction of the Gallic warriors. The figures show almost every possible posture of the suicides, and exhibit remarkable power in portraying the activities of despair and the agonies of death. One of the finest of the works is that of a *Gaul Killing his Wife and Himself*.

Of late years an unusual interest has been awakened by the discoveries made among the ruins of Pergamus by the antiquarians Humann and Conze. A vast number of fragments have been exhumed in a tolerable state of preservation, and sent to the museum of Berlin. From these works a better idea has been attained of the very superior excellence of Pergamenian sculpture. The groups generally represent the combats of the gods with the Giants and Titans. In other pieces sea-monsters and winged demons contend for the mastery. The human figures are larger than life, and are conceived and executed with a spirit and fidelity that would have done credit to the best days of Greek art.

At the same time with this revival and new development of artistic power in the provincial towns of the great Republic there was a renewal of life in the art of Athens. During the century preceding the establishment of the Roman Empire there was great artistic activity in the city of Pericles. Nor were the works produced in this epoch unworthy to rival the best achievements of the classic age. Indeed, until the bringing to London of the masterful work of Phidias, done on the frieze of the

Parthenon, the pre-Augustan sculptures were very properly regarded as the finest in the world. It was in this period that the Athenian Apollonius produced that famous colossal *Hercules*, the stump of which is preserved as the torso of the Belvedere, a work in which tremendous muscular power in repose is better displayed than in any other extant piece of sculpture. The *Farnese Hercules* of the Naples gallery, done by the sculptor Glycon, also belongs to this period of Athenian art. Nor should failure be made to mention the *Venus de Medici*, that marvel of beauty and grace, executed by the chisel of Cleomenes, a work which was justly regarded, until the discovery of the *Venus of Melos*, as the paragon of loveliness in the form of woman. To this period likewise belong the *Borghese Boxer*, the *Apollo Belvedere*, the *Diana of Versailles*, and the *Sleeping Ariadne*.¹ It will thus appear that, though the Romans had but little original genius for art, though their appreciation of art was fluffly and superficial, though they patronized the art of others with a patronizing air, yet under their influence the genius of Greece, of Ionia, of Rhodes, continued to bear a fruit not unworthy to be compared with the best products of the best age of classic art.

The conditions of artistic development here

¹ It is worthy of note that the great works of the Rhodian, Pergamenian, and New Athenian schools are those which have been most celebrated in song and story. Thus in Childe Harold:

“Or, turning to the Vatican, go see
Laocoön's torture dignifying pain—
A father's love and mortal's agony
With an immortal's patience blending:—Vain
The struggle; vain, against the coiling strain
And gripe, and deepening of the dragon's grasp,
The old man's clench; the long envenomed
chain

Rivets the living links,—the enormous asp
Enforces pang on pang, and stifles gasp on gasp.

Or view the Lord of the unerring bow,
The god of Life, and Poesy, and Light—
The Sun in human limbs arrayed, and brow
All radiant from his triumph in the fight;
The shaft hath just been shot—the arrow
bright

With an immortal's vengeance; in his eye
And nostril beautiful disdain, and might
And majesty flash their full lightnings by,
Developing in that one glance the Deity.”

discussed belong to the closing epoch of the Republic and the dawn of the Empire. After the imperial government was once well established, the spirit of artistic creation became enfeebled. There came an era of imitation. The orders of the Roman nobles were given for the reproduction of the old masterpieces rather than for the creation of original work. The new epoch gave itself, also, to portraiture in stone; and this new style of work was developed with remarkable success. Roman vanity delighted in the display of its own deeds. The emperors, especially after the time of Hadrian, having at their command a limitless treasury and every artistic resource which the world could furnish, conceived the idea of preserving themselves alive with posterity by the representation in marble of the great deeds in which they had participated. They accordingly imposed upon the Greek artists of the city the task of carving in relief upon columns, arches, and porticoes those triumphal representations which are still seen in the existing monuments of Rome. Such memorials are the arches of Titus, Septimus, Severus, and Constantine, and the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. The scenes represented in these vast works may be numbered by hundreds, and the separate figures by thousands.

The reliefs of the columns and arches of Rome constitute her best claim to originality in plastic art. The work is executed in a spirit of realism to which the chisel of Greece had been a stranger. The portraiture is actual—drawn from life. The principle of perspective is introduced. The art of the classic age sought to develop perfectly every figure represented in a given scene. The new method on the contrary admitted an indistinct background, in which the figures were massed and developed only by suggestion. This feature is truly Roman. The realistic spirit gained by the process; the idealistic suffered.

After the times of Marcus Aurelius the dangers and disasters of the Empire were so many and grave that the production of great reliefs were retarded and brought to an end. In the ambition to perpetuate their memories, the emperors sometimes despoiled the works of their predecessors to adorn their

own. Constantine himself plundered some of the existing monuments of the city to enrich the arch which bears his name. From this time there is an evident and rapid deterioration in Roman art. The scenes and separate figures are represented with less spirit and less individuality. They assume a conventional type. The portraiture is no longer striking, and the expedient of color is introduced to eke out the defective work of the chisel. Art became handi-work, and the sculptor an artisan.

In the matter of pictorial representation, the Romans have a better claim to originality than in the department of sculpture. There were Roman painters of note as early as B. C. 300. One of the great family of the Fabii, surnamed *Pictor*, was an artist of distinguished reputation. Some of the temples of the city were adorned by his brush, and several ancient frescoes, executed on an elaborate scale, bear witness to his skill as an artist. His work was done in that Græco-Etruscan style which then prevailed throughout Italy. It appears, moreover, that the painting of early Rome was effected by the direct influences of Greek culture as well as by those which had diffused themselves at second-hand through the Etruscan artists. At a later period this branch of Italian art became altogether Greek, the only traces of a distinctly Roman style being seen in a disposition to select subjects from low life and to treat them in a coarse and half barbaric manner.

After the conquest of Greece and the consequent exile of her artists to the West, a change took place in the styles of painting. The old Greeks did most of their pictorial work on panel. This was the style of Apelles and his predecessors. Fresco painting was less cultivated. Under the Empire, however, the latter became the prevailing type. The style appears to have come into favor just after the time of Alexander. It grew in public esteem until in Rome, at least, fresco painting superseded every other kind of pictorial art. It is to the Western frescoes, rather than to the panel work of the Greeks, that we owe most of our knowledge of what the Athenian artists were able to accomplish with the brush. It is

noticeable that, in these times, there was no distinction between decorative painters and painters of high art. It should be observed, also, that fresco-work has in itself a germ of artistic vice. The distance at which the work is set from the observer tends to the introduction of hasty effects, and the artist is likely to become a mere decorator. In the frescoes of imperial Rome, however, there is much to be praised. The coloring is beautiful and harmonious; the subjects, greatly varied in selection; the invention, rich; the composition, admirable.

It is fortunate for the world, that so much of the decorative art of imperial Rome has been preserved. The fateful Vesuvius, with his protecting ashes and lava, was more considerate of art than of human life. Herculaneum and Pompeii have enriched the modern world with a vast store of treasures, and there is much more to follow. Rome, herself, has preserved not a few specimens of her ancient pictorial art, and other cities of the Empire have contributed of their classic riches to the wealth of modern times.

It is believed that the wall and ceiling decoration, so much cultivated in imperial Rome, began with mere imitations of colored or incrustated marble and building stone. From this rude beginning the principle of design was introduced. The subjects at first selected were mythological, afterward legendary, then historical, finally ideal. All of these stages of development are fully represented, from the *Odyssey* landscape, found at the Esquiline, to the allegories on the ceilings of Pompeii. It is said that the introduction of landscape painting, upon the inner walls of edifices, may be traced to Ludius, an artist who flourished in the reign of Augustus.

The art so fully illustrated in the recently exhumed cities of Campania was especially free and joyous. The work is true to its original idea, which is that of decoration. The whole is conceived as if to enliven and please the senses, rather than to subdue passion or instruct the judgment. The more serious lessons of history are generally omitted. Fresh landscapes flash out with the brightest of sunshine. Ships with white sails blown full of cheerful

breezes stand out to sea. The armor of Mars is not seen suspended on these beautiful walls. This is the wedding-day. The mother decks her daughter for the bridal. The table is spread, and laughing guests sit tête-a-tête, sipping delicate wines or toying with the half-open buds of roses.

In the strongest possible contrast was the doleful art of the catacombs. Here the airy spirit of the Greek, stimulated into additional joyousness under the balmy sky of Campania, gave way suddenly to the seriousness and dolor of the Christian faith. The circumstances of persecution, also, by which the early followers of the new system were driven out of the city and under ground, added to the gloom and moroseness of the pictorial representations drawn on the walls of those subterranean abodes, which were at once the home and the tomb of the primitive disciples. Added to this was a certain stiffness of form and expression, copied from the school of Byzantium, the austere spirit of which better accorded with the solemnity of Christianity than did the hilarious freedom of the Greek.

In the matter of architecture, the Romans displayed greater force and originality than in any other branch of art. It was, however, in the technical part of construction, rather than in the artistic part of building, that the men of Rome revealed their individuality and power. As already said, the first temple of the city was built by Etruscan artists, after a model established in their own country. The ground plan was more nearly square than the elongated parallelogram employed by the Greek architects; the front was an open portico, in which the augurs stood to make their observations of the heavens; the interior, an ample cella, which was the shrine of the deity. This type of structure was maintained until contact with the Greeks introduced many modifications of style. The newer buildings became more oblong, and a general design was copied from the architecture of Hellas; but the two peculiarly Roman features—namely, the capacious cella, and the wide, pillared portico—were retained through the best ages of Roman building.

In the columnar part of construction the

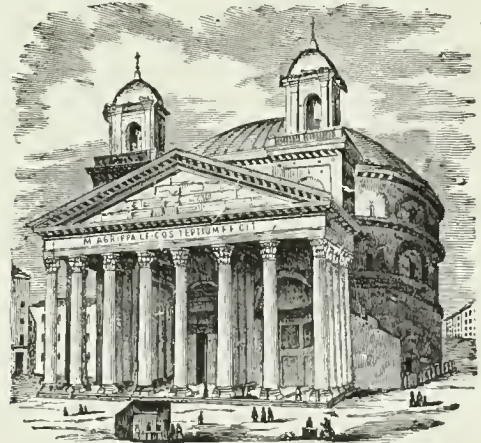
architects of Rome at first adopted the Etruscan order, which was itself an imitation of the Doric. The columns were massive, baseless, unadorned, and set at greater distances from one another than in the classical method. Soon, however, this primitive style was abandoned, and the Corinthian column, which on account of its profusion and unchaste luxury of adornment had never been pleasing to the perfect taste of the Greeks, was adopted instead of the Tuscan order. Nor was the Roman content with the Corinthian capital as he found it. He introduced new ornaments between the acanthus leaves, and set Ionic volutes among the foliage at the four corners of the square. This modification, known thenceforth as the Composite capital, became the central fact in the new Roman order, which was adopted in all parts of the Empire.

Another modification, having respect to construction rather than artistic adornment, was the use of the arch or vault, upon which a superstructure might be sprung over wider spaces than by any other expedient. Though the arch was not invented by the Romans, yet its use by them became so much more extensive than in any other nation as to be properly considered peculiar to the architecture of Italy. The earliest example of this valuable extension of the principle of the vault was the Cloaca Maxima, constructed by the Etruscans in the early days of the city. Further modifications of the same valuable architectural expedient were the double or groined vault, and the cupola, or inclosure of a circular space with contracting rings held by a key-stone at the top. At the time when the Republic crumbled, and the imperial *régime* was ushered in, all the new features here described as belonging to the Corintho-Roman system of building had already been established throughout Italy and in many of the provinces.

The success of the Cloaca Maxima and other similar vaulted sewers, by which the city was effectually drained into the Tiber, suggested the construction of those mighty aqueducts through whose huge throats the cool, pure waters of the Sabine Hills were poured into thirsty Rome. No obstacle was permitted to obstruct the progress of these great works.

In their building, distance was ignored, rivers bridged, valleys and lowlands spanned with arches sometimes three tiers in height, and mountains tunneled with surprising facility. The great aqueduct of the Anio was at one point lifted one hundred and nine feet in the air, and that of Nemansus, in the south of Gaul, had an elevation of more than two hundred feet. The waters which supplied the imperial city flowed with the force of a torrent, through a vast vaulted chamber, discharging at such an elevation as to supply the highest parts of the city.

The architects of Rome were equally successful in the building of bridges. Where ravines and marshlands lay in the way of a proposed thoroughfare, they were spanned with



PANTHEON.

tremendous viaducts and road-ways supported on piers and arches. The broadest and swiftest rivers were so bridged as not to obstruct navigation. In many parts of what was once the Roman Empire, imperishable piers and buttresses still stand to attest the skill of those ancient builders who foreran the armies of imperial Rome.

It was, however, in the introduction of the dome that the early Italian architects achieved their greatest distinction. The best example of this magnificent and enduring form of structure is the Pantheon, or temple, of All Gods. It was completed by Marcus Agrippa, the general of Augustus, in the year, B. C. 25. The edifice was in the Roman style, having a portico of columns so arranged as to

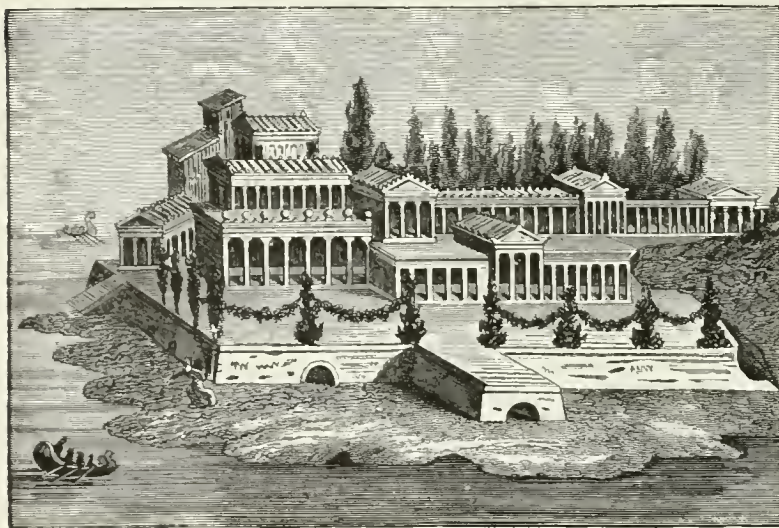
divide it into three naves. This impressive part of the building, however, is far surpassed in majesty by the vast cella within. This is the part surmounted by the great dome, which has been the pride and wonder of nineteen centuries. The Pantheon, though it has suffered several restorations and alterations—though the old gods have been expelled from their places to make room for the statues of mediæval saints—is still regarded as the best preserved monument of antiquity.

It was not only in the Imperial City, but throughout all the larger cities and towns of the Empire that the grandeur of Roman architecture was exhibited. Nor should the

the observer ascending, by the *Via Sacra* to the Capitol, had a view of the noblest monuments of the city. On the left, at the foot of the Palatine was the temple of Vesta; then came that of Castor and Pollux; then the Julian Basilica; then the temple of Saturn; then that of Vespasian and Concord, and finally the massive structures which crowned the Capitoline.

It was in the construction of this magnificent architecture that the ambition of the Roman emperors, fed no longer with the conquest of a world which had been already subdued, found opportunity for its unexpended energies. Even such coarse and brutal sovereigns as

Claudius, Nero, Domitian, and Caracalla engaged eagerly in building, anxious, perhaps, thus to immortalize themselves with posterity. Their example was followed by all the great and noble of Rome. Wealthy citizens vied with each other in the embellishment of their private villas, and in promoting the public improvement of the city. Rome became a mass of marble—forums, theaters, temples, bas-



ROMAN VILLA (FRESCO).

splendors of the great works of the architects of Rome be judged by the single structures which they produced, but rather by groups of many so placed in juxtaposition as to heighten the effect of all. The plan of the Roman cities was especially favorable for the display of architectural grandeur. No town was complete without a forum. This was generally placed in some of the lower areas so that the edifices, which were grouped about it or crowned the neighboring heights, looked down upon the open space with an aspect peculiarly majestic. Such was the situation of the great Forum of Rome. It extended through a valley, running in a south-easterly direction from the foot of the Capitoline Hill. From this,

ilicas, aqueducts, and canals—for the like of which for number and magnificence the world could furnish no parallel.

Such was the constitution of Roman political society at the time of which we speak as to subject all private monuments and memorials to the severest treatment. The emperors for the most part perished in some popular fury. The local revolution which sent the dagger to the heart of the sovereign applied the hammer and club with equal passion to all mementos of his reign. His statues were broken to pieces, and every thing which served to recall his hated memory was mercilessly destroyed. The private monuments of Rome thus perished by destruction, while the public

memorials were spared to the merciful barbarians. As soon as a new emperor was installed in his place he began to be flattered by art. His busts and statues were set up in all the public places, not only in Rome but also in the provincial cities. Whatever marble and bronze could effect to glorify his name was done with vainglory and profusion. But these works, as already indicated, were generally visited with the angry hammer of some iconoclast.

It was the fashion of the Empire to honor its public men with statues. The provincial cities frequently voted this honor to their benefactors. The rich owners of private villas generally had busts of themselves and their families set in conspicuous places about their halls. It was common for literary men, actors, charioteers, gladiators, teachers, and, indeed all public characters, to be honored in like manner by their patrons and admirers.¹

It should be confessed, as it respects this vast profusion of plastic art, that the Romans were moved rather by the spirit of ostentation than by the native impulses of artistic genius. It should also be observed, as in the necessities of the case, that the art of Rome rose not—could not rise—above the excellence of its original. The artists of the Empire could but copy what had already been done in perfection by the Greeks. If the critic should search for true originality among the works of Roman chisels the search would be in vain. Roman art, with the exception already noted in the case of architecture, was in the nature of an imitation, a reproduction, a modification, perhaps, of the art of Hellas. The quantity was vastly in excess of the quality, and the quality was by no means to be despised. It has been said by Marcellinus that in the fourth century of our era, Rome had two populations: one of living men and the other in marble and bronze. The time was already at hand when the living population was no longer able to protect the people in marble from the ferocity of barbarism. With the coming of the North-

ern hordes the beautiful things of the Imperial City were knocked from their pedestals, broken into fragments, and kicked into dust and oblivion by the infuriated Goths.

The Roman mind was one of *large activities but small imagination*. It had the power to act with unusual energy, but little power to create. Excitement came rather with the expenditure of physical force than with the indulgence of reverie. There was a boundless adaptation to business, but little aptitude for speculative thought. Mental tasks as such were borne impatiently by an intellect which yearned for the freedom of the conflict, the struggle of opposing forces. It is in this constitutional inaptness of the Romans for imaginative flights and subjective speculation that we must seek and find their want of originality in literature as well as in art. It may be truthfully said that, judged by the standard of original invention, Rome produced nothing in the domain of letters. If, however, we content ourselves with that kind of literary work which follows and imitates what has been done by another, we shall find in the Roman stores an exhaustless abundance. It was here again that originality came from the Greeks. They gave to Rome her letters and her models, and no great Roman author ever rose or flourished who had not, as the beginning and source of his achievements, the fathomless fountain of Greek culture.

When civilization began in Latium, the influence of the Hellenes was already diffused through Southern Italy. It was from contact with these Græco-Pelasgic cities of Ænотria that the Romans received their first literary impressions. The force of this association, however, was not sufficient to stimulate the race of Romulus into mental activity. The Alban Fathers were first farmers and then soldiers.

In his intellectual disposition the primitive Roman was a kind of cross between Arcadian and Theban. He had the rusticity of the one combined with the blunt, warlike habits of the other. Centuries elapsed after the founding of the city, and a second and direct contact with Greece was required before the Roman mind emerged sufficiently from its

¹ It is related that in a certain provincial town a boy of thirteen was honored by the municipality with a statue for a prize examination in poetry.

original sluggishness to assume the tasks of letters. During the Kingdom and early days of the Republic, Roman writings were as brief and barren as possible. Written records were limited to official documents, laws and edicts, brief annals of the public officers, and principal events of the year set down in the clumsiest style by the priests. Such writings were painted on tablets or engraved on stone or bronze, to be preserved as the records of the state.

After the conquest of the Greek cities of Southern Italy and the consequent enlargement of the grandeur of Rome, she swept within her arms and brought home to the Tiber the rudiments of that culture of which she had hitherto been ignorant. Meanwhile the patricians grew great and wealthy. Leisure came with luxury, and the business-like fathers found time to think, and a certain inclination towards literature. They studied Greek, and one may well imagine the emotions and struggles of the austere, half-barbaric mind of the primitive patrician as he pored like an aged boy over the wonders of rudimentary learning. He soon discovered that his own speech was as yet too crude and undeveloped for literary expression. Nor was he long in discerning that the qualities lacking in his own language were abundantly present in the Greek. To speak and to write this copious and beautiful tongue became his ambition. By the close of the first Punic War a taste for Greek letters had become common with all the better class of Romans. Public officers found in this language a vehicle of courteous communication, and to the man of leisure it furnished a theme of profitable entertainment. Under the stimulus thus afforded the first germs of Latin literature made their tardy appearance.

In the beginning, the letters of Rome reached no further than translations of Greek originals. Homer and the comic poets were done into Latin. Historical narrative, in a style altogether superior to the *Fasti*, or annals of the priests, began to be cultivated, at first in Greek, and afterwards in the vernacular.

At this epoch in Roman history, a remarkable struggle occurred between the new culture

and the old semi-barbaric element in society. By a large part, perhaps a majority, of the people the foreign tongue and the literature which was embodied in it were looked upon with disfavor and dread. The rude times of the fathers were preferred to the age of innovation and enlightenment. In the good old days—so said the Bourbon sentiment of Rome—there were no poets, no rhetoricians, no philosophers. Rome then flourished and was pure. Now, under the heat of this excitement, she was falling into vice and corruption. At the head of this party stood Cato, the censor, a man who was the embodiment of conservative force and rustic wisdom. During his life he opposed the whole power of his influence to the swelling tides of the new literature—but without avail. The rising sun could not be thrust back through the gates of the morning.

For a season the new literature conformed closely to the models from which it was deduced. In subject-matter and spirit, however, the new works were essentially Latin. A national literary sentiment was thus produced, and the forms of the language were improved and crystallized.

The new tongue of Italy proved itself to be harmonious, sonorous, and expressive. It showed itself to be equally capable in prose and in verse. For a long time, however, the literary men of Rome were those who were most deeply imbued with the culture of the Greeks. Prominent among these was the great family of the Scipios. Their villa became the head-center of the Hellenic literary party. Here the wide circle of friends, dependents, and kinsmen of the celebrated house, among whom were the young Gracchi and many ladies of distinction, were wont to meet to express their admiration for the writers of Greece, and to assimilate their spirit. Many other circles of similar sort were organized in Rome, wherein young and aspiring authors—poets, writers of prose, orators, grammarians—met to improve their style and to converse on literary subjects.

Of the literature of this earliest epoch only a few fragments and meager notices have been preserved. One of the first authors of what may be called the Græco-Roman era—himself

a Hellene — was LIVIUS ANDRONICUS, who flourished in the latter half of the third century B. C. Having acquired a mastery of the Latin language, and being in sympathy with the Roman people, he began to adapt and translate into Saturnian verse the comedies and tragedies of the Greeks. In this line of literary work he achieved considerable success, and paved the way for the first native author of repute, who was CNEIUS NÆVIUS, of Campania. The latter, like his predecessor, cultivated dramatic poetry, and to this he added the epic. He asserted his freedom and originality by selecting purely Roman subjects for some of his dramas. One was founded upon the rearing of Romulus and Remus, and another upon the battle of Clastidium. In the way of an epic, he composed a long poem entitled the *Punic War*. In this production he employed the old Saturnian verse, which, having no regular meter, depended wholly for its harmony upon the rise and fall of the tone in which it was chanted.

The father of Roman poetry—that is, of the epic—was QUINTUS ENNIUS, who flourished between B. C. 240 and 169. He was a friend and companion of the Scipios. He was thoroughly educated in Greek, and imbued with the spirit of the new culture. He had much of the true genius of a poet, and by his mastery of the Latin tongue, contributed much to improve and perfect its poetical elements. His greatest work was an epic on *Rome*, the first part of which was written in the Saturnian verse, while in the book on the *Punic War* Latin hexameters were for the first time successfully employed.

After Ennius came his nephew, the tragic poet PACUVIUS, who from being a successful painter became a more successful man of letters. His chief work consisted in translations of Greek dramas, in which his office of interpreter was supplemented with no small store of original genius. The excellence of his works did much to disseminate a taste for dramatic literature among the Romans, as well as to establish his own fame as an author. Like him was his younger friend, LUCIUS ATTIIUS, who flourished from B. C. 160 to 87. By these dates he was carried forward into the next pe-

riod of Roman literature; but in spirit and character his works belong to the epoch of Ennius and Pacuvius.

Though the works produced by the authors just enumerated long continued to be read and admired by the Roman people, it does not appear that they were the source of any genuine enthusiasm. The Latin race, indeed, had little of the tragic sentiment. The heroic passions and emotions, which so agitated the Greek nature that it swayed to and fro as a stalk shaken by the winds, were wanting in the Romans, who for the most part regarded life as an affair of business. It was only with that class of people who, like the Patricians, had wealth and leisure, and who from a study of Greek literature had acquired a taste for what they did not naturally possess, that the early tragedy was popular. The civic masses took little interest in that with which they felt no sympathy. The tragedy of the Republic remained a work of literature—in many cases a mere exercise in translation—rather than an active force swaying the hearts and sentiments of the people. It is believed that the tragedies attributed to SENECA were produced as rhetorical school dramas rather than with a view to stage representation.

While it is true, however, that the early Romans had little taste for tragic passion, their aptitude for comedy was of the highest order. They possessed in an unusual degree the gifts of satirical humor, and the people of the streets were peculiarly delighted with burlesque and buffoonery. It appears that, even before the direct influences of Greek culture were felt in Central Italy, a certain taste for farcical representations had sprung up among the people; so that the introduction of comedy chimed in with sentiments already attuned to Thalia's sports. From very early times the rustic populace of Latium had been accustomed, at village festivals and gatherings of the vintage, to improvise in an inartistic way comic representations of those aspects of life with which they were familiar. From this quaint form of comedy grew up, in which such characters as the soothsayer, tax-gatherer, and doctor were introduced and made ridiculous for the amusement of the crowd.

Such was the condition of culture when the Greek comedy was introduced at Rome. Nævius adapted the works of Aristophanes to those conditions of society in the city which seemed to merit chastisement. The Aristophanic muse, however, was too bitter for the vanity of Rome, and the audacious dramatist had to save himself by flight. The satire was more than could be borne by those who had provoked it. After this episode the comic style divided into two: the one known as *comedia palliata*, which kept closely to the Greek models; and the other, *comedia togata*, or distinctly Roman type of comic representation.

The two great poets who headed the respective schools were MACCIUS PLAUTUS and PUBLIUS TERENTIUS. Of the works of these great authors several have been preserved to modern times. According to the judgment of Varro, no fewer than twenty, out of the one hundred and thirty comedies attributed to Plautus, may be regarded as genuine; while of the works of Terence six pieces are still extant.

Plautus was preëminently a man of the people. Without fortune or rank, he appeared at Rome as a sort of adventurer, but was received with enthusiasm by the common people. The style which he adopted in the pieces which were offered to the ædiles was popular even to the verge of vulgarity. His crude speech and careless versification, no less than his characters, caught up as they were from the common walks of life, all combined to make him the idol of the Roman populace, who roared and shouted over a man who was one of themselves and delighted in it.

At the head of the classical school of comedy was Terence. He was born at Carthage, but was brought to Rome in his youth and sold as a slave. Carefully educated by his master, the senator Lucan, he so distinguished himself by his brilliant talents as to win the esteem of the literary club of the Scipios, by whom he was received as an equal. He rapidly rose in esteem until he came to be regarded by the critical and learned as the finest poet of the Republic. He was not, however, like Plautus, followed with the applause of the multitude; for he adhered to his Greek models, and wrote above the heads of the plebs. The

poet is said to have felt keenly this disparagement of his genius. He left Rome, and perished at sea.

With the ushering in of the last century of the Republic, we come to Roman literature in prose. After Plautus and Terence there is not so much seen of dramatic and epic poetry. Not that the stage was abandoned, but dramas ceased to be produced in that abundance which had characterized the preceding century. The muse retreated into the broader and freer fields of prose. Even in the literary clubs of the Scipios and the Gracchi poetry was no longer regarded as the beginning and end of literary culture. It was seen that prose also might be raised to the rank of a classic. Still in the later years of the Republic there were two poets who, though without the full freedom of genius, wrote in a style so careful and scholarly as to entitle them to fame. These were LUCRETIUS and LUCILIUS. The latter, who was the elder of the two, flourished from B. C. 148 to 103. He may, with some hesitation, be called the father of Latin satire. His poems extended to thirty books, and of these works above eight hundred fragments have been preserved. Some of these extend to only a single line, and the longest contains no more than thirteen verses. The themes are life and manners. Lucretius lived from B. C. 95 to 50. He was an epicurean, and sought by means of didactic poetry to disseminate the doctrines of his system. His great poem, entitled *On the Nature of Things*, is in this vein; and though the subject is as unpoetical as can well be conceived, yet the tone is lofty and calm, and the versification of the highest order of merit.

Thus far the Latin language had produced but a single important work in prose—the *Origines* of the ELDER CATO. This work was historical and biographical. In it the author produced a sketch of the history of his country from the founding of the city, and to this appended a summary of his own times and life. The work is lost, and the fact is to be much regretted; for it will be remembered that Cato was one of the strongest opponents of Greek culture in Rome, and it would have been instructive to hear him plead his cause.

A greater than he was POLYBIUS. Born a Greek, he was essentially Latin both in his subject and treatment. His works—most of which have perished—were in the nature of historical and biographical sketches, covering the earlier history of Rome, as well as his own times. He was himself a participant in many of the scenes which he describes, having been present with Scipio at the destruction of Carthage. It was at this epoch that the custom was introduced by the Roman generals of writing military sketches of their campaigns. Perhaps all of the leading men of the times, with the exception of Marius, adopted this habit, and it is to be regretted that their works have not been preserved.

The oldest complete historical work in Latin literature which has survived to our times is CÆSAR'S *Commentaries on the Gallic War*—a book which is, perhaps, the best of its kind extant. The story of its composition is well known. The work was doubtless written in the camp amid the very scenes which it describes. For perspicuity, vigor, and conciseness—no less than for the vainglory which glimmers on every page—the work is without a parallel. It is the record of events considered as they were, dashed down by a man of affairs who saw the world objectively, and dealt only with tangible results.

Unlike Cæsar, SALLUST was a professional historian. He consciously undertook the formal narrative of parts, at least, of his country's career. This great author was a Sabine by birth. He rose to distinction, became prætor of Numidia, amassed a fortune, and afterwards lived in leisure. Of his works, besides a few fragments, we have only remaining the *Catiline* and *Jugurthine War*. In terseness of diction, just discrimination of character, and harmony of arrangement, these two treatises, though more brief than posterity could have wished, have ever been regarded as models of historical composition.

It was one of the peculiarities of Latin literary development that oratory—if indeed oratory may be called a branch of literature—foreran the writing of history. The genius of the Republic fostered the art of public speech. In this field MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO, who

flourished from B. C. 106 to 43, was without a peer, without a rival. He was the founder of written address. Carefully educated, first at Rome and afterwards in the Greek schools at Rhodes, he early in life became a master in scholastic attainments. At his epoch there was still great danger that the vulgar language of the common people of Rome would triumph over the classical Latin, which, under the influence of Greek culture, supported by the powerful patronage of the Scipios, held supremacy in the Senate and among the Patricians. The popular language, however, encroached upon the literary republic and threatened its overthrow. The eloquent HORTENSIVS, speaking the vulgar tongue, thundered it from the Tribune.

Cicero appeared as the opponent of this barbarism. To the diction of the scholar he added a natural copiousness which was never equaled by his own countrymen, if indeed by any orator in the world. He was painstaking, industrious, ambitious. His addresses were carefully prepared. Those that were extemporaneous were afterwards revised and reduced to writing. He rose to influence, not by force of character, not by consistency or originality as a statesman, but as a lawyer and orator. He towered immeasurably above all his contemporaries. He was the founder of that majestic species of composition—the written address. This sort of discourse was most strongly discriminated on the one hand from the fiery and invective style of the great Greeks, and on the other from the harangue which had hitherto constituted the staple of the Senate House. More than any other man of his times—more perhaps than all other men combined—did Cicero contribute by example and precept to raise the Latin language to a standard of classical elegance. His influence triumphed completely over the vulgarizing tendency, and it was no longer doubtful that the scholarly language was to be the speech of the Imperial Republic.

TERENTIUS VARRO was a contemporary of Cicero. A profounder scholar than the great orator—especially in history and antiquities—he devoted himself to historical works and satirical compositions. In literary excellence,

as well as in abundance and variety, his works fall far below the level of the Ciceronian productions. It was the orator rather than the historian who revealed to the people of the Republic the full power and majesty of their language in the broad domain of prose.

Cæsar, Cicero, and Varro were the most distinguished literary men of the closing days of the Republic. To be sure, the first was a warrior and statesman rather than a man of letters; but his claim to authorship is undisputed, and his patronage of literature was such that but for the assassin's steel the world would have been the richer. Had he lived to build up the great library which was one of his favorite schemes, and for the management of which he selected Varro, it is not unlikely that a vast mass of ancient literature now hopelessly lost might have been preserved for the entertainment and instruction of mankind.

As soon as those vast movements were accomplished by which the Imperial régime was substituted instead of the Republic the literary pendulum oscillated again to the side of poetry. We have in this fact a phenomenon not often witnessed in the history of literature, a phenomenon, indeed, which never could occur except among a people of predominant practicality and small imagination. The thing referred to is the reversal, in the case of Latin literature, of the usual chronological order in the development of prose and poetry. In nearly all nations the latter has preceded the former. The rule has been that a given language is first perfected by the poets, and then handed over, not without much timidity and delay, to the purposes of prose. In most nations the earliest prose writers have assumed their tasks in a kind of apologetic way, as if their unmeasured method of expressing thought were a kind of sacrilege and prostitution of letters.

Nor so, however, in the case of Rome. Here the prose development preceded the poetical. The last century and a half of the Republic witnessed the creation of a prose literature which for its elevation and classicism required no additional finish. As yet poetry had not advanced beyond the archaic stages of development. Up to the age of Cicero no great national poet had arisen to honor his country

in song. With the institution of the Empire, however, there came a great change in the literary sentiment of the nation, and poetry became a rage in all classes of society.

The transformation of popular taste was traceable in part to the influence of the schools. In these the study of poetry and the art of verse-making were assiduously cultivated. Nearly every Roman boy of good rank was expected to have some skill as a versifier. This species of culture became quite universal. No doubt poor Nature tried to hide her wounds and dishonor; for she was grievously tramped upon and outraged. Every body had the Muse in common. Augustus in his bath, Tiberius in the German woods, Germanicus on his campaigns, each contributed, as in duty bound, to swell the aggregate of Imperial poetry. Nero wrote verses like a learned pig. As for Caligula and Claudius, they contented themselves with the humbler work of prose.

In the meantime, moreover, oratory fell to a discount. The Empire did not need, did not desire, public speech, as did the Republic. In a country where all of the people have the good or ill fortune to be on one side of the question there can be no oratory. To this extent, therefore, the literary energy went over to the more agreeable, less dangerous, pursuit of the muses.

Perhaps there never was an age more given to literary patronage than that of Augustus. The Emperor himself set the example. Triumphant Rome might now devote herself to song. The sovereign encouraged in all possible ways the production of literary and artistic works. He sought out the most distinguished men of letters, and made them his friends. He furnished them the means of leisure, and rewarded them for their works. As did the master, so did the men. It became a point of honor with wealthy Romans to have authors or artists dependent upon their bounty. More than the rest did Messala and Mæcenas distinguish themselves in this particular. The latter, as the friend and counselor of Augustus, became a kind of literary pontifex for the early Empire. Horace, who had refused the favors of the Emperor, accepted those of Mæcenas, and the two for thirty years remained

in intimate friendship. Vergil succumbed to the blandishments of Augustus, and became wealthy.

MÆCENAS was himself a man of letters. At his palace on one of the hills of Rome he was accustomed to entertain the literati of the city, and to converse with them on the themes of their respective works. Here Horace, Vergil, Varius, and many other distinguished lights were wont to shed their combined effulgence in the luxurious halls of their patron and friend.

All that such surroundings could contribute to produce poetical development was flung broadcast from the hands of opulence. If poetry could only have been *made* to grow by supplying rich soil and sunshine and rain, then indeed would the Augustan muse have surpassed all others of the ancient world. But poetry is a product of Nature. Culture contributes her part to Nature's gift, but no artificial means can produce the divine afflatus. An imaginative race will have its poets. A people like the Romans will have their rhetoricians. Latin poetry is rhetoric in verse.

Now it was that the imitative rather than creative genius of the Romans displayed itself in full force. Poet-rhetoricians came on by the score. Of these the names belonging to the first class are those of Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Catullus, and Propertius; and of these great lights of Latin literature it is but just to say that not one ever produced a truly original work.

The earliest of the group of authors just named was CATULLUS. His life belongs to the last years of the Republic. His father was one of Cæsar's friends. The youth was educated in Rome. He acquired a taste for elegiac poetry such as was cultivated by the Alexandrian Greeks, and then became an imitator of that style of verse. An imitator he would doubtless have remained but for the breaking up of the fountains by the onset of love. The fierce god sent him Clodia, or, as he called her, Lesbia, wife of the consul Quintus Metellus. For awhile she reciprocated his passion, and his verse flowed with an inspiration not hitherto known among the Roman bards. By and by Clodia fell away, and his muse turned to a goddess of wormwood.

The style introduced in the elegiacs of Catullus found a host of imitators. Every poet felt called upon to have some fair one of whom he was enamored. Such especially was TIBULLUS, who reigned for a while as prince of erotic verse. He had been born to the inheritance of a Roman knight, but lost his patrimony in the civil wars. After the battle of Actium he lived in retirement, and devoted himself to literature. His poems are characterized by softness, melancholy, and languor; nor does it appear that his muse was insincere in her expression of tenderness and passion.

A contemporary of the last-named poet was SEXTUS AURELIUS PROPERTIUS. He, also, was a writer of elegiac verse, and as such is worthy to be classed with those of the first rank. His model among the Greeks was Callimachus, whose manly tone he imitated with much success. Less original and fervid than Tibullus, his poems are the products of a bolder and stronger genius, more worthy of the author and the age.

Far above the authors thus far enumerated stands the great name of OVID. His career extended from B. C. 66 to 17. While there was much about him that was superficial, and little in his nature that was calculated to stir the profounder depths of feeling, yet his wealth of words and the airy grace and freedom of his verse will ever give him a niche among the greatest poets of Rome. His talents won him an entrance to the court of Augustus. For a while he walked freely among his royal surroundings, but at length fell under the imperial ban, perhaps for his intimacy with Julia, the granddaughter of the emperor; and for this he was banished to Tomi, in Mœsia, where he passed the remainder of his life in wailing out his sorrows. It is not, however, by his *Book of Sorrows* that he is known to posterity. His love poems, especially the *Amatory Art*, and his *Metamorphoses*, constitute his title to fame. The latter work is a production of much power and interest, being a narrative poem in which the whole circuit of mythology is traversed, and the alternate favor and anger of the gods towards man and nature recited in a manner at once interesting and poetic.

Greater than Ovid, however, was QUINTUS

HORATIUS FLACCUS, known by his English name of HORACE. He was the son of a freedman; born at Venusia in B. C. 65; educated at Rome. He participated as a republican in the battle of Philippi, and for this partisanship was deprived of his patrimony. He received a pardon, however, and took up his residence at Rome, where he soon rose to a high rank as a poet. Having gained the friendship of Vergil, he was introduced by him to Mæcenas, and by him to Augustus. The sovereign offered to make him secretary of the Empire, but the honor was declined; nor would the poet accept from Mæcenas other gift than a Sabine farm, which he received in lieu of the one which he had lost in the war. His conduct in this regard presents a manly contrast to that of most of the literary men of the period.

Horace was the most Roman of all the Roman bards. The type is that of a satirical philosopher combined with a witty farmer and worldly-wise man of society. He is essentially Epicurean, believing in enjoyment for its own sake and pleasure as an end. He begins and ends with laughing at the follies of mankind. It is the laughter of a sage. In this spirit are conceived the *Satires*, in which, in a mocking, semi-philosophic tone, he ridicules the absurdity of life. With current manners and customs he makes sad havoc, though the bitterness of his invective is not as great as the wit is pungent. The *Epistles*, which are mostly effusions addressed to his friends, are conceived in the same spirit. In these there is combined the vast experience of a man of the world, matured by discipline and observation, with such an abundance of playful humor and caustic satire as can hardly be paralleled in literature. In his *Odes* he touches lighter themes in a more friendly spirit. Now he sings the praises of his friends—the honor of Mæcenas, the greatness of Augustus, his own anticipation of fame. Considered as literary productions—that is, poems—they are the truest and most perfect in the whole circle of Roman letters.

Of another sort is the illustrious VERGIL. He it was who was destined to create the Roman epic. He was born near Mantua, in the year B. C. 70, and died at Brundisium,

on his way home from a voyage to Greece, in the year 19. He was more a provincial than any of his great contemporaries; but his genial spirit and brilliant talents won for him the esteem of the Imperial City, and made him the most popular of all the Roman poets. Nor did his delicate health and tender constitution lessen the disposition of the people to make him their favorite bard.

Vergil began his poetical work in the style of Theocritus. His first great production was the *Eclogues*, in which he introduced to his countrymen a style of composition which had for them all the charms of novelty. The new style was that of the idyl or pastoral poem, in which the surroundings, manners, and sentiments of the country folk are sung in a tone of simple gayety. Then followed the four books of *Georgics*, full of the hum of agriculture, the growing of trees, the bleating of lambkins, the lowing of cattle, and the buzzing of bees. These poems are essentially didactic, intended to enlighten and instruct the understanding of the Romans as well as to improve their sentiments.

By the composition and publication of these works Vergil achieved an enviable fame; but his genius, not content with present achievement, soared still higher and sought in the creation of a great epic to find food for its hunger. The poet selected for his theme the prehistoric story of Rome. The flight of Æneas from the flames of Troy, bearing with him the Penates of the ruined city, and seeking, under the guidance of prophecy, the distant shore whereon he should build the city and restore the institutions of his race—furnished the heroic subject of his song—the *Æneis*, justly reckoned the greatest monument of the genius of Rome. In the conduct of his theme Vergil showed consummate skill. The intrinsic interest of the ancient story is maintained, and at the same time the episodes and allusions are so managed as to become a tribute to the existing order of Roman society. The descent of the Julian line is traced to Æneas. The whole tendency of the poem is such as to flatter the vanity and inspire the patriotism of the Latin race. Gods and men alike are made to bend to the interests and bones of the ex-

iled tribe springing into greatness from its planting by the Tiber.

Of the prose writers of the Age of Augustus only one is able to compare in merit and rank with the great poets who have just been mentioned—TITUS LIVIUS, the historian. The rest like ASINIUS POLLIO, AGRIPPA, and AUGUSTUS himself were writers of memoirs—sketches and incidents of the age of which themselves had been a part. These fugitive histories of the early days of the Empire have perished, and posterity is thus unable to judge of their merits. With Livy the case is different. He was born at Padua, in B. C. 59, and lived to the year 17 of our era. He was intimately associated with the Emperor. Living in leisure at Rome, he undertook the history of the city from its legendary foundation to the current epoch. The work was of vast proportions, consisting of one hundred and forty books, of which only thirty-five have been preserved. The narrative was brought down to the death of Drusus in the year B. C. 9, and is conducted with a skill and fidelity which have rarely been surpassed among historical writings. Whether viewed as a history or considered in the light of a literary composition, the works of Livy have truthfully been said to mark the culmination of Latin prose.

After the Age of Augustus the writings of the Roman authors have less merit and more rhetoric. Such was the constitution of society that freedom of speech could not exist. Every bold thought fledging itself in the Roman mind was stricken dead before taking to flight. For eulogy there was abundant opportunity. The emperor must be well praised. The open ear of existing prejudice must be filled with flattery. The panegyrist became the principal person. The YOUNGER PLINY used his great talents to immortalize Trajan. All literary compositions were infected with a declamatory spirit. Every thing was conceived and executed as if to be given as a recitation. The age was one of the multiplication of books. The dealers in the shops kept a retinue of scribes; but the author, generally anxious for immediate success, was eager to have his productions read in public. It became customary with the vainglorious literati of the city to

hire halls, gather their friends, employ a claue, and thus to give their new-born production a manufactured fame. The effect of all this is seen in the artificial and declamatory character of the works which proceeded from the post-Augustan age. Of such sort are the ten extant tragedies and the so-called epics of LUCAN and SILIUS.¹

With this decline in the quality of literary work, the high estimation in which authors were held ceased to exist. Patrons of art and poetry disappeared. Nero was jealous of the fame of literary men, desiring himself to be considered as a great poet. MARTIAL, the Spanish epigrammatist, lived a life of miserable dependence at the court of Domitian until, sent home to Spain by the kindness of the Younger Pliny, his sweetness turned to vitriol.

In the midst of such bad surroundings, the sincere spirit of PERSIUS sought expression in satire. Himself a stoic, he witnessed with disgust and bitterness the vices of the age. Greater than he, and bolder, was JUVENAL, in whom the Latin satire reached its culmination. Such was the condition of society in the era following the reign of Domitian as to merit and provoke the keenest invective. The smothered voice of the times found expression in the verse of Juvenal. He lashes the life and manners of Imperial Rome with a scourge of terrible severity; nor does it appear that his indignation against the depraved morality of his times was assumed or insincere.

As a Roman moralist, the philosopher SENECA—he whose alleged tragedies are referred to above—holds the highest rank. His calm spirit taught the lessons of moderation and fortitude. As the teacher of Nero, he deserved a better fate than to see his pupil become an imperial swine, at whose command himself was destined to suffer an ignominious death. Another philosopher of like rank and character was the ELDER PLINY, to whom the world is indebted for his great and valuable work on

¹ It is said that the principal aim of the poet Lucan in the production of his epic entitled *Pharsalia* was to furnish a book of speeches and declamations for students of elocution. To such a complexion had come the tragic muse.

natural history. He lost his life during the great eruption of Vesuvius, but his well earned fame could not be smothered under the lava. His nephew, the Younger Pliny, was in some sense his successor in the world of letters. His tastes, however, ran rather in the direction of oratory and poetry than to those scientific pursuits to which the uncle had so assiduously devoted his life.

Greater than any of the group of writers just named was the historian TACITUS. He was a man of public affairs, having been prætor in the year 88, and consul in 97. In the retirement of his old age he composed his valuable works, all of which are either biographical or historical in their subjects. He wrote the life of his father-in-law, Agricola, the successful general of the army in Britain. His next work was the celebrated monograph entitled *Germania*, to which we are so much indebted for our knowledge of the manners and customs of the primitive Germans. Then followed his *Annals* and *Histories*, upon which his reputation as an author is planted on an enduring foundation. Throughout all his works runs a spirit of protest against the corrupt and dangerous tendencies of his age. He writes like one born out of due time, for his tone is that of a Roman of the old school, in whom patriotism and the other heroic virtues still flourished.

While the moralists protested against the inundation of dissoluteness which was ruining society, there were also protestants in literature. Certain men of letters appeared who advocated a return to the classicism and Latinity of the age of Cicero. Prominent among these were the grammarian QUINTILIAN, the EMPEROR HADRIAN, the scholar FRONTO—who was the teacher of MARCUS AURELIUS—and this great sovereign himself, who was as much a philosopher as a ruler. The reforms proposed by the reactionists extended to the rejection of all post-Augustan literary models, and the substitution therefor of the archaic styles and methods of the age, extending from Ennius to

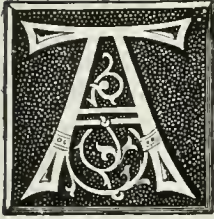
Cicero. It was as though the Metaphysical poets of England had seized a fancy to reinstitute the style of Chaucer. The attempted reaction was barren of results; but a movement somewhat analogous—by which Greek models were again advanced as the best types of literary composition—was more successful.

At the head of this tendency appeared PLUTARCH and LUCIAN, and the Neo-Platonic philosophers. The first named by his celebrated *Lives* has made a marked impression on the biographical literature of the world, and the second by his *Dialogues* gained the title of Blasphemer; for in them he handled the gods, and indeed all the absurdities of paganism, with merciless severity.

After Tacitus there was little originality or personal force displayed in the Roman world of letters. Except in the rather unliterary department of jurisprudence, there is nothing further to admire. The Empire was now continually agitated by wars. The plant of literature could not flourish in the midst of such disquietude. The world of strife offered to the general great rewards; to the scholar, none. The imperial patronage of letters now rose no higher than petty favors shown to flatterers. Meanwhile the Latin language deteriorated. It ceased to be a classic. Barbarous constructions and provincial vulgarities came in like a flood. The magnificent periods of Cicero were forgotten, and Livy's pictured page remanded to the dust.

With the division of the Roman Empire the culture of the Greeks naturally receded to Constantinople; the West was left to fall to pieces and be trodden under the heel of barbarism. The Christian writers were unable to save—perhaps did not much care to save—the splendors of pagan literature and art. These were associated with the old gods, who were dethroned and banished. The images of the great deities of antiquity were broken in the streets of their own capital, and the literature in which their praises were embalmed was cast into oblivion.

CHAPTER LV.—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.



At the first the ROMANS were farmers. No other ancient people were so strongly attached to the rural life. If the tradition of Æneas and his city-building colony is to be believed, then

it is certain that the original country folk of Latium formed the leading element in the new society. Throughout the whole history of the Kingdom, Republic, and Empire the old rustic disposition asserted itself among the Roman people. The most dissolute of the emperors retained the ancient instinctive preference for country residence. Citizens, poets, statesmen, all looked forward with pleasure to an escape from the broils and heat of the city to a cooler, quieter life in some remote spot by the Alban or Sabine Hills. There was thus a strife in the nature of the Roman between the spirits of ambition and repose.

Rome, however, was a municipality. The city government was the heart of the whole system. The ancient campaign was a conquest of towns. The Republic was essentially a municipal state. The Empire was a congeries of cities. This fact tended to give to Roman life an aspect of peculiar publicity. Notwithstanding the strong proclivity of the people for the allurements of the country, the citizenship of the state was borne into the vortex of Rome. It is, therefore, in that vast metropolis that the life—at least the public life—of the people may be studied to the best advantage. There the Roman citizen is seen at his highest, as well as at his lowest, estate.

By day the streets of Rome were a scene of business and excitement; by night, of disorder and dangerous revelry. The absence of any suitable illumination gave to prowlers and marauders a great advantage over the orderly classes of society. Night-watchmen there were in abundance; but the by-ways and alleys were full of lurking-places in which vice and crime hatched their progeny. Frivolous peo-

ple went much into the streets at night; but the sober classes kept in-doors, both for peace and security.

The city of Rome was greatly disturbed at night by noises. The draught-wagons and carts, which were compelled to leave the corporate limits at daybreak, rolled heavily to and fro; and many kinds of business, such as the bringing in and storage of materials and the



ROMAN CITIZEN IN TOGA.

From the Museo Borbinico, Rome.

carting of the waste products of the city, were conducted exclusively by night. In the daytime, as a rule, vehicles were not permitted. The wealthy were borne on litters as far as the city gates, and there taken up by conveyances. The poor took nature's method on the sidewalks.

With the early morning there was a great revival of the better life of Rome. The rule required that school-boys should be at their

places by daybreak. Among the earliest abroad in the streets were the clients, who hurried back and forth in the hope of promoting their interests by early visits. The street-dealers and auctioneers were astir as soon as it was light. The taverns and wine-shops were thrown open, and the goods in the shops exposed for customers. The markets were crowded with noisy people, eager to buy and be gone. So great a confusion presently prevailed as to make further repose impossible, and the Quirites in full toga began to show themselves abroad, proceeding with dignity to the Forum or the halls of justice to hear causes.

As the Republic of Rome assumed imperial proportions, there were estimated to be within the city half a million of idlers. These represented all classes of society—from the Patrician fop to the ragged loafer, from the granddaughter and nieces of the Emperor to the courtesans of poverty. This vast throng hurried from end to end of the city, seeking for something that should amuse or, perhaps, satisfy the unappeasable hunger of the idle. Perhaps no other city of the world has ever presented so vast a throng of profitless humanity—such a sea with its tides and storms.

This great mass of human beings was truly cosmopolitan. Here were met the gray-bearded philosopher of Greece; the florid Teuton with his yellow hair; the African, black as night; the tattooed Celt of Britain; the Gaul from beyond the Alps; the Arab from the desert, and the Asiatic nomad from the steppes of Sarmatia. Through the midst of this human sea there passed at intervals the high-born lords and ladies of Rome, borne on litters by brawny slaves gathered from the ends of the earth.

Nature, in ancient as in modern times, occasionally brought forth monsters. Nor was the curiosity of such miserable beings to be seen, or of others to see them, less in the world that was than in the world that is. It was a common sight in the streets of Rome to witness a crowd of excited people gathered in a circle and craning their necks to catch a glance at some deformity on exhibition—some giant, dwarf, or monster inviting the gaze of the rabble in public.

The sentiments of Rome found free expres-

sion on the walls. All kinds of preferences, jokes, spites, and purposes were here written, as if to give vent to what might not otherwise be said. In these inscriptions the average candidate for public office saw himself as he was, rather than as he ought to be. On one of the walls of Pompeii we read, "I beg you to make Vettius ædile." It is merely an electioneering speech, preserved by the ashes of Vesuvius. Another notice runs thus: "On the 28th of August there will be a show of wild beasts, and Felix will fight with bears." A certain Cornelius, although about to die of consumption, is advised to go and hang himself! One hungry loafer produces this sentiment: "Who invites me not to his table, him I hold as a barbarian." Even the girls have their little idyl. In one place we find, "Methe loves Christus;" and in another, "Auge loves Amœnius." And the Latin is generally as bad as the sentiment is sweet.

One of the marked aspects of the civilization of the city was the *thermæ*, or baths. Some of these are among the finest works of Roman architecture. The people, even the primitive Latins, were specially fond of bathing. With the coming of wealth and luxury, nature's plan of a naked plunge into the mountain stream gave place to elegant structures for the accommodation and delight of the bather. The baths thus provided were the *frigidarium*, or cold; the *tepidarium*, or tepid; and the *calidarium*, or hot. These were generally taken in succession. After the bather had been raised to a sweating heat, cold water was poured upon him and he then entered the *frigidarium*.

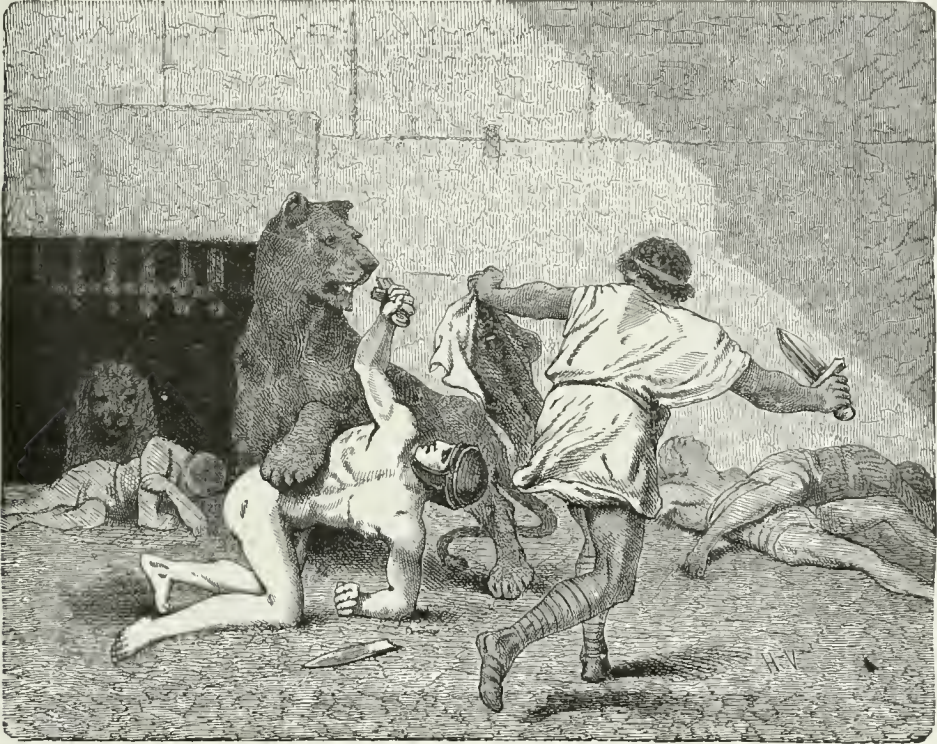
For the swimmers, great marble basins, supplied by conduits with abundance of pure water, were provided. To these bathing establishments great attention was given by the public authorities. The emperors vied with each other in the erection of sumptuous *thermæ*. Agrippa sought the favor of the people by the building of fine baths near the Pantheon; while the *thermæ* of Titus, Caracalla, and Diocletian, even in their present ruined condition, have excited the wonder and admiration of posterity.

The Romans were not slow to discover the

attractions of hot and mineral springs. Whatever nature provided as suggestive of health, recreation, or pleasure, was sought out with avidity and eagerly appropriated. Not only in Italy, but also in the distant provinces natural advantages were improved by the seekers of profit and enjoyment, and made the beginnings of settlements. Until the present day the names of many famous resorts in Switzerland and France attest the Roman origin of the communities in which they are found.

calidarium, there still burned the fierce passion for animal excitements and antagonisms.

This disposition found its food in the circus. No other people have ever been so madly fascinated by the spectacular and exciting scenes of the arena. "Bread and the Circus" was the motto of the half million of idlers who thronged the streets of Rome. All classes of people, from the Emperor to the beggar, were under the spell of the play. The appetite grew with what it fed on. The city was filled with cir-



IN THE ARENA.—Drawn by H. Vogel.

Others, like the once celebrated watering-place of Baie, are now a desolation, filled with ruins and poisoned with malaria.

In connection with the thermæ were the wine-houses, in which the bathers regaled themselves with drink. There was about all these establishments an air of luxurious ease, abandonment to the joys of the senses, indifference to serious care and responsibility. The Romans were capable of that sort of relaxation which comes of easy indulgence; and yet out of the very dissipation of the thermæ, in the breast of the half unconscious bather in the

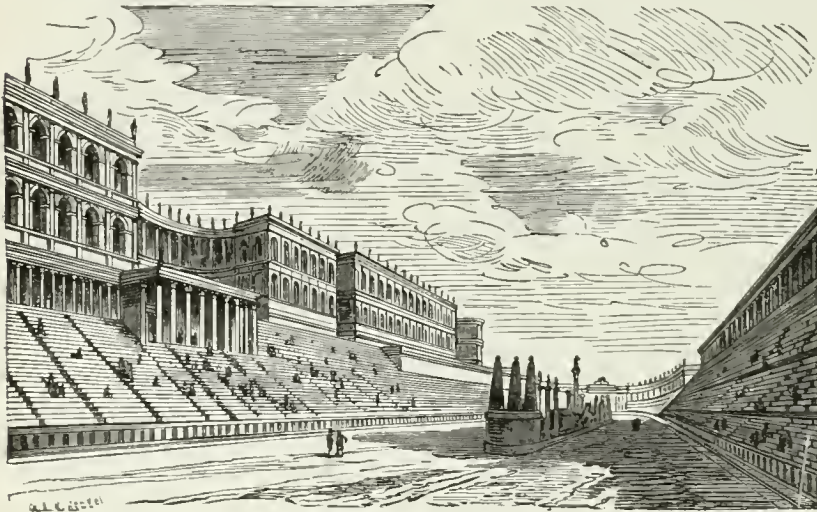
cuses. These were built on the grandest scale ever known—vast amphitheaters, whose tremendous spaces could hardly be crowded, even with the overflow of Rome. The games grew in frequency. In the times of Marcus Aurelius a hundred and thirty-five days in the year were set apart for the public exhibitions of the arena. Afterwards the number was increased to a hundred and seventy-five days. On the occasion of the opening of the Coliseum, Titus gave a celebration extending through a hundred consecutive days. Still the Romans demanded more. After the conquest of Dacia.

Trajan regaled the city with a festival of a hundred and twenty-three days' duration. And the rage was not yet satisfied.

Beginning in the times of the Republic with the contests of wild beasts brought home from foreign parts to destroy each other in the arena in the presence of the multitude, the appetite for blood was whetted until it demanded the blood of men. Then came the contest between man and beast. If the man slew the beast, there was a shout; if the beast devoured the man, a shout still louder. Finally, it was the combat of man with man. It was the reign of the gladiators. Foreign captives were trained for the arena. Those who distin-

Besides these bloody contests of the circus-pit the Romans were great patrons of the race and the play. Chariot-racing was a favorite amusement, and the great circuses were arranged especially for such contests. The space was broad enough to accommodate three or four chariots side by side, each with four horses abreast. Less exciting were the common dramatic representations in the theaters. These were, however, numerous and well patronized, especially in the times of the Republic. But the theaters were insignificant in size as compared with the tremendous amphitheaters which were the pride of the city. Of the latter a single one was large enough to contain more

people than the combined theaters of Rome. The Coliseum, or Flavian amphitheater, was built to accommodate eighty thousand spectators; the circus built in Cæsar's time one hundred and fifty thousand; the same as enlarged by Titus, two hundred and fifty thousand; and in the fourth century it was estimated that the



CIRCUS MAXIMUS, RESTORED.

guished themselves as swordsmen were welcomed with applause. Then the Roman himself caught the ambition of personal victory over an antagonist. The young nobles of the city eagerly disciplined themselves in the use of the sword and sought admission into the arena. They were received with unbounded favor. The maidens of Rome clapped their hands with enthusiasm and leaned forward to see the death-thrust sent home by some favorite. The emperors themselves grew jealous of the common fame and became gladiators. Nero, Commodus, and Caracalla thought themselves more honored by their victories in the arena than in the field. Commodus boasted that he had slain twelve hundred men for the delectation of Rome!

Maximus would seat three hundred and eighty-five thousand people. This monstrous edifice was constructed in the valley between the Palatine and Aventine hills. In the early times of the Republic this natural depression was used for the exhibition of games. The hillsides were furnished with rude seats of stone, and in the lowest part a wooden scaffold composed the circus proper. From this insignificant beginning grew, in successive centuries, the tremendous structure known as the Maximus, with a capacity far beyond that of any other amphitheater in the world.

In the Roman circus the lowest tiers of seats were the place of honor. Here sat the Emperor, the senatorial order, the great nobles and ladies of Rome. The equestrians were

ranged just above. Then came the throng, rising higher and higher to the far upper arcades, where the black swarm of indiscriminate humanity was massed like a shadow on the horizon. In all the Old World the *People* were seen on the horizon of royalty.

When the time came for the beginning of the scene the performers descended into the arena, and the sport was on. Of the unbloody diversions the most exciting and popular was chariot-racing. These contests were not, like the similar games of Greece, conducted by citizens of the state, ambitious to show what the physical culture of the commonwealth could accomplish, but by hired performers, slaves, freedmen. The sentiments, therefore, of the Romans witnessing their games, were totally different from the patriotic enthusiasm of the Greeks. To the Roman the contest was simply a means of amusement—a scene to stir his heavy and powerful nature with emotions similar to those excited by the pageant of war.

In order that the great chariot races might be successfully conducted rival companies were organized to train both steeds and drivers. In Imperial Rome, under Nero and Caligula, there were four of these associations, known by the different colors of their liveries—white, red, blue, and green. Afterwards the companies were combined into two, the blue and the green; and between these two all Rome was divided in partisanship. After the division of the Empire this rivalry extended to Constantinople, and, as will be hereafter seen, became the source of a dangerous and bloody insurrection.

On the day when a Roman chariot race was to be given the city was early astir and eager for the contest. The exercises began with a religious ceremony and a procession from the Capitol, through the Forum, to the circus. The competing chariots were duly entered. In a full race there were four abreast, each harnessed to two or four horses. Seven times the amphitheater must be circled, and seven times the driver must make the difficult short turn at the post which marked the further extreme of the great ellipse. At the close, when the result was known, the victor drove back to the chalk-line and was greeted with

such huzzas as never rent the air of any land but Italy.

The pleasure received by the Roman from these sports was purely objective. He looked on as upon something foreign to himself, a scene full of excitement, but otherwise touching not himself or his people. When the circus proper no longer satisfied, he turned to the arena of blood. Here the struggle of fierce beasts raised for a while his flagging interest. He saw with delight the red gashes in the quivering flesh of living creatures. His sanguinary disposition was thus appeased. Caesar turned four hundred lions and forty elephants into the arena. Pompey's exhibition embraced eighteen elephants and between five and six hundred lions. After the subjugation of Dacia, Trajan gave a festival of four months' duration, in the course of which eleven thousand wild beasts were brought into the arena. In a single day more animals would be destroyed than could be contributed by all the menageries, and zoölogical gardens in America.¹

In the combats of the arena the wild beasts were admitted from their dens, which opened out from the inclosed sides of the circle. Sometimes the introduction of the fights was made with startling effects. Perhaps a ship would sail into the arena, and suddenly falling to pieces pour out a vast number of wild animals in a heterogeneous mass. Again a forest would arise as if by magic from the ground, and the beasts would spring forth from among the trees. Perhaps no modern stage is arranged with as great technical skill as was displayed by the Romans in the management of their gigantic arenas.

The gladiatorial shows followed the wild-

¹The skill of the Romans in the management and training of wild beasts was marvelous. The most ferocious creatures, taken from the wilds of Asia and the interior of Africa, were handled with astonishing ease. They were not only subdued, but trained and *educated*. Mark Antony had a span of lions that drew his chariot through the streets of Rome. Caesar's elephants, carrying torches, escorted their master home by night. Tigers and lions were tamed until they were only cats of a larger growth. Stags were harnessed to vehicles and made to work as patiently as horses. Elephants were taught to dance, to perform on the tight-rope, and to *write Latin*!

beast combats as a natural sequence. The blood-appetite could no longer be appeased with the slaughter of tigers and lions. The man was a more noble sacrifice. It appears that human combats were first introduced from Etruria and Campania, but in Rome they were exhibited on a scale never equaled before or afterwards. In the celebration given by Cæsar a hundred and twenty pairs of gladiators fought in the arena; but this was a mere foretaste of what was to come. During the reign of Augustus ten thousand of these creatures are said to have been killed for the sport of Rome. The reign of Augustus was therefore one of *peace*! What then shall be said of the reign of Trajan, who in the brief space of four months sent as many gladiators to their death as had perished during the whole time of Augustus? For weeks together there was not a single day, or a single hour of the day, when the combats were not renewed. In pairs or whole companies the swordsmen were turned together, until only some extraordinary incident of the fight could raise the enthusiasm of the human butchers who sat lolling and talking indifferently in the amphitheater. Sometimes, for variety, an exhibition would be given by night, and occasionally there were combats on the water. During the reign of Claudius a sea-fight was exhibited on the Fucine Lake, in which nine thousand victims were made to butcher each other for sport.

The gladiators of Rome were generally prisoners of war. Rome was glad to extract amusement from creatures whom she no longer feared, and they were generally glad to escape from the horrors of dungeons and quarries, and enter the dangerous but free arena where they might win the applause of the whole Roman people, and perhaps obtain their liberty. What remained for the stalwart Dacian or Gaul, swept into Rome in the train of some great triumph, but to fight and kill, and perhaps be free to kill again? These fierce creatures were kept at the public expense, in barracks built for their accommodation, by order of the Emperor. Here they had far more care bestowed on them than was given to the soldiers of the legions. They were fed and trained by connoisseurs who knew how to develop all the ca-

pabilities of the human body and to extract from it its highest exertion. When a skillful gladiator received a hurt in the arena, or when he sickened in the barracks, he was at once put under the care of the best physicians, and tender Rome nursed him back to health. How should she spare her adopted son in whom she delighted?

In the fierce fatal combats of the arena the gladiators sometimes fought scientifically, as they had been trained by their masters, and sometimes after the manner of their own country. The rude Briton was turned into the circle in his native war-chariot, and permitted to do his best. In general the fighting was done on foot, and with swords. Frequently the combatants wore armor, but the trained swordsmen of Rome preferred to triumph by strength and dexterity. Sometimes the foreign gladiator appeared on the sand, armed with a trident, a dagger, or even with a net, in which he was expected to entangle and then kill his adversary. The like of this, however, was seen only in the ruder sort of shows, and not in the fashionable butcheries over which the maidens and matrons of the city were expected to clap their hands and shout, *Habet*.¹

When the bloody sport was about to begin, the gladiators who were to participate were marshaled into the arena and passed in procession before the people. In front of the seat of the Emperor they halted and cried out, *Morituri te salutamus*, "We who are about to die salute you;" and then with the blast of the trumpet the combat began. No such desperate conflicts have ever elsewhere been witnessed in the world. The gladiators were roused to the highest pitch of ferocity; for the stake was life, the forfeit death. Each knew well that to distinguish himself was not only to live, but to acquire fame. He knew that the wild huzza of thousands was ready to answer the dextrous thrust of his sword, and that inevitable death stood just beyond a failure. Such were the rage and determination excited

¹ When a gladiator was wounded in the arena the cry was *Habet*, "He has it;" and then the populace indicated by holding up or turning down their thumbs whether he should or should not be slain.

by these circumstances that the defeated victim sank to the sand without a groan or murmur. So far as the combatants were concerned the tragedy was completed without a sound louder than the splash of blood and the stertorous breath of the dying; but the shout which rose when the victor held aloft his bloody sword might have shaken the sea.¹ Rome was delighted.

When the arena was strewn and heaped with corpses, the attendants came in and dragged them out of sight. The bottom was covered with fresh sand to quench the pools of blood, and the sport went on. Rome was delighted. At midday lunch was served to the thousands, by order of the Emperor. The people who no longer met in the Forum to hear the great orators discourse of liberty, sat in the seats of the amphitheater in sight of the blood-muck of the arena and ate the bread of Cæsar. Rome was delighted. It was in scenes such as these that the public life of the Imperial City displayed itself and sought to be satisfied.

Down to the close of the Empire the games continued to hold their place as the principal enjoyment of the Romans. Christianity protested stoutly against their continuance; but when the protest proved unavailing many adherents of the new faith yielded to what they could not control, and participated in the

¹ Byron's famous stanza on the Dying Gladiator may be appropriately added:

"I see before me the gladiator lie.

He leans upon his hand, his manly brow

Consents to death, but conquers agony;

And his drooped head sinks gradually low—

And through his side the last drops ebbing
slow,

From the red gash fall heavy, one by one,

Like the first of a thunder shower; and now

The arena swims around him—he is gone,

Ere ceased the inhuman shout which hailed the
wretch who won.

He heard it, but he heeded not—his eyes

Were with his heart, and that was far away;

He recked not of the life he lost nor prize—

But where his rude hut by the Danube lay,

There were his young barbarians all at play;
There was their Dacian mother—he their sire

Butchered to make a Roman holiday!

All this rushed with his blood—shall he expire,
And unavenged? Arise, ye Goths, and glut your
ire!"

bloody spectacles. It was not until barbarism had come in like a flood, not until the stern code of the Arab in the East and the sterner conscience of the Teuton in the West began to be factors in that new order of things to which Rome was a stranger, that the fearful atrocities in which the race of Romulus had come to take delight were abolished. In Spain—the only country of Modern Europe in which the spirit of Old Rome is still predominant—the bull-fight yet preserves the horrors without the heroism which were exhibited with pride on the sands of the great circuses by the Tiber.

Turning, then, to the domestic, as distinguished from the public, life of the Romans, we find much which is entitled to our sympathy. The man of the early Republic was the head of a household. He was its priest, and in some sense its king. He had around him a host of sons and daughters. Monogamy was the law of the family. The father must be revered and honored. The sons grown to manhood were not released from his authority. The married daughters passed from his control to that of their husbands. The single will of the head of the house was predominant, and might not be treated with neglect or slight. He was known as the *pater familias*, and his authority was absolute within his own domain. In the case of his absence or death the mother, who was called the *matrona*, exercised a good part of his prerogatives. She ordered the household, exacted obedience, conducted the education of the boys. Women of this class were of great influence in Roman society. Many of them were known to fame, and no doubt deserved their exalted reputation as virtuous and patriotic mothers. Such was Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, exhibiting her sons as her jewels, and educating them for the service of the state.

The boys of the better class of Romans were generally trained at home. This duty was performed either by the mother or, as was usually the case, by a pedagogue who was employed for that purpose. For this office a Greek was preferred. At any rate, he must be able to teach Greek, as all youths of the upper class were expected to learn that language, even in preference to their own. In the

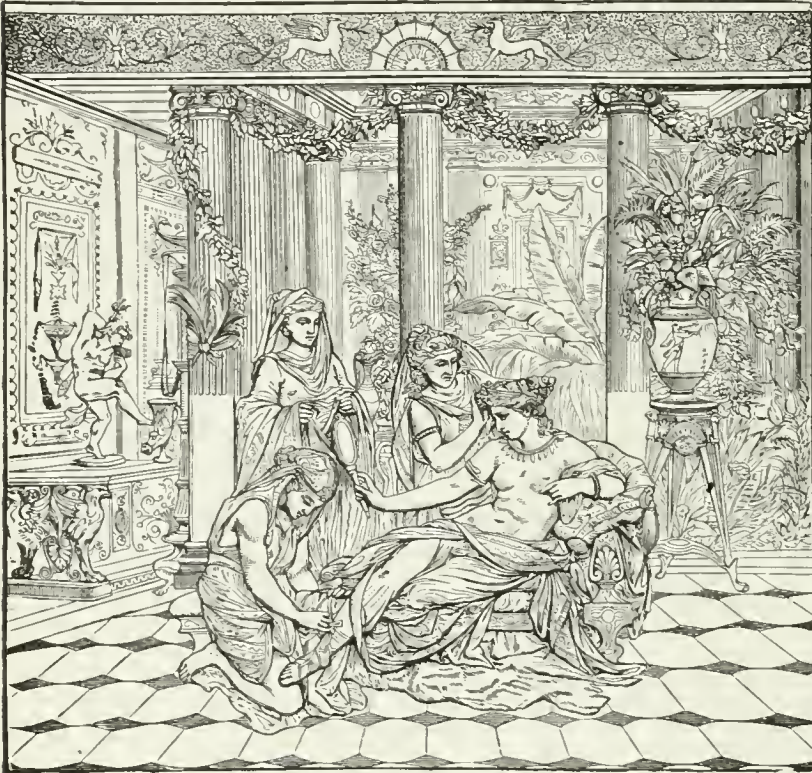
age of Cicero, when the Hellenic culture was in the highest favor, even the girls were taught that tongue, without the mastery of which no one could claim refinement. The sons of the common people were educated in schools which were private institutions, under the control of masters who were little esteemed for their office or character. There was a strong discrimination drawn between these teachers of the common schools and those philosophers and rhetoricians of the higher rank who taught rather

self to the roof of the house or some place in the street, and there enforce with the rod what he could not infuse by intelligence and kindness.

Among the great teachers of Rome—those who held the professional rank—may be mentioned VERRIUS FLACCUS, who as tutor of Augustus's grandchildren dictated his own terms; SENECA, the ill-fated instructor of Nero; QUINTILIAN, who held a like office in the household of Domitian; and APPOLONIUS, the teacher of Marcus Aurelius. So great was the inde-

pendence of the last-named philosopher that he obliged the young Aurelius to trudge like other boys to his own house to be instructed.

In the school the Roman youth was taught two languages—his own and Greek. When the latter was acquired he must read the classical authors of both tongues. He must learn the poets by heart. He must be able to recite and declaim. He must learn to be an orator, or at any rate an elocutionist, attending carefully to his gestures and



ROMAN LADY AT HER TOILET.

After the Elkington Plaque.

for social and political distinction than for gain. These latter were greatly esteemed, and were diligently sought after by the emperors and Roman nobles, anxious to obtain for themselves and their families the benefits of association and instruction. The common schoolmasters were freedmen or provincials, poorly paid and thoroughly despised. The establishments in which they taught were, like themselves, forlorn. Sometimes no building at all was furnished by the patrons, and the miserable, morose master was obliged to betake him-

self to the cadence of his periods. Oratory was the only branch of instruction which the state ever took under its patronage. All other departments of learning were allowed to shift for themselves.

Rome was a slaveholding Republic. Like the other ancient states, she had no compunction. Whom she would she took, and whom she took she enslaved. Ancient society without the institution of slavery is quite unthinkable. It was supported by force; that is, by war. The warrior-race must be supported by

a laboring race. The warrior-race must be supplied by the birth of sons and the laboring race by a stream of captives, taken adult. To enslave prisoners seemed natural, and the damnable atrocity of the abstract principle seems never to have shocked the leathern conscience of antiquity.

The Roman *familia* meant the whole group of persons associated with a given household. This included the family proper, the slaves, dependents, and incidental attachés of the master. Sometimes in the case of a grandee of high rank ten thousand persons were thus grouped in a single familia. Such was the house of Orgetorix, mentioned in the first book of Cæsar's *Commentaries*. Over this large aggregation of human beings the authority of the pater familias was absolute. Especially was this true of the slaves. As to them he had and exercised *potestas vite necisque*, the power of life and death. The Roman character was such as to make this power one of fearful import. The servile race knew no favors, received no mercy. The master might destroy his slaves with impunity. A runaway was treated as a wild beast. He was pursued, caught, branded, beaten, crucified, any thing according to the caprice and passion of his owner. If he turned upon and killed his master all his fellow slaves, as well as himself, were put to death. He was merely a piece of living property, not indeed so well esteemed as horses and cattle, for the latter were not dangerous to the state.

In the case of masters naturally benevolent—especially if the slaves showed themselves to be capable of fidelity and truth—kindlier relations sometimes existed. It is of record that in certain instances the slave was taken into the confidence of the household and was treated with consideration. Not, however, until the time of Hadrian did the state institute any measures to soften the merciless rigor of the slave-code. Christianity, while not opposing herself to the institution of slavery, did much to relax the jaws of the fierce beast of Roman cruelty. In the communion service of the early church the slave and his master must meet on terms of equality; and there no doubt the poor wretches of the servile class

became more respected than in any other situation in which they were placed.

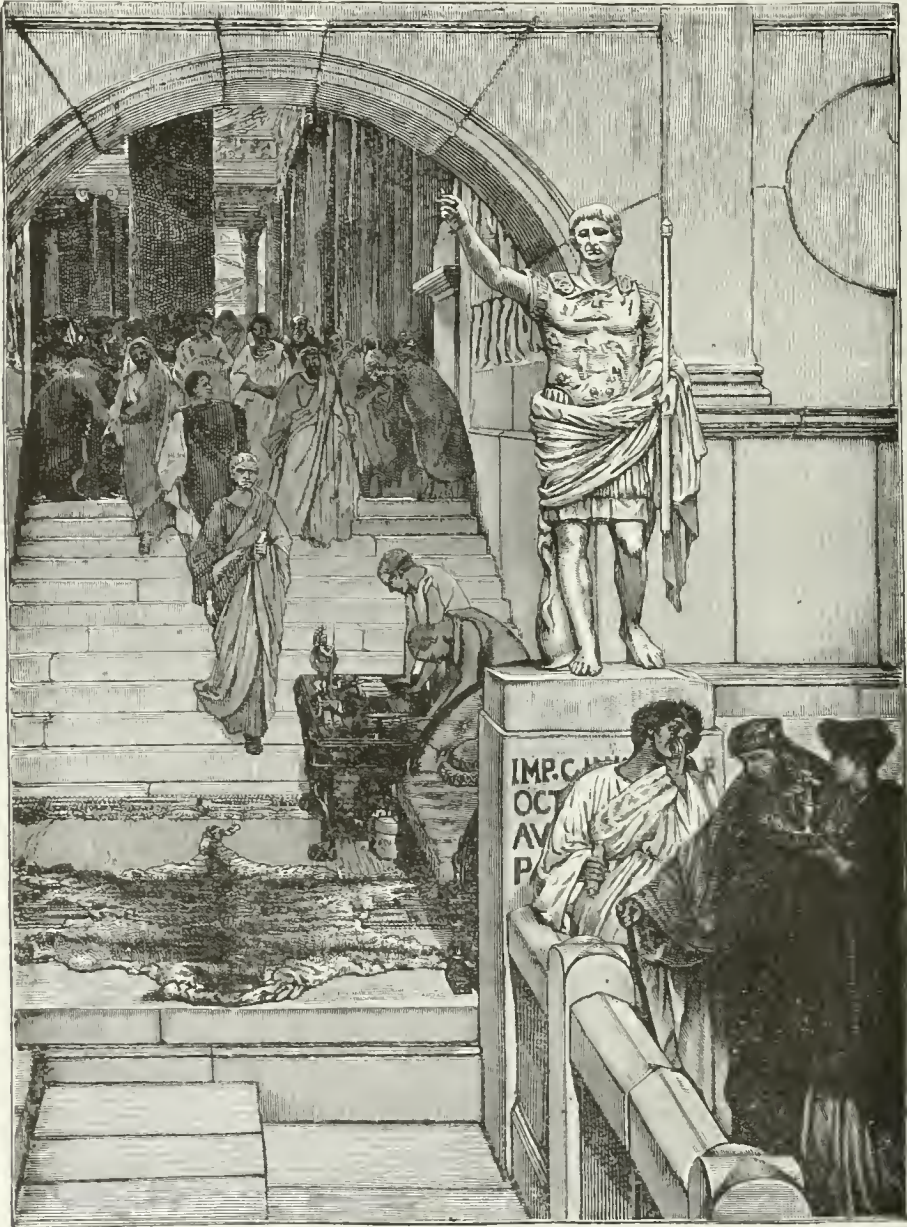
In the old hardy Rome of the early Republic the slaves were not numerous. The ancient Roman, even of the highest rank, was himself a laborer. War, however, brought in his captives, and servile labor was substituted for free. Then the number increased. Under the later Republic many grandees could count their slaves by thousands. City after city and state after state were conquered, and new trains of prisoners were driven into Rome. The slave market was a glut. He who would work a farm or a mine bought as many captives as he would, and paid but a trifle for them. Each master of large property appointed over his slaves a *silentarius*, or overseer, to whom was delegated the owner's authority. The serviles were divided into groups according to their employment, which ranged all the way from the hard toil of the mine and the quarry to the care of the library and the instruction of the master's children. The physician of the familia was frequently a learned slave, and the Roman noble's secretary was usually chosen from the servile rank—some educated Greek, who knew more than the pater familias and all his household together.

The Roman client was not, strictly speaking, included in the familia. He was originally a dependent of the patrician, to whom he owed certain legal services and from whom he was entitled to protection. At a later period the clients were merged into the plebeian class, and constituted one of the chief elements in that turbulent body of society. The legal relation disappeared, and a personal tie took its place. The clients continued in dependent attachment to the nobles of their choice, and the social code required a careful service.

Every morning the clients came in a swarm to their patron's house to pay their respects and to know his wishes for the day. Perhaps he would go abroad, in which case Roman vanity required that he should be attended by the whole train of his dependents. If he were going into the Forum to deliver an oration, then his clients must be present to support him with applause. They were his backers in all social and political relations, and for service

in this respect they received daily from his bounty an allowance or dole called the *sportula*. This was given at the master's house, and con-

ness to transact or some interest to be promoted. This attended to, the nobleman gave himself to leisure, reading in his library, or



A ROMAN EMPEROR GIVING AN AUDIENCE.

After a Painting by Alma Tadema.

sisted either of a small sum of money or of articles of food or clothing.

When in the morning the swarm of dependents had been sent out of the atrium of the patron's house, there came others who had busi-

ness to transact or some interest to be promoted. Anon, he must himself go forth into the street, perhaps, to the Senate House or the Forum. Once there, as well as on the way, he must attend to courtesy. His supe-

riors must be visited or saluted, and all of those political civilities attended to, upon the observance of which the man of Rome was as much dependent for success as the citizens of modern times. The clients were thus afforded an opportunity to see their great patron as much subordinated to the general order as themselves had been to him. The poet Martial, who had himself been a client for thirty years, found some solace in addressing his patron in the following strain :

“Maximus, yes, I own it with shame, I am hunting a dinner;
But thou huntest elsewhere: both of us here are alike.
If I come early to pay my respects, I find thou hast started
On a like errand elsewhere: here, too, we both are alike.
If I attend thee, walking before my magnificent patron,
Thou dost to others the same: here we again are alike.”

He who has read history carefully will have observed how gradually—notwithstanding the great shocks of civil war—the Roman Republic was transformed into the Empire. At the first the court of Augustus was nothing more than the house of the First Consul and greatest senator of Rome. The great atrium was thronged with petitioners and friends who came and went as freely as to the palace of any other noble. The duties of the establishment were performed by freedmen. The Emperor sat, or walked and talked, receiving salutations, giving public audiences, hearing claims preferred, addressing the senators and knights as friends, and in some sense as fellow-citizens.

In the like manner did the Empress as it respected the wives of the distinguished men who thronged her lord's palace. Time, however, brought its changes. The duties of the court grew into offices to be filled by Roman citizens, who anxiously sought such preferment. Formality came in ape-like, and pomp and ceremony took the place of the semi-republican simplicity with which the Imperial régime was ushered in.

Of course, Roman society had its exactions. It was expected that the citizen and his household should attend to the fashionable demands of the times. The current order must be ob-

served. Calls of friendship must be made and the small flatteries of life delivered *à la mode*. The court of justice, the public lecture, the family festival, the ordinary visit—all these must receive a share of attention, and all the more as Rome grew great and luxurious. There were, perhaps, in the Imperial City as many things to demand, and as many other things to distract, the attention of her people as in any other great community, either ancient or modern. The man of affairs must be always abroad attending to the calls of duty and competing with his fellows in the maintenance of his rank in society and the state.

The daily meals of the Roman were three in number—though the first, or morning repast was hardly worthy to be dignified by the name of meal. At an early hour the members of the family repaired to the board and partook sparingly of bread and salt, fruit, olives, and cheese. There was no attempt at gathering around the table, but each ate as he would. At noonday came the *prandium*, or luncheon, at which were served fish, eggs, shell-fish, and wine; but the principal meal was the dinner, or *cæna*, which was served toward sunset, and sometimes continued into the night. This principal daily feast began with certain appetizing articles like the *entrées* of a modern bill of fare, and then followed two full courses and a dessert.

In the early times the Roman table was spread in the plainest and most frugal manner. The fare was like that of the Spartans. A simple porridge of pulse was the principal article of food. To this, as the people acquired means, were added fruits and vegetables; nor did the Roman commons ever rise to a level of living much more luxurious than that of the primitive republicans. In the upper classes of society, however, there was rapid progress towards the refinements of the table.

From the year B. C. 174, cooks and bakers began to ply their vocation as professionals, and about the same time the foreign wars of the Romans made them acquainted with the gastronomic luxuries of the East. By nature the man of the city was a great eater. A corporation that began with fratricide and ended in barbarism was not likely to lack in stomach.

Especially was the Imperial gastric juice a solvent of tremendous power. From the time of Augustus the tables of the royal *triclinia* or dining-rooms groaned more and more under their load. The world was put under contribution to supply the pampered appetites of the Cæsars. The greatest gormand of them all was Vitellius, who, in order to appease the un-

care was given to the preparation of poultry. Fowls were fattened in the dark, under the belief that the quality of the flesh was thereby improved. Ducks and geese were stuffed with figs and dates for a like purpose of adding to the flavor.

Almost every extravagance of conceit was practiced in the selection and preparation of

food. Caprice would seize upon some bird or beast, perhaps hitherto regarded as unclean, and devote it to the table as a delicacy. The higher life of Rome became bestial to a degree never equaled in the case of a people equally civilized. Several of the Emperors were genuine swine. Their gluttony was hardly redeemed by the slight flavor of epicurean decency which pervaded it. The revenues of kingdoms, backed by the resources of unscrupulous power, were scarcely sufficient to maintain the style of living which was adopted by the later Cæsars. Apicius feasted on the tongues of flamingoes, and Elagabalus on their brains. Peacocks, storks, and cranes, and nearly all the other uneatables were taken with gusto on the Roman table. But the flesh of bird and fowl was by no means enough in strength and



A ROMAN COURT OF JUSTICE.

appeasable, sent out detachments of hunters into foreign parts to scour untrodden forests for game, and dispatched squadrons to drain the sea if by any means he might be filled.

To the fish, oysters, and crabs thus supplied were added such delicacies as mussels and snails, which were highly prized by the Roman epicure. It was a custom of the time to bring such creatures to the table *alive*, in order that their freshness might not be suspected. Great

flavor to satisfy the animal appetite of him to whom dyspepsia was a stranger and satiety impossible. He must have pig. From the mere pigling of Campania to the wild boar whose frothing jaws had champed for twenty years in the forests of Asia, the swine race was devoured by the race of swine. The royal gluttons could tell by the flavor from what country a given boar had been taken, notwithstanding the more than fifty ways in which he might be dressed.

Of wines, that of Cæcuba, in Campania, was reckoned the best. The vintage of each consulship was marked so that its age might be known. The jars in which it was stored bore a label specifying the quality and the date. The Falerian was regarded as next best after the Campanian. Then came several other varieties claiming the third rank. Foreign war brought foreign wine. The vintage of Greece was highly esteemed, and was nearly always found in the cellars of noblemen.

It is due to say that in the matter of drink the Romans were more temperate than in food. It appears that the gluttonous habit sought fullness rather than intoxication. In this regard the manner of the Greeks was imitated. Before drinking, the Roman weakened his wine with water and cooled it with snow. Sometimes the beverage was a mixture of wine, water, and honey, flavored with spice. In this case the drink was generally warmed, and for the preparation of the same a small furnace for charcoal was kept in every fully furnished house.¹

The table furniture of the Romans was rich and artistic. Massive vessels of gold and silver stood on side-boards wrought of costly woods. The candelabra and lamps were of silver or bronze, done in graceful designs. The rare woods which were used for the general furniture were tastefully carved and inlaid with ivory or the precious metals. The seats were arranged with soft cushions, on which the guests sat or reclined at their ease. The dining-room, or *triclinium*, was the largest single

apartment of the house, and its position and surroundings were chosen in a manner to minister to the convenience and luxury of the family and the great retinue of guests which were frequently called to the noble's board.

In the homes of the commons the dining-hall was, of course, less extensive, its furniture less elaborate. The table of the plebeian was a quadrangular board, on three sides of which were arranged the couches on which the eaters reclined at their meals. The fourth side was left unoccupied, so that the attendants might serve with ease. Such a table was generally of a size to accommodate three guests to each couch, or nine persons in all.

In general, the table manners and ceremony of the Romans were copied from the Greeks—unless, indeed, both grew from the habits of a common ancestry. In one marked particular, however, the two races differed in the conduct of the meal and the banquet. The Greeks excluded their women, while the Romans demanded their presence and conversation. It was, however, the stronger domesticity, rather than a superior refinement, which gave in this respect the favorable distinction to the Western race. Before reclining at the table the Romans garlanded themselves with flowers, a supply of which could always be obtained in the market.

The Romans were more serious than the Greeks, and their conversation at the table was less brilliant. When the city waxed great and luxurious it became customary to enliven the feast with music and many other specialties. Declaimers came into the hall and recited from the orators and poets. Supple dancing-girls from Andalusia displayed their graces of form and posture. The juggler, buffoon, tragedian, and pantomimist each exhibited his skill and received his share of applause. When the banquet chanced to be exclusively for men, there was much equivocal and indecency in the performances given for the amusement of the guests.

In connection with feasts and banquets, there was one kind of caprice which was peculiarly Roman. This was the *surprise*. The eaters at the royal board generally expected to be astonished with some marvel in the arrangements for the occasion. Herein there

¹As a specimen of what the Roman cuisine was able to afford, the following bill of fare is appended, the same being for a pontifical banquet in the time of Cæsar:

First Course.—Conger-eels, oysters, two kinds of mussels, thrushes on asparagus, fat fowls, a ragout of oysters and other shell-fish, with black and white marrons.

Second Course.—A variety of shell-fish and other marine animals, beccaficos, haunches of venison, a wild boar, a pastry of beccaficos and other birds.

Third Course.—The udders of swine, boar's head, fricassee of fish, fricassee of cow's udder, ducks of various kinds, hares, roast fowls with pastry, and Picentine bread.

This menu was but a foretaste of the coarse but elaborate sumptuousness which prevailed in the Later Empire.

was manifested that same skill which has been remarked as apparent in the construction of the circus and arena. The Roman architects were adepts in the art of producing effects by physical contrivance. The emperors were great patrons of this kind of skill. In the construction of his Golden House, Nero had the vaulted

We are indebted to the chatty Petronius for an account of one of Nero's feasts. In the course of the banquet the surprises were constant and incredible in their character. As soon as the guests had reclined, a retinue of Egyptian slaves entered and washed the reveller's hands and feet in snow-water. A great

salver was then brought in, in the midst of which stood a bronze ass bearing silver paniers filled with black and white olives. On his back sat old Silenus pouring sauce from a wine-sack. The sausages were set on a gridiron, under which, in imitation of live coals, were heaped plums and red pomegranate kernels. On the edge of the tray were oysters and snails set in a natural way among the vegetables with which they were to be eaten. In the revelation a hen of carved wood was introduced. She sat with outspread wings covering a nestful of peacock's eggs, and these were served to the guests. On being broken, each egg revealed what appeared to be an unhatched chick, but which proved to be a beccafico done in egg-sauce! The dishes of each course were removed to the music of a chant, and one of the attendants was boxed for breaking the rhythm by stopping to pick up a dish. The wine served in the next course was a hundred years old. At one point in the banquet the dishes which were



ROMAN TRICLINIUM OR DINING-HALL.
After Viollet le Duc.

ceiling of the dining-hall so planned as to revolve on an axis, thus producing one sky for day and another for night. Otho's ceiling was so arranged that when the guests were seated gold tubes shot out of the dome, and showered odorous spray on the banqueters. Sometimes petals of flowers were scattered from above in a similar manner.

brought in were of the most ordinary pattern and vulgar finish; but these on being lifted proved to be only covers for the real treasures which were concealed beneath them. A fat hare was converted into a pegasus by the addition of wings.

When the carver came he performed his duty to musical accompaniment, keeping per-

fect time. When the great wild boar was brought in, he bore on his tusks two baskets of palm twigs filled with dates. By the side of the huge creature lay eight pigs, done in paste by the confectioner. Further on in the banquet the ceiling opened overhead, and down came a silver hoop, bearing alabaster phials of perfumes, silver coronets, and other keepsakes for the guests. When the banqueters reached

forth and took the fruit which a figure of *Verumnus*, standing in the midst of the table, carried in his bosom, they were sprinkled with little jets of saffron water. And so caprice followed caprice to the end of the magnificent revel, until curiosity could be no longer excited, and then the gormands who had consumed the treasure of a state retired, each to his place, and slept in the shadow of mighty Rome.

CHAPTER LVI.—RELIGION.



ROME was one of the most religious states of antiquity. From the first to the last of that far-reaching career which extended from the founding of the city to the overthrow of

the Western Empire, the same sentiment—albeit in different forms—of obligation to the gods pervaded the people. The notion that man's life might be purified by oblation and sacrifice, that the supernal powers might be appeased and brought into sympathy with mortals by their prayers and offerings, was a belief well-nigh universal. Although the Roman sometimes mocked at the gods, he never mocked at the sentiment of religion. Although his faith had not much to do in controlling the moral conduct of his life, yet his views respecting the deities, and what was due to them in worship, were in the nature of convictions not to be shaken out of his mind.

The religious development of the Roman people was threefold: First, the primitive Latin system; second, the Græco-Italian system, and third, the reformed paganism—the last being the form of faith which was confronted and overthrown by Christianity. It will be appropriate to give some account of each of these systems and of the circumstances of their transformation, one into the other. In the first place, then, we shall consider the system of the primitive Latins, such as it was before contact with Greek culture led to the introduction of a Roman mythology.

Without the brilliant imagination of the Greeks, the early Latins adopted a system of faith consisting of simple forms of belief and a limited development. It was not characterized by that variety and inflection from a given type which marked the religion of the Hellenic race. The gods were not at the first raised to the rank of persons. They were abstractions rather, which Roman thought was able to create but unable to develop. Nevertheless, these gods of the formative stage were sincerely believed in, and were necessary to the existence of the social and political order. So inwoven with the very fabric of society were the fundamental concepts of religion that from the first both public and private affairs were made dependent for their success or failure upon the will of the gods.

Beginning with the religious system of the Latini we find that the first stage of development was that of multiplying the gods. This came to pass under two or three distinct influences. In the first place the early Romans—indeed the Romans of all ages—were tolerant of foreign deities. The people of the primitive Republic were better pleased to import than to invent new gods. In the latter work the race had little facility. It thus came to pass that when the policy of subduing and incorporating the surrounding nations was adopted by Rome, she honored and retained the overthrown gods. Such a course was natural and expedient.

In the second place, the plan and process of multiplying the divinities arose from the

inability or inaptitude of the Roman mind to hold many attributes together in one personality. The multiplicity of nature seemed to require that the abstraction should be broken up into its constituent elements. Each element became a power, making many of one. Of the thirty original gods of Latium there were made such division and increase as to fill earth, air, and sea with a multitude. When all the attributes of what had been an abstract cou-

it delighted. Each family, each individual, selected what to him or it appeared to be a presiding genius to whom prayer was addressed and adoration offered. Thus came Italy to have two populations; the one mortal, the other immortal—and the latter rivaled the former in number.

The Roman home had its household gods, called the *Penates*. They were the guardian deities of the sacred precincts. After these

the dearest gods were the *Lares* or Lords. These were the souls of departed ancestors who were still present in the abodes of mortality. They were the spirits of the good fathers. To carry out the antithesis the souls of the bad, the *Lemures* and *Larve*, were likewise supposed to revisit the scenes of their former activity, prowling like wicked ghosts about the dens of evil and despair.

So all Italy was peopled with gods. Town and country were filled with shrines and temples, where the gods peculiar to each locality received the adoration of the devout.



SACRIFICING TO THE LARES.
Drawn by H. Vogel.

cept had been impersonated then the process continued with the deification of man. In this there appeared to the Roman nothing monstrous or absurd. Altars and temples were in many instances erected to the honor of some emperor *still alive*; and the title of *Augustus* (divine) taken by all the Cæsars after Octavianus, shows that the whole group were contemplated as in a process of apotheosis. In this analytical system of theogony every Roman organization from the state to the debating club had its own deities in whom

Holy buildings, however, belonged rather to that period of Roman history when Greek culture had fired the popular imagination with what it had been originally unable to create. In the epoch of the later Republic and the early Empire magnificent temples in the best style of Greek architecture rose on every side. In the public squares of Rome shrines and monuments, niches and altars, were seen wherever a place might be found to contain them; and even the gardens and groves were penetrated with the emblems of that religious fervor

which glowed in the heart of great and cruel Rome.

It will not have escaped the attention of the thoughtful reader of Roman history that the powers and prerogatives and distinctions of that great citizenship were all *derived*. They came from the state. The Roman, according to his own theory, was not great in *himself*, but great as a part of Rome. His rank came from Rome. If a patrician, the senate gave him his prerogatives; if a public officer, he was so because of election. That massive abstraction—the Roman government—which by the constitution of the state was able to build the Eternal City, hurl armies with resistless force against the surrounding nations, dominate both sea and land, and conquer the world, gave to each and all their relative distinctions in the great fabric of Rome. How unlike the condition of the world since feudalism gave to man his personal right and individual importance! It thus happened that Rome gave liberty to the world, and feudalism freedom—liberty being the aggregate name for the rights of man under a state, and freedom the name of those rights which are derived from himself.

This general view of the constitution of Roman political society will serve to explain the non-existence of a religious hierarchy in the state. Priests there were in abundance, but they were *officers of the government*. Their right to be priests was conferred by the state. Their sacred office gave them no power over society beyond a certain general respect in which all the priests of the world have had the good fortune to be held by secular society.

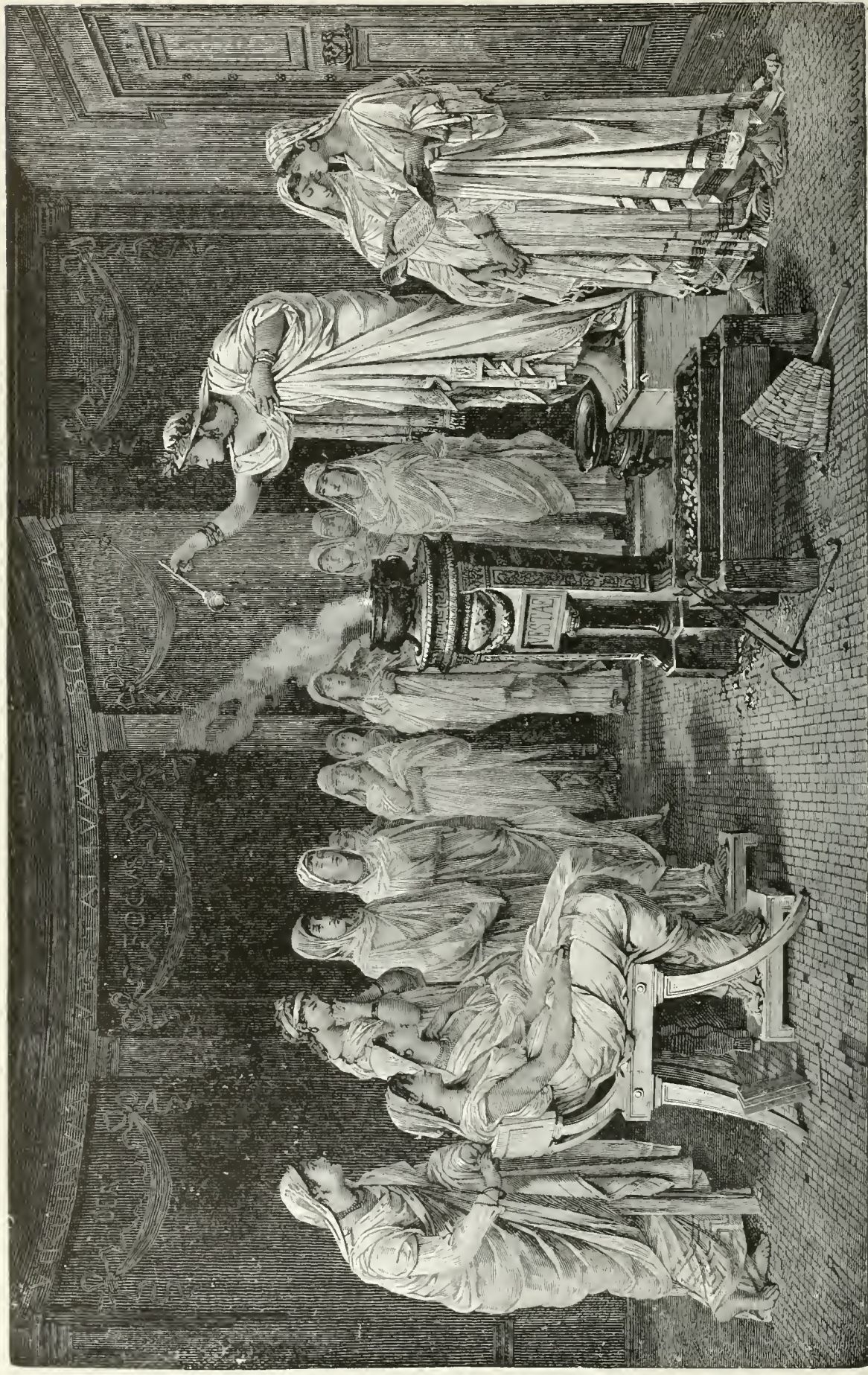
The deities of Rome had each a body of priests who served at the altars and maintained the honor of their respective gods. There was a college in chief of hierarchs called the *PONTIFICES*, to whom was committed the general oversight of the religious ceremonials of the city. Each deity had his own chief priest, known as the *FLAMEN*, whose duty was, as indicated by the name, to kindle and attend the altar-fires and manage the sacrifices and burnt-offering. The great flamen of the city was the high-priest of Jupiter. He was called the *DIALIS*, and was held in the highest honor. He and his house were exempt from all public

duties, to the end that his whole life might be devoted to the service of the altars of Jove. He might not touch any thing unclean, or look upon the dead, or enter a cemetery. When he passed, the workmen ceased from their toil until he was out of sight. So great was his sanctity that the culprit who entered his house was free, and the criminal on his way to execution was pardoned.

After the college of priests, the next body of celebrants was the *VESTALS*. As the name implies, they were the priestesses of *VESTA*, the house-goddess of the Romans. It was their duty to keep burning evermore the sacred fires on her altars. They were required to live a life of blameless purity. Their term of service was thirty years. In case of any lapse from virtue on the part of a vestal she was walled up alive in a tomb. Like male hierarchs, the priestesses of Vesta went abroad among the people, and by them were treated with the greatest respect. In public they were attended by a lictor, and the populace stood in respectful silence while they passed. To insult a vestal was an offense punishable with death. At great festivals and celebrations in Rome the vestals were honored like persons of the highest rank.

The general supervision of the priestesses belonged to the *PONTIFEX MAXIMUS*, who stood at the head of the religious affairs of the state. To him was referred the decision of all questions relating to the orthodoxy of the national faith. This high officer was originally the engineer of the city, having charge of the public works, especially the bridges over the Tiber, and hence his title of pontifex. The Roman calendar was in his charge, as was also the regulation of the annual festivals. The public documents of the state were in the keeping of the pontifices, and they thus became the first annalists or recorders in Rome. It was their duty to decide in what manner the gods should be consulted and prayed to; but of this branch of the ceremonial—namely, the consultation of the deities—another body of the priests, called *AUGURS*, had exclusive jurisdiction; that is, the actual conduct of the service of augury or divination.

The belief in the possibility of knowing the



SCHOOL OF THE VESTAL VIRGINS.
(After the Painting by Hector Le Roux.)

will of the gods by consulting signs has been common to all races. Among the old Latins such a faith was especially strong; and the common people of Rome accepted the belief without doubting. It was accepted as a fundamental doctrine that any one might observe and interpret omens; but the very universality of the thing implied that certain persons should be set aside as diviners. Of these there were two classes in Rome: the augurs proper, and the haruspices. The duty of the former was to interpret the signs of the upper air, such as the phenomenon of lightning and the flight of birds; while the business of the haruspex was to know the will of the gods from an examination of the entrails of animals.

The particular manner of divination employed by the AUGUR was as follows: He first drew a square figure on the ground. This he then divided into four small squares by transverse lines. At the intersection of the cross-lines the observer took his station, facing to the south. Standing thus he gazed intently into the air. Whatever appeared to the side of the left hand was good fortune; every thing to the right, bad. But it was not merely the fact of appearance which constituted the good or evil omen.

The particular character of the things which were seen was that which evoked the augur's skill. The manner of the bird's flight and the nature of the lightning's flash, whether zigzag or spreading in a sheet, were the features which called for skill. Herein was the augur great. He had his rules and his precedents—a kind of traditional lore received from his Etruscan ancestors. However stupid the whole business may appear in the high light of the present, to the Romans these things were very real. So strong a hold had the faith in augury on the public mind that no important affair was ever undertaken without consulting the omens. The custom still held its own after the spread of intelligence, and in later days the augurs were still patronized, if for no other reason than for effect with the masses.¹

Men like Cicero and Cæsar, as well as the leading augurs themselves, knew well enough that the whole business was a sham; and the remark of Cato that he could not understand how two augurs could ever look each other in the face without laughing was as appropriate as it was witty.

It was the duty of the HARUSPEX to examine the entrails of the victims slain in sacrifice and to learn therefrom the will of the deities. This ceremony was considered of the greatest importance. It was reckoned essential that the sacrifices should be conducted with the utmost formality and according to immemorial usage.

The language of the sacrificial rituals was all either obsolete or obsolescent. The old hymns were no longer understood even by those who chanted them, and the whole ceremonial was antique. It was considered essential to the accuracy of the divination that no error should be committed, no departure made from the immemorial usage. In case of a mistake the whole ceremony had to be begun again from the first. The various steps in the sacrifice succeeded each other to the strains of music, and no noise was permitted within such distance as might distract the attention of the haruspex.

The offerings made by the primitive Romans were fruits of the earth. The most ancient gifts were parched meal mingled with salt. This was the celebrated *mola salsa*, which, during the whole age of Rome, remained a part of the sacrificial emblems. After this the offerings were honey, wine, milk, and cakes. Of the living sacrifices the swine was regarded as the most acceptable. The appetite of the priest, to whom always fell the remainder of whatever was offered, determined the preference of the gods! In the great sacrifices made on solemn occasions by the state, the sheep and the bullock were led, together with the pig, to the altar, and all three were slain in the festival called *suovetaurilia*.

commander of a fleet, about to go into battle, tossed the holy birds some corn, but they would not eat. Roman-like, he became angry and threw the whole coopful into the sea, accompanied with the remark that if he could not make them eat *he could make them drink*.

¹ Many amusing things are related of the Roman auguries. It was a part of the system to determine coming events by the way in which the sacred chickens took their feed. On one occasion the



HARUSPEX OFFICIATING.

In prayer the Roman stood. If the supernatural deities were addressed the hands were held up, but not in that exalted attitude peculiar to the Greeks. When the infernal powers were prayed to, the palms were turned down to the earth. The face was kept to the front; the eyes closed, the head covered with the toga.

The beasts intended for sacrifice were garlanded with flowers. Thus wreathed, they were led to the altar. The bullock's horns were bound with fillets and the forehead sprinkled with the *mola salsa*. The death blow was given with an axe; but in the case of the smaller victims, life was taken by opening the veins of the throat. As soon as the animal was struck down, the body was opened and the entrails taken out and examined by the *haruspex*. Special attention was given to the heart, lungs, and liver, and from these organs were gathered the signs which the priests interpreted. If the indications were regarded as auspicious, the entrails were sprinkled with wine, and a libation was poured upon the ground. When this part of the ceremony was completed, the festival was celebrated, in which the flesh of the victims was eaten by the priests.

The Roman year was divided into a ceremonial calendar, for the sacred feasts—each at its appointed season—were very numerous. At the opening of the year was the great festival of the two-faced JANUS. On this occasion, in addition to the regular offerings to the god, gifts were made by friends to each other. The people exchanged calls and salutations, for it was New-Year's Day—a time to be glad.

In the month of March came the festival of MARS, celebrated by a college of priests called the Salii, or Leapers, who went in procession through the streets bearing the sacred shields and other emblems of the War-god. As they went they danced and chanted archaic hymns, accompanied with the music of flutes. Along the route of the procession there were stations, at which the Salii halted and feasted.

On the 21st of April was celebrated the festival called the Palilia, in honor of PALES, the goddess of shepherds. This was the anniversary of the founding of Rome, and was regarded as an occasion of much importance. In this ceremony the celebrants kindled fires

of straw and leaped through the flames, giving themselves to jocularity and the spirit of sport. In May came the festival of DEA DIA, the goddess of the fields. The ceremonies in this case were conducted by the *Fratres Arvales*, or Field Brethren, who for three days kept up sacrifices and banquets in honor of the good divinity who gave fertility to the glebe in spring.

The great festival of FLORA was celebrated by the women. It was given when the wheat fields were in blossom, and was conducted with much beautiful display peculiar to the season of flowers. But the most elaborate of all the celebrations of Rome was that of SATURN, held at the winter solstice, and afterwards extended so as to include the twenty-fifth of December.

Saturn was regarded by the Romans as the god of that primitive peace which once held sway in the world before the age of devastation and war. In that pacific era all men held the same rank and had their enjoyments in common. It was fitting, therefore, that in the festival of Saturn—though the world had forgotten the old-time goodness—all men should be regarded as restored for a brief season to their primitive equality. So the great and the humble, the rich and the poor, the young and the old, were all given the license of a common freedom, a common immunity. The festival was called the Saturnalia. Labor ceased, public business was at an end, the courts were closed, the schools had holiday. Tables, laden with bounties, were spread on every hand, and at these all classes for the nonce sat down together. The master and the slave for the day were equals. It was a time of gift-giving and innocent abandonment. In the public shops every variety of present from the simplest to the most costly could be found. Fathers, mothers, kinspeople, friends, all hurried thither to purchase, according to their fancy, what things soever seemed most tasteful and appropriate as presents. The fair of Rome exhibited in plentiful profusion every variety of articles brought from every quarter of the world. There were knickknacks for the children, ornaments for the ladies, little trophies of the toilet, ornamental tapers in wax, and, indeed, whatever the fancy or caprice of

Rome could well imagine or create. It was a season of mirth and jollity; of feasting and hilarity; of games and sports.

Sometimes in Rome festivals and banquets were celebrated in honor of the dead. This usage chimed in perfectly with the old religious belief, which required the worship of the Lares or spirits of the dead fathers. It was not held that the ghosts of the dead returned from the dark land into which they had departed, but the memory of the friends who were no more lingered in Roman affection, and furnished good ground for the custom of feasts given in honor of departed ancestors.

The places where the bodies of friends were laid to rest were held in particular reverence by the Romans. Monuments were erected in commemoration of their virtues; trees and flowers were planted to give their fragrance and beauty to the spot made sacred by the ashes of the dead. Sometimes the sepulcher was in the garden near the busy scenes in which the living still participated; but sometimes the tombs were set remote, by the roadside, or on the slope of a hill, but never in a place of obscurity or gloom.

In the celebration of their funerals the Romans were formal and elaborate. In the case of the death of a Patrician, or any man of rank, his body was followed to the place of sepulture by a great concourse of friends and admirers. It appears that the closing hours of the life of the Roman was generally hallowed with the affectionate tenderness of family and friends. As soon as the spirit had taken its departure the body of the dead was washed, anointed, and adorned for the tomb. It was customary for the friends to call loudly upon his name in the hours succeeding his death, and to make great lamentation on account of his departure. The body, especially if of a person distinguished in rank, was laid in state, under a covering or canopy richly decorated and strewn with flowers. Several days were allowed to elapse before the interment took place, and during this interval, as in modern times, the friends of the deceased came singly and in companies to view the body of him who was now to be put from sight.

The real work of preparing the dead for burial, as well as the actual sepulture, was conducted by a company of undertakers, who were regarded as the servants of Venus Libitina. By them coffins and urns were furnished, and the decorations prepared. The exit of the dead from the world was made as little gloomy as the fact of death would permit.

In the matter of disposing of the remains the Romans in general followed the custom of the Greeks. It will be remembered that in Hellas both incineration and earth-burial were practiced, and in Rome the two usages also prevailed, according to the wealth and station and preference of the friends of the deceased. If incineration was adopted in a given case, then it was the duty of the undertakers to provide the pyre on which the body was to be burned. In other cases they furnished the sarcophagus or coffin, in which the body was deposited, and prepared the grave or vault wherein the same was put away.

It was customary in case of funerals for the procession to pass, not without ostentation, through the great streets and thoroughfares of the city. It was expected that the length and character of the procession, as well as the crowds which incidentally assembled on the line of march, should indicate the interest of the masses in the occasion, as well as the sympathy of the more intimate friends for him who was borne away. It was customary to head the cortege with a band of flute-players, who discoursed sad music while the procession was en route. It was also a part of the custom of the Romans to employ professional mourners, especially women, who were cultured in the best methods of artificial woe, and were expected on such occasions to display, with chants and wailing and dolorous gesticulation, not a little professional skill in the dissemination of sorrow. In this college of technical grief one of the actors impersonated the dead; others were clad in masks, and represented distant ancestors. If the family had been sufficiently fortunate to preserve heirlooms of old times and the insignia of their fathers, such things were usually displayed in the procession.

The body of the dead was placed near the head of the column, as in the modern manner.

Then came the mourners, the friends, distinguished persons, the magistrates of the city, the common people, and lastly the slaves, who on such occasions were not only permitted but expected to bear witness by their presence to an affection which they had never felt before for him who was once their master. As a general thing, the procession halted in the Forum. There the representatives of the ancestors of the dead took their place in the seats of the *curiales*, whereupon one of the number, perhaps a near kinsman, if such chanced to be gifted with oratory, or otherwise a friend, mounted the Tribune, and delivered a funeral oration in honor of the dead.

In the course of this address it was expected not only that the deeds of the deceased should be glorified, but that the history of his family, his ancestors, his kinsmen, should be given, especially in such parts as were calculated to reflect credit and honor upon the departed.

When the address was ended the procession was renewed to the place of interment or burning. If the latter, the pyre was already prepared. The body was at once laid upon it, and the torch applied by the nearest kinsman. As the flames were kindled the friends gathered near and cast into the burning pile small mementoes of the dead or articles of their own, such as incense, perfumes, and locks of hair. As soon as the wood was consumed the ashes were sprinkled with wine and perfumes, and were then gathered into the urn, which was set in the vault. Then certain ones, speaking for the family, spoke aloud, as addressing the dead: "Farewell, thou pure soul." "Lightly rest the earth upon thee." "Rest in peace." Finally those who had participated in the funeral purified themselves with holy water, and then dispersed to their homes. At the expiration of nine days a funeral feast was given in commemoration of the dead, and this might be repeated annually at the general festival of the *feralia*.

In the case of the poorer people the earth-burial was generally employed. The method was not dissimilar to that of modern times. The body was put into a coffin and lowered into a pit in the ground. The opening was

filled up and a mound of earth raised over the grave. When earth-burial was preferred by the wealthy, as was sometimes the case, the sarcophagus was usually deposited in a stone tomb, solidly and elegantly built. Nearly all graves and vaults were marked with some sort of memorial tablet or monument, and on this was recorded an appropriate inscription. This generally contained, besides the name of the deceased and his family, a brief panegyric, or, at any rate, a sentiment of that sort wherewith life in all ages has been wont to cajole his enemy. In the humbler ranks the epitaph was for the most part an expression of domestic grief, or perhaps a word of consolation for the living. The wife was made to say, "I await my husband;" and the sadness of the latter is thus recorded: "She never caused me a sorrow save by her death."

The Roman nobility, like that of other ancient nations, took pride in ostentatious monuments. They were erected by preference in the most frequented places. Along the sides of the Appian Way, as it neared the great city, were built many tombs for the repose of the grandees of Rome. Among such structures may be mentioned as specially worthy of note the pyramid of Cestius and the mausoleum of Hadrian, now converted into the Castle of Saint Angelo. The ruins of many similar piles may be seen as one journeys along the Appian Way from Rome towards Campania. In the exhumed Pompeii we have what is known as the Street of Tombs. The place resembles the arena of a circus. The traveler descends to the bottom by a stairway, and sees around him in the circular wall the chambers and niches wherein were deposited the urns and caskets containing the ashes of the dead. From the resemblance to a row of nests these apartments or chambers were called *Columbaria* or pigeon-houses.

The Christians, as a sect, did not relish or willingly follow the styles of burial which prevailed in Rome. The idea of a literal resurrection of the dead seemed to make the process of incineration revolting alike to humanity and religion. Nor were the pagan rites which accompanied the earth-burial of the Romans more pleasing to the instincts of the Christian

fathers. So they betook themselves to the catacombs with their dead, and there, amid the sepulchral shadows of that underground, committed the ashes of their friends to their last resting place. It was from these subterranean caverns that those sacred bones were taken which, during the Middle Ages and even in

new life seemed to extend no further than to the commons, among whom it had always prevailed. The more learned men of Rome appear never to have had any sincere confidence in the truth and value of the popular faith. It was among this class that the Greek culture took deepest root; and with the incoming of

Hellenic influences a new type of religious forms and beliefs was introduced to the mind of Rome. The Græco-Italic learning gradually infected the faith of the West, and the old gods of Etruria and the Latin coast were Hellenized in their character and attributes.

Those supernal powers which, beginning in abstractions, had risen to ideal concepts were now under the influence of the Greek personified. They took on human forms, and became individual. It was this aspect of religious culture which most profoundly affected the beliefs and practices of the learned circles of Rome, such as those which revolved around the Scipios, Lælius and Æmilius Paullus. As against the old traditional beliefs of the Romans, philosophy set up the mythos and skepticism of the Greeks. Nor were there wanting many illustrious examples among the learned Romans of the period of men who, seeing the beliefs of centuries either



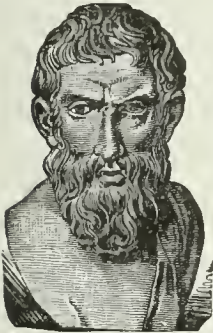
FUNERAL CEREMONY AT A COLUMBARIUM IN THE PALACE OF JULIUS CÆSAR,
AT THE PORTA CAPENÆ, ROME.

modern times, have been so highly prized as efficacious relics by the world of saints.

The mural and monumental inscriptions of the Romans show conclusively that as late as the downfall of the Empire of the West the belief in the primitive gods Latium still held a place in the minds of the people. In the second century of the Imperial régime the old faith indeed experienced a revival. but this

modified in essential particulars, or thrown into a total wreck by the impact of a higher and more scientific concept of nature, rushed to the furthest limits of disbelief, and becoming heretics, spewed out of their mouths the whole category of gods, both Italic and Greek. Such was the philosopher Lucretius, who in his scorn of the existing system concealed not his hatred of all the deities and myths.

IN the formation of this school of skepticism at Rome the doctrines of EPICURUS were all-powerful. According to his teachings, the pious traditions of the past were so much folly which an enlightened age might well reject with profit. The spirits of men should be emancipated from fear. The belief in a hierarchy of gods controlling the affairs of human life, rewarding here and punishing there as often in caprice as in justice, was the beginning of a reign of terror in the kingdom of mind. Until this terror could be dismissed, happiness was impossible. Happiness demanded mental quietude. Happiness demanded exemption from passion, and that the spirit should be freed from the menace of fear and the thralldom or prejudice. Instead of all this, the Epicurean system would institute a



EPICURUS.

religion of humanity, patriotism, benevolence, love of home, and a generous but not intemperate gratification of every appetite. Such was the system which in the minds of the great Romans of the later Republic supplanted the child-like pietism and credulity of the preceding ages.

The man of fashion in the Imperial City affected this type of skepticism as an evidence of his culture and his claim to be called a thinker.

By these counter-currents in the religious beliefs of the Romans the people were borne away to different quarters of the horizon. Culture and faith parted company.

The enlightened men of Rome came to look upon the offices of the old-time religion as mere vestiges of an extinct world. They mocked at sacrifices and turned their wit upon the augurs. They characterized the doctrines of the past as imposition and falsehood, and were tolerant of any form of religious belief only to the extent of regarding it as a political necessity for the control of a vulgar populace. For this reason the Roman skeptics confined their resistance to the established belief to private animadversions and satire, while publicly assenting to the existing order.

It was one of the strange phenomena of the times that in proportion as the old faith of Rome thus yielded to the influence of skepticism among the higher classes, the philosophers themselves generally sought refuge in some new form of belief. It became almost as common to institute a foreign god as to dethrone a native one. In this way the lands abroad were pillaged of their deities to fill the vacant niches of the Roman pantheon. Thus was imported Cybele, "the Phrygian mother of the gods," who brought with her those passionate orgies with which her worship was celebrated. In like manner came from the East the deities Astarte and Mithras, and from Egypt Isis and Serapis. In the new forms of worship there was much of that sensuous display and ceremony in which the pampered philosophers of Rome could find comfort even when the austere gods were abolished.

In the second century of the Christian era occurred a great reaction against the abuses of the system just described. It was in the nature of a revival of that ancient paganism to which the common people had always been attached. The philosophers and statesmen wearied at last of Eastern voluptuousness and African mysticism in their religion; and the gods of the Greek pantheon came again into favor with thinkers and scholars. There was a renaissance in classical temple-building, and the Emperors and nobles vied with each other in patronizing the revival of ancient religious fervor. During the time of Hadrian the artists of the Empire contributed hosts of statues to fill the niches, old and new, in the sacred places of Rome.

The general effect of this movement was the restitution of the pantheon of the primitive Romans. The deities which were restored in the second century were not quite identical with those of ancient Latium. By their transition through the philosophical epoch, they had lost many of the myths and legends peculiar to the godhood of olden times. This revolution in the religious belief of the Roman world was largely the work of the Stoics. They came to reconcile theology with philosophy, to strike from the one what was repulsive to the other, and to blend the two in a common sys-

tem which should be no longer shocking to human reason. To this end it was necessary to reject those incredible and sometimes disgusting legends wherewith the primitive religion of Italy was disfigured. This done, the people—even the philosophers—could re-adopt the deities of old, and worship them as the highest types of excellence and power.

Thus was instituted in the Eternal City a hierarchy of exalted beings worthy to be addressed with prayer and sacrifice. At the head of these mighty personages of the supernal world stood the sublime Jupiter, with attributes refined from those of the coarse and sensual Zeus. So great was the improvement in the morals and manners of the gods of Rome that men of refinement, even the sages, might worship them as being higher and better than themselves. Thus, under the influence of the Stoics, a limit was set to the skeptical degeneration which had been so widely disseminated by the doctrines of the Epicureans.¹

It was with this new system of purified pagan faith that Christianity had its final and decisive struggle for the mastery of the Roman world. For two centuries these counter currents of religious belief continued to flow through the thought of Imperial Rome. The question was whether Christ or Jove should master the masters of the world. At last the scale inclined toward Christianity. The throne of Jove tottered, and then fell. In the days of Constantine, the idols were broken in the city of the Tiber and the Galilean was proclaimed King of kings. Already, while this transformation of religious belief was accomplished, the swellings of the barbarian flood were heard along the frontiers of the Empire. Out of the north-east, the deluge of Teutonism came pouring; and before the inrolling of this ominous tide, the shrines of the classical world were buried in the sea-bottom of oblivion. Alarie sat in Cæsar's chair, and Christ on the throne of Jove.

CHAPTER LVII.—LEGENDS AND TRADITIONS.



IN the far horizon is seen the Trojan Æneas clad in the garments of fable. Only so much is known as that Latium was colonized by foreigners. They may have been a ship load from Troy; but the tradition to that effect has no more foundation than the fancy of the

¹As an example of what the best thought of the refined paganism of Rome was able to produce in giving adequate expression to the instincts of man, the following prayer, said to have been composed by the Greek Stoic Cleanthes of Assus, may be appropriately reproduced. It is addressed to Jove:

"I hail thee, most glorious of the immortals, O Being, revered under a thousand names, Jupiter, Eternal and Almighty One, Lord of nature who guidest all things according to law! This immeasurable universe which circles round the earth obeys thy behests without a murmur, for thou holdest in thy invisible hand the instrument of thy will, the lightning, that living and flaming weapon, at whose crashing blows all nature trem-

bles. Thus thou guidest the activity of the universal reason which penetrates all beings, and is mingled with the great and lesser lights of the world. Highest ruler of the universe, naught happens upon earth without thee, naught in the ethereal and divine heavens, naught in the sea, naught except the sin which the wicked commit. Jupiter, God, whom dark clouds conceal, pluck mankind from their sad ignorance; disperse the darkness of their souls, O our Father, and grant them to comprehend the thought that serves thee in ruling the world with righteousness. Then shall we in reverential adoration give thee the reward of thy beneficence, unceasingly celebrating in fitting words the works of thy hands and the universal law of all beings."

According to the legend, the first Trojan settlement was made at Lavinium; but soon

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there was a transfer to Alba Longa, which, under the rule of king Numitor, became the capital of the kingdom. Numitor, through his father Procras, was in a straight line of descent from Æneas. At the first, however, he was kept from the throne by his younger brother Amulius, who after the usual manner of younger brothers in such situations, anxious to retain what rightfully belonged to another, brought it about that Rhea Silvia, the daughter of Numitor, should be made a vestal virgin. Thus would the father be deprived of offspring, and the crown remain in the family of Amulius.

But the gods willed it otherwise. Rhea Silvia was sought out by Mars, by whom she became the mother of the twins, Romulus and Remus. As soon as their birth was known to



THE CAPITOLINE WOLF.

Amulius he ordered the children to be exposed in a basket on the banks of the Tiber. With the coming of the flood, the basket drifted for a distance, but was washed ashore among the rushes. Here the twins were found by the wild creatures that inhabited old Tiber's banks, and by them were kept alive. A she-wolf, struck with a compassion never felt before or since by one of her tribe, came daily and nursed the twins until they waxed strong from feeding on her ferocious milk. Finally, they were found by Faustulus, the king's herdsman, and by him were taken home and reared with his own sons. When the boys grew to manhood the herdsmen of Numitor and those tending their flocks on the Palatine Hill quarreled and fought. Remus was taken prisoner, and Romulus, heading a band of shepherds, undertook his brother's recovery. In the conflict

that ensued, there was a revelation of the parentage of the two boy warriors; Amulius was killed, and Numitor restored to the throne from which he had been excluded.

The two brothers, now at man's estate, soon determined to build a city for themselves. They selected for a site the Palatine Hill, on the left bank of the Tiber. As a means of determining whose name should be given to the settlement they resorted to augury. Each took his station and awaited the flight of birds. Soon Remus saw six vultures, but presently twelve appeared to Romulus. Both claimed the omen, but Romulus prevailed. So the place was named ROME. The founder began to build ramparts, but the discontented Remus, in a spirit of ridicule, ran and leaped over the wall. "Thus," said he to his brother, "will the enemy jump into your city." "And thus," said Romulus, seizing a club and striking Remus dead to the earth, "will we kill them when they come." The history of the great city which was to grind the nations under her power began in fratricide.

The date of the founding of Rome has been fixed at B. C. 753. No sooner was the crest of the Palatine secured by a wall than Romulus adopted the policy of inviting in a population from the surrounding districts. The city was made an asylum for strangers, and no credentials or certificate of pedigree was asked of those who came. All were received alike.

Every robber and outlaw from the region round about flocked to Rome and regained his respectability. It was a community of greater strength than refinement. Nearly the whole population was male. To procure wives was the greatest problem of Roman statesmanship! The people of the neighboring nations would not intermarry with the bandits of the Palatine. In this emergency Romulus fell back upon statecraft. He proclaimed a celebration of games in honor of Neptune, and invited the people of adjacent states to join in the festival.

Of those who accepted the invitation the principal company were from the cities of the Sabines. These came in large numbers, bringing their wives and daughters to the celebration. While the games were on, and all were looking intently at the sports, the Roman youth,

at a preconcerted signal, rushed suddenly upon the visitors, and each seizing one of the Sabine women in his arms carried her off to his own house to be his wife. It was the most whole-

obtain redress, but were quickly subdued by the Romans. Then the Sabines came with a large army, led by their king, Titus Tatius, and laid siege to Rome. The citadel on the



RAPE OF THE SABINE WOMEN.

sale as well as the most summary courtship known to history.

Of course the Sabines were greatly enraged, and went to war to recover their women. The towns of Crenina and Antemnæ undertook to

Capitoline Hill was defended by Spurius Tarpeius. While the siege was progressing, his daughter Tarpeia saw and admired the bracelets worn by the Sabine soldiers. Anxious to possess such ornaments herself, she offered to

open the gates of the citadel if the Sabines would give her "what they wore on their left arms." When the gates were thus gained the soldiers threw upon her their shields, for these also were worn on the left arm. So was Tarpeia crushed to death.

The victorious Sabines gave battle to the Romans in the valley at the foot of the hill. While the conflict was still undetermined the women themselves, who had now become reconciled to the husbands who had taken them by force, rushed into the midst of the fight, and with wild outcries besought the combatants to cease from the fight. On the one side they implored their fathers and on the other their husbands to withhold their hands from slaughter. The appeal was not in vain. The quarrel was laid aside, since the cause of the quarrel no longer existed. The two peoples agreed to live at peace. The Sabines received the Capitoline and Quirinal hills, and the Romans retained the Palatine.

For a while Romulus and Titus Tatius reigned jointly; but the latter was presently slain in a battle with the people of Laurentium, and the founder of the city again ruled alone. The two elements of the population and the double-headed government made it necessary for the Romans and the Sabines to confer together on questions of common interest to the city. Accordingly, in the valley between the Quirinal and Palatine hills, a place of counsel was established, called the *Comitium*. Here the two kings and their counselors were accustomed to meet and discuss the affairs of the state of Rome. The people were divided into three tribes, according to previous nationality. There were the *Ramnes*, or Romans; the *Titienses*, or people of Titus; and the *Luceres*, thought to have been so named from Lucomio, an Etruscan chief, who is said to have taken part in the previous war.

After the death of Tatius, Romulus continued his career as a warrior. Many neighboring towns were conquered, and the influence of Rome thus extended into a considerable part of Latium. After a long reign Romulus called the people together in the Field of Mars, and spoke to them of the city and what

was necessary to make the Romans great. Soon after the meeting assembled, a violent storm arose and Romulus was borne away. He was seen no more by the awe-struck people, but that night he showed himself to one Proculus Julius, who was journeying from Alba to Rome, to whom he delivered this message: "Go and tell my people that they weep not for me any more, but bid them to be brave and warlike, and so shall they make my city the greatest on earth." From this apocalypse it was judged by the Romans that Romulus had become a god. A temple was accordingly erected to his honor, and he was worshiped under the name of Quirinus. From this divine appellation the people thenceforth took the name of Quirites. Thus, in the year B. C. 715, the founder of Rome ended his career, and thus it is that the lay of the ancient city, delivered by the pen of Livy, has come in tradition to posterity.

If we should inquire how much of all this is history and how much fable, we should, perhaps, reduce the narrative to this: That a tribe of the Latini selected as an eligible place for settlement the Palatine Hill, about three miles below the confluence of the Anio and the Tiber, and eighteen miles above the mouth of the latter stream. The chosen site, being on the left, or Latin, bank of the river, was well adapted to become the emporium of Latium. The original tribe was called the Ramnes, or Romans. The city which they founded on the Palatine was laid off four-square, and was for this reason called *Roma Quadrata*. The line of this old rampart has been traced in several parts as the result of recent excavations. The territory belonging to the city in the time immediately succeeding the foundation, extended no more than five miles to the east and south. On the right bank of the river the possessions of Rome embraced only the suburbs of the hill called Janiculus, but the whole course of the Tiber was regarded as being included with the estate of primitive Rome. This gave the right of way to the sea.

The favorable situation of the settlement invited a crowd of adventurers, who rapidly swelled the population and contributed to the defense of the city. Protected by the impregna-

ble Palatine, suburbs sprang up and extended themselves to the surrounding hills, until in a brief period all seven of the celebrated eminences were included within the city. The original Palatine stronghold was soon increased by the addition of the Sabine settlement on the Quirinal and Capitoline hills. The Ramnes and the Sabines were kinsmen and were easily merged into one people. On the basis of this strong composition of original tribes was built the tremendous fabric of the Roman people. The Ramnes and Titienses were each divided into ten *curiæ*, or wards; and from this division into *curiæ* the people were called Quirites.¹ The place of their meeting was the low ground between the Palatine and the Quirinal; hence the *comitium*. The choice of the kings by alternation from the one tribe and the other rests on no better authority than a reasonable tradition. Such is the history of primitive Rome with the fabulous part omitted.

Resuming the legend, we are told that after an interregnum of a year, Romulus was succeeded, in B. C. 716, by NUMA POMPILIUS. During the intervening year the senators had exercised the royal authority by turns; but the people demanded an election, and the choice fell on Numa. There was a debate in the senate as to whether the election should be from the Ramnes or from the Sabines; but the influence of the latter tribe prevailed, and their favorite was elected. He was from the Sabine town of Cures, and was greatly famed for his wisdom.

Up to this time the civil and social institutions of Rome had been without form and void. Numa became the lawgiver of the city. Nor was there wanting to him a source of inspiration. In the beautiful valley of Caffarella, near Rome, was a grotto, to which he repaired, and was met there by the nymph Egeria, who dictated to him these wise laws which he gave to the people. Egeria became his wife, and when he died, being inconsolable with grief, she wept herself into a fountain of pure water. On the sculptures she is represented as one of the Muses, clad in a flowing

robe, naked as to her feet, her hair blown back and descending, as she writes, in an open volume on her knees.

At the first Numa gave his attention to the equitable division of the lands which Romulus had gained by conquest. He next established the worship of the god Terminus—him who gave the landmark and the boundary. Thus was there instilled into the minds of the early Romans a sacred respect for the limits of possession and the rights of landed ownership.

The industrial pursuits were divided into nine vocations, and each artisan was assigned to membership, according to his business. The Roman ceremonial law was also instituted, and the duties appertaining to the various offices of religion clearly defined. The rites of worship were prescribed, and the gradations in the priesthood fixed by law. The pontiffs were made the highest in rank, and were charged with the enforcement of the statutes relating to religion. The augurs, the flamens, the vestal virgins, and the Salii were each assigned to their respective ranks and duties; and the religion of the state was thus in its forms and functionaries reduced to a system of definite practices.

During the reign of Numa Pompilius there was—if we may trust the word of Livy—nor war nor plague nor famine. It was a kind of golden age in that early kingdom which lies just over the border-lines of authentic history. The melting of Egeria into tears might well have been an allegory of popular grief for the sage old Sabine, who had done so much to soothe the chaotic elements of primitive Rome. Of course, the popular tradition which derives his wisdom in law and precept from the doctrines of Pythagoras is—being an anachronism—devoid of truth. The derivation would have had to be by the philosopher from the prehistoric sage of old Rome.

According to Livy, the reign of Numa covered a period of thirty-nine years, and it might not be doubted that the peace thus afforded the Ramnes gave time and opportunity for the development of that rugged strength which, beginning in the brawn of robbers, became invincible in the soldiers of the Republic. The sacred Books of Numa

¹ Perhaps the best derivation of Quirites is from *curiæ*, both words being, as it appears, derived from the root *sku*, meaning to cover or protect.

were buried beside him under the hill Janiculum, and are said to have been discovered after a period of five hundred years.

In the eighty-first year of the city TULLUS HOSTILIUS, the third king of Rome, succeeded to the throne. His character was in every particular strongly contrasted with that of his predecessor. The process of his election was exactly reversed from the method adopted in the case of Numa. The latter was chosen with Roman consent from among the Sabines; the former with Sabine consent from among the Romans.

There is in this no doubt a gleam of historic truth as well as a measure of poetic equity. Numa was a man of peace; Hostilius a warrior. His whole career was enacted in arms. By him the power of the city was greatly extended. He consolidated the Romans by military organization, and revived the spirit which had slumbered and rested during

the reign of Pompilius. His first war was with the people of Alba, whom their more aggressive neighbors had come to regard with contempt. The old tie of kinship was forgotten in that enmity which would not permit two masters in Latium. When, however, the Roman and Alban armies were about to engage in battle it was remembered that the struggle would in all probability leave the victor so weakened that both conquered and conqueror would perhaps fall an easy prey to the Etruscans, who constantly menaced the northern frontier. It was accordingly agreed that three champions should be selected from each side and by them the battle should be decided. On the side of Rome three brothers—the Ho-

ratii—were chosen; and for Alba also appeared three other brothers—the Curiatii. These went forth between the lines and began battle. The fight was fiercely contested. At last two of the Horatii were slain, but the third, who was still unhurt, turned upon the three Curiatii, all three of whom were wounded and separated at some distance, and killed them one by one.

The victory remained with Rome; but the day closed with a bloody tragedy. The sister of Horatius loved one of the Curiatii, and on his return from the triumph which he had so



THE HORATII GOING FORTH TO BATTLE.

From a Painting by David.

hardly won upbraided him with the murder of her lover. The passionate Horatius, maddened into a frenzy by what seemed to him the unpatriotic conduct of his sister, slew her on the spot. For this deed he was tried and condemned to death; but in accordance with a custom just then beginning to prevail, he appealed to the people to save him from his fate. The popular voice decided in his favor; for the Romans could not be induced to assent to the execution of one by whom the city had so recently been saved from conquest.¹

¹ It is related that in the course of the trial the father of Horatius justified the deed done by his son, saying that he himself would have killed his daughter for her unpatriotic conduct.

Perhaps the conduct of Tullus, in the emergency, became a precedent for that part of the Roman constitution which granted the right of an appeal to the people. The character of this third mythical king, who seems to have been a reversion to the original type of barbarians by whom Rome was founded, is still further illustrated in his merciless severity towards Mettus Fufetius, the Alban king, who, after the victory of the Horatii, had submitted to the Romans. It appears that the Albans had incited the Fidenates to join the Veientes in making war on the Romans. When the latter called on the Albans as their allies, they were prevented by their king from giving the required aid. For this treacherous conduct Hostilius, as soon as he had gained the victory over the Veientes, seized Fufetius, tied him between two chariots, and had him torn asunder.

The end of this king was as violent as his life. After a reign of thirty-two years, while he was attempting to perform a sacrifice to Jupiter Tonans, the offended god shot forth a flash of lightning, and Hostilius was struck dead on the spot.

In reviewing these mythical histories of the first three kings of Rome, it is impossible not to recognize the partial work of the two great elements of Roman society. The characters and lives of the first and third kings are distinctly plebeian, and the story is recited as a plebeian tradition. The Ramnes were indeed a plebeian folk; but the Sabines were pre-eminently patrician in their notions and sympathies. The second king, Pompilius, was a patrician, and so in the legend of mythical Rome he became the hero of the patrician ballad-makers and story-tellers, while the plebeians found delight in repeating and hearing repeated the ferocious deeds of their favorite robbers, Romulus and Hostilius. The striking contrasts of the early lay are to be explained rather by the subsequent preferences of plebeian and patrician Rome than by actual differences of character in the mythical chiefs who were dignified with the name of king. It is hardly to be doubted that both Romulus and Hostilius, who are represented in the legend as taken away by the gods, were killed

by the patricians. The turbulence of these rulers and their failure to respect the privileges of the priests, who were wholly of the nobles, were more than could be borne by the Sabine element in society, and their lives paid the forfeit.

The fourth king of Rome was ANCUS MARTIUS. He seems in most respects to be a reproduction of Numa. His history is a mixture of confused and contradictory traditions. He is represented, in the main, as a peaceable ruler who encouraged his people to devote themselves to agriculture. To him is attributed the founding of the port of Ostia, though it is impossible to see what use a nation without a navy or knowledge of navigation could make of a seaport. In his military career he is represented as having conquered that part of the Latini who had not yet submitted to the Romans, and established them on the Aventine Hill.

The old legend further recites that Ancus restored the services of religion, which had not been properly observed during the preceding reign, and reformed the statutes of the state. In the way of public works, the Sublician, or wooden bridge of Rome, and the gloomy prison dugged in the Tarpeian Hill are ascribed to Ancus; and he is also celebrated, though with how much truth it is useless to conjecture, as having given the first encouragement to incipient commerce. His reign, which extended from the 81st to the 111th year of the city—that is, from B. C. 673 to 643—was without serious reverses of fortune, and his last end is said to have been as peaceful as his reign was prosperous.

The accession of the fifth king of Rome, LUCIUS TARQUINIUS PRISCUS, is brought in with an elaborate fiction. The story goes that a certain Corinthian, named Demaratus, had fled from his own country and found a home at the Etruscan town of Tarquinii. Here he married a woman named Tanaquil, who was accomplished in the interpretation of auguries and omens, and by her was persuaded to remove to Rome. Having established himself in the city, he was appointed by Ancus Martius as guardian of his sons. He managed to ingratiate himself with the people, whose confidence

he gained by popular manners and kept by wisdom and moderation. Before the death of Ancus he conceived the design of dispossessing his wards and obtaining the government for himself. In this scheme he was entirely successful, and when Ancus died succeeded without difficulty in procuring his own election to the throne.

With this event what may be called the local history of Rome properly begins. The new government was one of great civil abilities. The king brought Etruscan workmen into the city, and began an elaborate system of public works. The Forum was drained and inclosed with porticoes. The hills of Rome were fortified with impregnable stone walls. The summit of the Tarpeian was cleared and leveled, and the building of the Capitol begun. The name of the hill was changed to the Capitoline. Shows and celebrations, several of which the king had imported from Etruria, were exhibited on a grander scale than hitherto; and for the accommodation of these he caused the Circus Maximus to be enlarged and beautified. Above all these works in importance was the building of the Cloaca Maxima, the great sewer of Rome, by which the city was drained into the Tiber—a work whose everlasting masonry still attests the splendid building capacity of the Etruscan artisans. It appears that the Romans themselves attributed the execution of this mighty work to the forced labor of captives; but the other construction, which assigns the Cloaca and Circus to the skill of the masons whom Tarquin brought from his own country, is far more reasonable.

The legend of this great ruler also ascribes to him the celebration of the first Roman triumph, the introduction of the Etruscan robe spangled with gold, the chariot drawn by four white horses, and the triumphal ornaments wherewith the generals of the Republic, victorious over the enemy, were wont to ascend the Capitoline Hill. It is thought, moreover, that the costumes and accouterments which the Roman soldiers wore in battle, as well as the prætexta of the magistrates and the toga of citizenship, were likewise of Etruscan origin, and introduced in the times of Tarquin. It is said that the curule chairs and the fasces of the lictors

had a similar origin. More important still than these manners and customs of office was the introduction of augury, which is known to have been derived from Etruria, and to have been practiced chiefly by the prophets of that country.¹

It is related that when Tarquin had conquered a peace with the surrounding nations, and then bestowed so large a part of his energies on the public improvements of the city, he turned his attention to civil affairs, and purposed to make a new division of the people. The threefold tribal arrangement of the population into Ramnes, Titienses and Luceres was to be rejected for a more convenient distribu-



LICTORS.

tion. This project, however, was opposed by the conservative deities, and Tarquin was confronted with unfavorable omens. The augur, Attus Navius, forbade any change in the old division of the Roman people.

But Tarquin was not easily diverted from his purpose. He told the augur that he should go and consult the sacred birds, and ascertain whether the thing which he—the king—now had in mind could be done. The prophet returned with the assurance that the king's wish should be fulfilled. Tarquin then took a

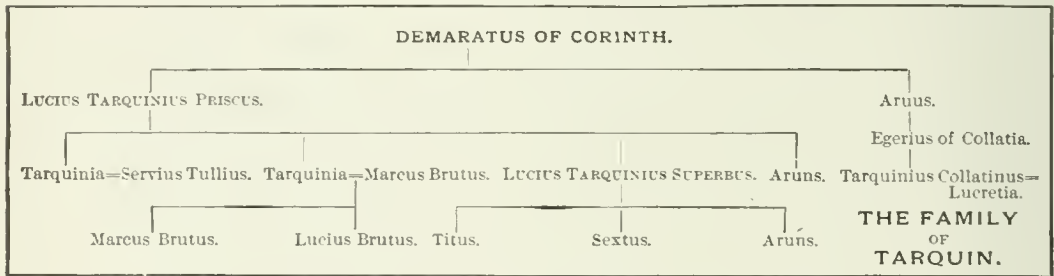
¹ It is a well established fact, however, that the lore of the augurs was in vogue with the Latins long before the days of Tarquin. The conduct of Romulus and Remus in waiting for the flight of birds sufficiently attests that in the period of wild-est myth reliance was had on signs and omens.

whetstone and razor, and told Navius that the thing contemplated was that he should cut the stone in two without injury to the razor. Nothing daunted, the confident augur took the articles, and immediately divided the one with the other, thus attesting the divinity of the omens wherewith the king's political projects were interdicted.

Thus baffled in his purpose in making radical changes in the constitution of Roman society, the king determined to maintain the old forms with certain practical modifications. He accordingly doubled the number of the noble houses in each of the three tribes. Those who were thus added were to be known as the Younger Ramnes, Titienses, and Luceres. The number of the knights and senators was also doubled; so that each tribe, while retaining

both in peace and war. It was decreed, however, by the immortals, that one not of his household should succeed him in the government. Among the maid-servants of the king's house was a certain Ocrisia, whose duty it was to attend the fire on the family altar. While engaged in this duty, the god whom she served appeared to her in a flame. She became the mother of a son, who grew up in the household, and was named Servius, for he was a slave.

One day while he slept in his chamber, the queen, Tanaquil, beheld playing about his head a flame of fire. This was interpreted as meaning that the boy should rise to greatness. He was recognized as a member of the family of the king. Tarquin presently gave him his daughter in marriage, and made him one of the royal counselors. It will be remembered



its own name, embraced twice as many representatives of the upper ranks as hitherto.

These changes having been accomplished, Tarquin next devoted himself to the building of a temple to Jupiter. The Capitoline Hill was selected as the most suitable site. A part of the summit was leveled for the foundation. While engaged in this work, the diggers exhumed a human head, which was interpreted as a sign that that spot should become the head of the whole earth. The pontiffs were, therefore, instructed to remove the old sanctuaries from the hill, which was accordingly done. In this work the altar of Terminus, the god of boundaries, and that of Apollo, the god of youth, were excepted from the demolition and included within the precincts of the new temple. For it was held that the boundaries of Rome should never recede, and that the race of Romulus should have a perpetual youth.

Tarquinius Priscus occupied the throne for thirty-seven years, and was greatly renowned

that on assuming the throne, the king had excluded the two sons of Ancus Martius. When these youths learned of the favor shown to Servius, they rightly conjectured that Tarquin would make him his successor. Angered at this prospect, they determined to seek revenge by the murder of the king. They accordingly hired two assassins to go into the royal presence under pretense of asking the settlement of a quarrel. While the attention of Tarquin was given to the matter in hand, one of the murderers struck him down with an axe. The villains then escaped. A tumult arose in the city, but Tanaquil, ordering the gates to be shut, spoke to the people from an upper window. She told them that the king was only wounded, and that he had appointed Servius to conduct the affairs of government. After some days, however, it became known that Tarquin was dead, and the Senate was greatly agitated respecting the choice of a successor. But the friends of Servius increased

in number, and after a brief period of dispute, he was elected to the kingdom.

The reign of SERVIUS is celebrated as mild and peaceful. His only important war was with the Etruscans, whom he compelled to be subject to the Romans. With the Latins he made a treaty of perpetual amity; and in order to bind the union, the two peoples built a temple to Diana on the Aventine, wherein they might henceforth celebrate a common festival. Every year thereafter sacrifices were offered at the altars of Diana for Rome and all Latium.

The next work of the king was the building of a great wall from the Quirinal to the Esquiline Hill, by means of which the latter was included as the seventh hill of the city. Rome was then divided into four parts or quarters, which, after the prevailing fashion, were called *tribes*. The surrounding country was organized into twenty-six districts. Common sanctuaries were built for the people; governors were appointed, and holidays established to the end that the inhabitants might associate in public, and become imbued with a Roman spirit. The king in these beneficent measures did not forget that he was himself of lowly origin. The commons were made to feel that the ruler of the city was their friend. The laws were so framed as to favor the poor and protect the weak. Popular gratitude sought expression by naming him the Good King Servius.

The city was now greatly augmented in population and resources. In order to secure a better organization, it appeared desirable to arrange the different classes of society on a new basis. This was undertaken with special reference to the military management of the state. A division was made by Tullius of the fighting men of Rome according to the principle of property qualification. The people were divided into five classes, without regard to blood or descent; and the voting in the assembly of the citizens was henceforth conducted on this basis. The old division made by Romulus into Ramnes, Titienses, and Luceres was not henceforth much regarded in the conduct of public affairs. These ancient distinctions continued, but were rather nominal than real.

Under the new classification the first division of the people was made to consist of forty

centuries of younger men under forty-six years old, and forty centuries of the elders who had passed that age. The latter were assigned to such duties as the defense of the city, and the former to the active service of the field.

The second, third, and fourth classes were each likewise subdivided according to age into twenty centuries of younger and twenty of older men; but in the fifth class the two sections were made to consist of fifteen centuries each.

The men of the first class wore a complete suit of armor, consisting of a breast-plate, helmet, shield, and greaves. The weapons carried by them were a lance, a javelin, and a sword. The second class were similarly armed, but carried a lighter shield, and wore no breast-plate. The third class omitted the greaves; the fourth, the helmet. The fifth class had only the lightest suit of armor. The statute required each citizen to

furnish his own armor, and as that worn by men of the first class was very costly, those who composed that class were selected exclusively from the wealthiest ranks of the people. It was estimated that a citizen, in order to belong to the first class,

must be worth at least a hundred thousand *asses*.¹ The assessment for each succeeding

¹The Roman *as* was about equivalent to a pound of copper.



ROMAN SOLDIER OF THE FIRST CLASS.



ROMAN SOLDIER OF THE SECOND CLASS.

class was diminished by twenty thousand *asses*, so that the fifth class embraced only those whose property was valued at less than twenty-five thousand *asses*. It was, however, arranged that those who were possessed of less than eleven thousand *asses* should not be included in the fifth division, but should themselves constitute a class called the Proletarians, and these the king exempted from all military service.

The complete organization was thus made to consist of one hundred and seventy centuries of infantry, the six double centuries of cavalry which Tarquin had organized, and twelve new centuries of horse created by the law of Servius. The cavalry wing consisted wholly of younger men, chosen from the richest families. Their service was the active duty of the field. By their name of *Equites*, or Knights, they soon came to be regarded as the most honored soldiery of Rome.

When an assembly was called for the purpose of making laws or holding an election, the voting was done by centuries. Each century cast one vote. The eighty votes belonging to the first class were generally decisive of the result, especially when backed by the eighteen centuries of knights. The commons were in the aggregate the most numerous, but, counted by centuries, their preponderance disappeared. Their influence in the assembly was comparatively small; but the discrimination against them was less unjust than would at first sight appear. The burdens of the government were laid upon the rich, and the exemption of the poor was regarded as the complement of their exclusion from political influence. In one particular King Servius showed especial wisdom in the distribution of power. Although the younger men greatly outnumbered the older in the assembly, the votes of the latter were made equal to those of the former, thus giving to age and experience their proper weight as a counterpoise to what the rashness of youth might propose. By such checks as these was the political society of Rome restrained within proper limits and made to contribute its wealth of power to the maintenance of the state.

In furtherance of the conservative policy of his reign, Servius gave his two daughters in

marriage to the sons of Tarquinius Priscus. The lay of ancient Rome has given to one of the princesses, Tullia, a wicked disposition, and to the other a character of gentleness. The two young Tarquins were likewise different in life and morality. Lucius, the elder, was so quarrelsome and proud that the people gave him the name of Superbus, the Haughty. To make all things balance, the aged Servius gave the good daughter to the bad youth, while the bad was assigned to the good. This arrangement, however, proved exceedingly displeasing to the parties most concerned. In a short time the wicked Tarquin murdered his wife and his good-natured brother Aruns, in order to make way for his marriage to that Tullia whose character was in accord with his own. As soon as this union was effected the twain conspired against the king. Tarquinius, having prepared the enemies of Servius for the intended usurpation, clad himself in royal garments, went into the market-place, and began to harangue the populace. When the old king heard the tumult he hastened to the scene, and an altercation ensued between him and his maddened son-in-law. The latter seized the aged Servius and hurled him down the steps of the Senate House. He then ordered his adherents to follow the old man on his way home and slay him; and the bloody deed was done. The body of the gray-haired king was left in the street. As soon as Tullia heard of what was done she drove in her carriage to the market-place and hailed her husband as king. On her way home she forbade the driver to turn aside, and the vehicle was driven over her father's corse. She returned to the palace spattered with the blood of him who had given her being.

Thus without the consent of the Senate or the people did LUCIUS TARQUINIUS obtain the kingdom. The Romans repaid him with disgust and hatred. His usurpation, which could not well be resisted—so sudden and audacious had been his course—was borne in a spirit of sullen disloyalty. His government was arbitrary and severe. All classes were oppressed without much regard to the forms of law. The king surrounded himself with a body-guard, thus exhibiting in Rome a style of administra-

tion like that of the so-called tyrants of Greece. Those who opposed him were subjected to persecution. The wealthy were provoked into quarrels which should end in the confiscation of their property. The poor were compelled to labor like slaves on the royal buildings, until many—so runs the legend—fell into despair and killed themselves.

As soon as the power of Tarquin was so firmly established in the city as to make successful opposition impossible, he made war on the Latins. Most of these people had already made their submission to the Romans, but a few towns still remained independent. One of these named Gabii made a stern resistance, and Tarquin was obliged to resort to a stratagem. The king's son Sextus covered his back with bloody stripes, and fled into the town. He begged the people of Gabii to save him from the cruelty of his father. His story was believed, and he was given command of a body of troops. At the head of these he sallied from the town, and the Romans—according to instructions—fled before him. The Gabians, delighted with their success, made Sextus commander of the city. As soon as he had the place in his power, he sent word to his father, asking what he should do. The king who was walking in his flower-garden, cut off the head of the tallest poppies, and sent them by the messenger to his son. The murderous suggestion was readily understood. The principal men of Gabii were put to death and the town delivered over to the Romans.

After this exploit Tarquin undertook to strengthen his influence by making a league with Octavius Mamilius, king of Tusculum. To him he gave his daughter in marriage. He also established an annual festival to be celebrated by all the Latins at the temple of Jupiter Latialis, on the Alban Hills. He next made war on the Volscians, who inhabited one of the principal districts of Southern Latium. Pometia, the Volseian capital, was taken, and the spoils-carried to Rome for the completion of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill—a structure which had been undertaken by the king's father. The great sewer, the Forum, and the market-place were likewise completed, and many other public buildings

built and adorned by the compulsory labor of the poor. Rome began to assume the appearance of a splendid, if not luxurious, city. The king's extravagant tastes combined with his unscrupulous ambition to make the Roman capital the metropolis of Central Italy.

When Tarquin was at the height of his power an unknown woman came one day into his presence and offered to sell him nine books, which she declared to contain the inspired prophecies of the *SIBYL OF CUMÆ*. For these treasures she asked what Tarquin regarded as an extravagant price. He accordingly refused to make the purchase, and dismissed the woman with ridicule. Thereupon she turned aside, and burned three of the books in the king's presence. She then offered the remaining six for the same price previously asked for the whole, and when the king again refused and laughed at her she burned three more, and offered the remaining three for the same price as before. Tarquin now came to his senses. Her whom he had ridiculed as mad he now regarded as inspired, or, at least, sent to him by the gods. He accordingly purchased what remained of the prophetic treasures, and thus became possessed of the celebrated Sibylline Books. Two men versed in the Greek tongue were appointed to take them in charge, with orders to consult them whenever the city should be menaced with pestilence, famine, or war, to the end that the will of the gods might be known and the danger averted.

As usually happens in the case of cruel kings, the old age of Tarquin was troubled with dreams and phantom terrors. Frightened at these shadows he determined to send an embassy to the oracle of Delphi. As messengers he dispatched his two sons and a nephew named Junius. Him the people, on account of an assumed silliness of behavior, had nicknamed Brutus, but he was really a youth of genius, who but waited his opportunity to be great. When the three were presented to the Delphic priest the two sons of the king made costly presents, but Junius gave only a staff. In reality, however, the staff was hollow, and was filled with gold. The priest returned an answer that he should reign in Rome who should first kiss his mother. The two princes

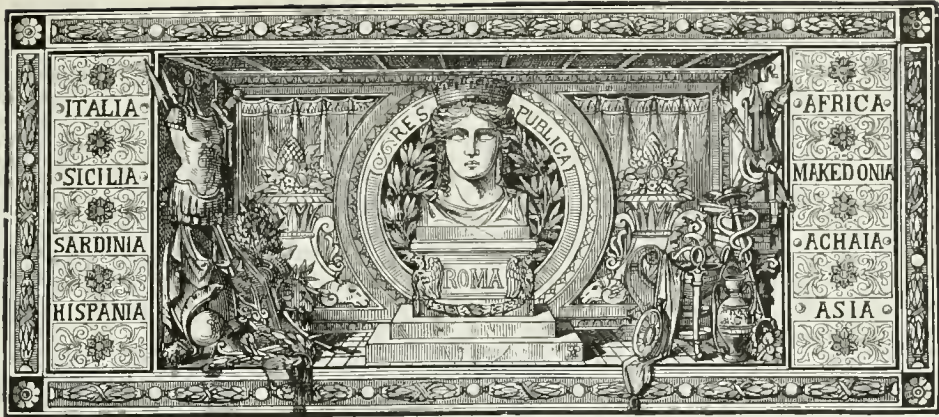
at once hurried away, each anxious to fulfill the oracle; but Brutus, stumbling purposely, fell to the ground, and kissed the earth. He had understood the sly god better than his cousins; for he remembered that the earth is the common mother of all. Thus was fate ready to be accomplished.

Meanwhile Tarquinius, after a reign of twenty-four years, laid siege to Ardea, the capital town of the Rutuli, in Latium. One evening in the camp the king's two sons were feasting with their cousin Tarquinius Collatinus, prince of Collatia, and the three boasted of the virtues and beauty of their respective wives. In the midst of the bantering it was proposed that they should ride away to their homes and see what their wives were doing. This was accordingly done. The ladies of the king's sons were found enjoying themselves at a feast, but Lucretia, the beautiful wife of Collatinus, was discovered, though it was late at night, sitting among her maids busy with the duties of the household. She was, therefore, acknowledged to be most worthy of praise.

But it was a fatal adventure. The beauty of Lucretia kindled an unholy passion in Sextus, and the base wretch determined on the ruin of his cousin's house. Returning to Collatia by night, he was received without suspicion and entertained without distrust. In the middle of the night he made his way to Lucretia's chamber and threatened that in case of her refusal to receive him he would accomplish his purpose, kill her in her bed, and then place beside her the body of a slave so that the disgrace to be discovered by her husband might be doubly damning. Thereupon the terror-stricken woman yielded. On the

morrow she sent in haste for her husband and her father Lucretius. Both came and with them Junius Brutus and Publius Valerius. When they arrived they found Lucretia clad in mourning and sitting alone in her chamber. She told them there the story of her shame, and having bound them by an oath to avenge her foul wrong, she plunged a knife into her bosom and died.

Then were the men roused to the highest passions of grief and vengeance. The body of Lucretia was carried into the market-place, and the story of the outrage was rehearsed to the people. Brutus came forward as a leader. He demanded that Tarquin and all his house should be expelled from the kingdom, and that no king should any more be permitted to rule in Rome. Messengers were sent with the news to the Roman camp before Ardea. The soldiers, glad of an opportunity, abandoned the hated king and returned to the city. The Tarquins were left to their fate. The kingly office was abolished by the Senate and people, and in the place of the deposed ruler, two officers, called *CONSULS*, were chosen, who should hold their authority for a year and then yield to a new election. For the performance of the religious duties of the king, a high-priest was chosen who, under the direction of the pontifex maximus, should henceforth perform the public sacrifices. Thus was the death of Lucretia avenged, and a new order of things established in Rome. The expulsion of Tarquin the Haughty marks the limit of what is known as the Roman Kingdom as well as the beginning of that long span of brilliant history covered by the Republic. The date of this transformation is the year 245 from the founding of the city, or B. C. 509.



PART II.—THE REPUBLIC.

CHAPTER LVIII.—EARLY ANNALS



HE substitution of the Roman Republic for the monarchy was in the nature of a reform rather than a revolution. The foreign extraction and unpopular methods of the Tarquin, rather than any essential vice in the kingdom, made necessary the measures adopted by those whose private wrong combined with public expediency in the abolition of the old form of government.

The first consuls who were chosen under the new Republican *régime* were LUCIUS JUNIUS BRUTUS and LUCIUS TARQUINIUS COLLATINUS. The movement which, under their direction, had been so suddenly successful was largely popular in its nature. The social instincts of the commons had revolted with great passion against the wicked deed of Sextus. As for Tarquin himself, he made his escape from Latium and fled into Etruria. Among the patricians in Rome he still had many adherents; and with these he sought to open a correspondence, ostensibly to secure his movable property, but really with a view to his restoration to the kingdom. Failing in this, his envoys entered into a conspiracy with some of the young nobles of Rome; but a certain slave, named

Vindicius, overheard the plot and revealed it to the consuls. The conspirators were thereupon arrested, and the slave was rewarded with freedom and citizenship.

The discovery of the scheme of Tarquin and his confederates proved a terrible blow to the consul Brutus. It was found that among the plotters who had been imprisoned were his two sons, who had engaged with the rest to help on the restoration of the banished king. It thus fell to Brutus either to save his sons by breaking the law or to vindicate the Republic by condemning them to death. Terrible as it was, he chose the latter alternative. The two youths were brought forth before the eyes of their father, who disdained to ask for them the mercy which, perhaps, the people would have granted. On the contrary, he had them bound to the stake, and himself gave the order to the lictor to scourge them and strike off their heads with an axe. By this merciless deed the wrath of the Romans was still further kindled against the house of Tarquin.

The Senate refused to give up the property which the banished king owned in and about the city. His corn-fields along the Tiber were seized and consecrated to Mars, the grounds in question being ever afterward known as the CAMPUS MARTIUS. The Senate and people

then enacted a law that all who were of the race of Tarquin should be forever banished from the state. It happened that Tarquinius Collatinus, the consul, thus himself fell under the ban. But he left Rome without a murmur, and joined the exiles. A new consul, PUBLIUS VALERIUS, was chosen in his stead. Not only were the blood-kinsmen of the Tarquins thus

consuls and the Etruscans. A battle was fought at the wood of Arsia, in which it was doubtful from morning until night which side would prevail. In the midst of the conflict Aruns, the son of Tarquinius, seeing Brutus at the head of the Roman army, rode against him at full speed. The latter also dashed forward, and the spear of each was driven through the



LUCIUS JUNIUS BRUTUS CONDEMNS HIS SONS TO DEATH.

Drawn by K. Ermisch.

driven beyond the borders of Latium, but the secret adherents of the party were obliged by public sentiment to leave the city.

The banished king and his followers sought refuge at Tarquinii, the town of his fathers, in Etruria. Here he at once began to instigate the people as well as the inhabitants of Veii to make war on the Romans. A conflict was thus brought on between the armies of the

other's body. Still the conflict remained undecided. After nightfall, however, Silvanus, the god of the forest, called from the wood and declared the Romans victors; for the Etruscans had lost one man more than the army of Rome. The combatants accordingly retired from the scene, each to his own city. The body of Brutus was borne to Rome, where the matrons, in recognition of the noble vengeance which

he had taken for the outrage of Lucretia, mourned his loss for a whole year.

The next movement of the Tarquin was to seek the aid of King Porsenna, of Clusium, in an attempted recovery of the kingdom. Porsenna yielded to the solicitations and, collecting a large army, marched against Rome. So sudden was their coming that the hill Janiculus, on the right bank of the Tiber, fell into their power. The defenders of this stronghold fled across the bridge into the city. The Romans were thrown into a panic, and left the entrance to the bridge undefended. In this emergency Horatius Cocles rushed to the further end with two warriors, named Lartius and Herminius, and held back the Etruscan army while their countrymen broke down the bridge behind them. Before the structure fell the two companions of Horatius escaped to the other bank, but he himself stood alone hurling back his assailants until the bridge went down with a crash. He then turned about with all his armor on, plunged into the Tiber, and swam unhurt to the opposite shore. There he was received with shouts by the multitude, and led into the city. A monument was erected in honor of his brave deed, and he was rewarded with a farm on the Tiber.

Notwithstanding the deliverance of Rome by the personal heroism of Horatius, the city was still hard pressed by the army of Porsenna. Famine was added to the other hardships of the siege. When the Romans were about to despair, a certain nobleman named Mucius came forward and volunteered his services to end the war by killing King Porsenna. He accordingly made his way into the Etruscan camp, where he fell upon the secretary, who was disbursing pay to the soldiers and slew him. Being seized for his crime and threatened with death, he replied with contempt, and in order to show his indifference to pain thrust his arm into the fire which was kept burning on the altar, and held it there until it was consumed. Porsenna was amazed at this exhibition of fortitude and gave the young nobleman his freedom. In gratitude for his deliverance Mucius then told the king of Clusium that three hundred young men of Rome had made an oath with himself that

they would deliver the city by killing Porsenna. Such was the effect of this intelligence that the king determined to abandon the siege and make peace. By the terms of the treaty it was agreed that Tarquin should receive no further aid from the Etruscans, and that seven towns of the Veientes, previously conquered by the Romans, should be given to Porsenna.

Peace brought friendship to the two peoples. Among the hostages given by the Romans was a virgin named Clœlia. Fearing harm at the hands of the Etruscans, she escaped from the camp by night, swam the Tiber, and returned to Rome. Her countrymen, however, were displeased with this act of bad faith and sent her back to Porsenna. But he, in admiration alike for the courage of the maiden and the good faith of her people, gave her liberty, with as many others of the hostages as she might choose to take with her. The king also, in abandoning his camp before Rome, left every thing as it was, so that the Romans might have whatever it contained.

After the war King Porsenna retired to Clusium. Soon afterwards he sent an army under Aruns to besiege the town of Aricia, in Latium. It was here that the people of the Latin districts were accustomed to meet in council. When the Etruscans came against the place the Aricians received aid from Aristodemus, the Greek ruler of Cumæ; and in a battle which ensued the army of Aruns was completely defeated. The fugitives fled to Rome, where they were kindly received. The wounded were nursed until they were restored to health, and dwellings were given to them in that part of the city afterwards known as the Etruscan quarter.

Meanwhile Tarquin, not yet despairing of regaining the kingdom, had gone to Tusculum, where his son-in-law, Octavius Mamilius, held the government. Him he persuaded to make war on the Romans. Several Latin towns were induced to make a league against the enemies of Tarquin, and an expedition was undertaken against Rome. The authorities of the latter city were greatly alarmed at the situation. Believing that in such an emergency the divided authority of the consuls was detrimental to success, the Romans voted that for

the time the supreme command should be vested in an officer called *DICTATOR*, who should exercise discretionary power in all matters pertaining to the war. The first to be chosen to this high office was *Marcus Valerius*, who now took command for the defense of the city against *Tarquin* and the *Latin league*. The two armies met at *LAKE REGILLUS*, and a bloody battle was fought, in which for a long time victory inclined to neither side. At length the Romans, hotly assailed by a band of their exiled countrymen, led by *Tarquin* himself,

It will thus be seen that the tradition of ancient Rome runs forward to a time subsequent to the overthrow of the kingdom. The early Republic is as much involved in the shadows of fable as are the later times of the kings. Until the present century these old legends were accepted as historic truth; but the age of credulity has given place to the age of skepticism and critical inquiry. In the light of careful research the old-time fictions are brushed away like gossamer. Of contemporary records early Rome has left us not a



MUCIUS BEFORE PORSENNA.

Drawn by H. Vogel.

began to waver. In the supreme crisis *Valerius* vowed a temple to *Castor* and *Pollux* if they would save his people from defeat. At that instant the twin gods themselves, mounted on two white chargers, appeared suddenly at the head of the Roman knights and led them upon the foe. The tide immediately turned against the Latins. They were completely routed. *Tarquin* escaped to *Cumæ*, and found refuge with *Aristodemus* until his death. Rome was no more alarmed with the rumor of his coming.

vestige. Vague traditions, handed down orally from generation to generation, are the substance of what the modern world has had to rely on relative to the beginnings and earlier development of the Roman state. Why, therefore, should such stories be believed?

If we are called to look over the ground calmly and decide what is and what is not entitled to credence, the amount preserved would be but trifling. What should be said of such a story as that of *Romulus*? Look at his birth, his nurture by a she-wolf, his mythical

career, his ascension into heaven—what has history to do with such fictions? If any such a being ever existed it is likely that the senators, taking advantage of the darkness and confusion of a storm, cut him to pieces in the Campus Martius.

Many of the stories which pass for the history of early Rome are, as it respects truth, physically impossible. Others are morally impossible. Take, for instance, the reign of Numa Pompilius. Who can believe that Rome in her then condition enjoyed forty-three years of peace? The story of this old king, sitting aside—while Rome went on peacefully—praying and making laws, is no more worthy of credence than is the myth of Egeria. The chronological difficulties are equally insurmountable. The reigns of the seven kings are made to cover a period of two hundred and forty years, or an average of thirty-four years to each reign. And yet four of these kings died by violence, and a fifth was expelled fifteen years before his death! History shows that the average length of a reign under such conditions is no more than twelve years and a half. Almost every part of the early lay is beset with like difficulties. Incongruities of statement and impossibilities of situation so prevail that the whole is reduced to the level of fiction.

In some instances the myth can be given a plausible interpretation. In a certain case during the Sabine wars, a young horseman named Curtius, charging the Romans, plunged into a swamp beyond the Palatine and was with difficulty extricated. From this circumstance the spot—afterwards drained and converted into the Forum—was named Lake Curtius. But what should tradition do with such an event? In the times of Varro it had grown to this: In B. C. 445, Curtius, being then consul, sacrificed his life for the city. For the earth opened in the Forum, and nothing availed to close the horrid gape of her jaws. Thereupon the soothsayers declared as the will of the gods, that until Rome should throw in that which was most precious the fissure should stand open. Hearing this, and deeming a Roman soldier the best gift of the city, Curtius clad himself in full armor, mounted his

steed and plunged into the opening. The chasm at once closed, and Rome walked over the place in safety. Such is the poetic legend of Lake Curtius.

As already seen, the story of the early days of the Republic is equally obscured with traditions more fanciful than true. Through the mist, however, there gradually appears the outline of a real history of Rome. The fingers of the gods are withdrawn behind the clouds, and impossible heroism fades away. The phantasmagoria of she-wolves and woodpeckers, of girls melting into water-fountains, and priestesses selling impossible books, of open chasms and falling bridges, of men holding their arms in the fire, and consuls ordering lictors to cut off the heads of their sons, breaks like a rising fog, and under its fringes are seen the figures of men as trees walking.

Resuming the narrative, we come now to the first intestine troubles of Rome. So long as the surrounding tribes of Latium and Etruria continued to press upon the Republic of the Seven Hills the possible commotions within the city were stilled by a sense of common danger. The mythical Numa and the good Servius had befriended the people, and the hard lot of the plebeians had been softened not a little by incidental favors shown to them by the kings and consuls. Still there was a great chasm between the plebeian and patrician orders. Their interests were in conflict at almost every point. The Roman commons were for the most part the holders of small estates of land. Their business was to produce enough to maintain a family and to sell a modicum to others.

The legislation of the Consul Valerius, which belongs to this period of Roman history, was of the greatest importance, as bearing upon the difficulties of the state. For a season—especially after the death of his colleague—he was suspected by the people of aiming at kingly power; but it was soon discovered that his real purpose was to impose limitations to the too arbitrary authority of the consular office. A number of laws were accordingly prepared and laid before the people in the *comitia centuriata*. This body, established by Servius Tullius for the purpose of a

better military organization, had increased in influence under the later kings until its functions were nearly equivalent to those of the old *comitia curiata*. It had come to exercise the right of electing all magistrates and of passing, at least negatively, upon all laws proposed by the consuls and Senate. The laws proposed by Valerius thus came before the popular assembly for adoption or rejection.

The legislation in question had respect, first of all, to the census which was to be used as the basis of the new classification of the citizens. This was a measure in the interest of the wealthy; but as a balance against this increase of the power of the rich the consul remitted the poll-tax, which had been imposed on the poor by Tarquinius Superbus. The port dues which had been collected at Ostia were lowered, and the salt-works in that vicinity taken in charge by the government. Valerius also introduced the custom of purchasing public stores of corn and holding the same against the contingencies of famine, war, and insurrection. An important political measure was that which secured the filling of the vacancies in the Senate by the admission thereto of noble plebeians from the ranks of the knights. These were henceforth distinguished from those who were *patres*, or patricians by birth, by the title of *conscripti*; so that for a long time the style of address in the Senate was, "*Patres et Conscripti*." The latter, however, were not entitled to the purple-bordered robe, the red shoe and gold ring, which were the badges of the *patres*.

The first law proposed by Valerius was a kind of a personal liberty statute, amounting in effect almost to a Habeas Corpus. It provided that any person under sentence of punishment should have the right of appealing to the people in the *comitia centuriata*. As an addendum to this extraordinary concession it was provided that henceforth within the city limits the axes should be omitted from the *fascēs* borne by the lictors. For the axe was the emblem of consular power, and the law proposed to remove it while in the presence of the people. Outside of the city the *fascēs* were still to contain the axe.

The second Valerian law placed a limit on

the power of the magistrate to impose fines. The sum which might hereafter be assessed for a single penalty was restricted to the value of five cattle and two sheep. The third law limited the prerogatives of the consuls by providing for the election of two *Quæstors*, whose duty it was to manage the finances of the state. The fourth statute compelled the magistrates to nominate and receive votes for all proper persons who should be named as candidates by the people; while the fifth law denounced the penalty of outlawry against any one who should attempt to become consul without a regular election. For his championship of these measures Valerius was honored with the title of *Poplicola*, or Friend of the People.

The condition of Roman society, however, was at this time exactly such as to make the plebeians the dependents of the noble patricians, who held large tracts of land and were wealthy in goods and money. The common people by force of circumstances became borrowers. When war brought home his spoils into Rome they were divided among the officers and people of higher rank. Thus the resources of the rich were constantly augmented, and as constantly this easily-gotten wealth was loaned at high rates of interest to the poor. The laws were framed by the patrician Senate, and were in the interest—as they have always been—of the money-lending classes. The code was dreadfully severe against the borrower.

At this time the city of Rome probably had a population of six hundred thousand souls. Of these, according to the census made by the consul Valerius, there were a hundred and thirty thousand men capable of bearing arms. This enrollment was exclusive of freedmen and slaves. It was necessary that this large population should draw its subsistence from about thirteen square leagues of territory. Agriculture was the only means of doing so. When a plebeian came home victorious from war his crops had been neglected, and he was obliged to borrow until the next season. Then the patrician loaned to him under the following code:

"Let him [the debtor] be summoned; if

he does not appear, take witnesses, arrest him; if he hesitates, lay hands on him; if age or sickness hinder him from appearing, furnish a horse, but not a carriage.

“Let the rich answer for the rich; for the poor, whoever will. The debt acknowledged, the affair adjudicated, let there be thirty days’ delay. Then hands may be laid upon him and he may be taken before the judge. At sunset the tribunal closes. If he do not satisfy the judgment, or if no one answers for him, the creditor shall take him away and attach him with cords or with chains, which shall weigh fifteen pounds—less than fifteen if the creditor so like. Let the prisoner live on his own means. If he have none, he is to have a pound of flour or more at the will of the creditor.

“If he does not arrange, detain him in custody for sixty days; however, he is to be brought into court three market-days, and there the amount of his debt shall be proclaimed. On the third market-day, if there are many creditors, *they may cut him in pieces*. Should they cut more or less they are not responsible. If they wish, they may sell him to strangers beyond the Tiber.”

Such were the merciful statutes of primitive Rome. The government was of the money-lender, for the money-lender, and by the money-lender.

In this condition of affairs it not infrequently happened that an imprisoned debtor would escape from his dungeon and, flying to the Forum, exhibit himself to the people. Such scenes were more than human nature could bear. The insurrectionary spirit was ready to burst into a flame. On one occasion a centurion of the Roman army, a man of honorable scars, showed his rags and squalor, begrimed with the prison mold, to his enraged countrymen. At that moment an invasion was threatened by the Volscians. The consuls, Appius Claudius and Servilius, called the people to arms, but the call was in vain. The plebeians refused to enlist until their wrongs were redressed and their friends liberated from prison. The emergency admitted of no delay, and the Senate gave a pledge that when the Volscians were subdued the demands of the

people should be complied with. But the pledge was broken, and the plebeians were threatened with a dictatorship under Appius.

In the following year (B. C. 494), when the spirit of sedition was still rife, the threat was carried out; but the choice fell upon VALERIUS VOLSCUS, a man of pacific disposition. Meantime, the plebeians had gathered in a body and withdrawn to an eminence called the MONTES SACER, about three miles from the city. Having obtained this vantage ground, they were emboldened to seize the Aventine, within the corporate limits. While holding this position, the Senate sent to them as an envoy Menenius Agrippa. In his address to the insurgents he likened the divisions of Roman society to the different members of the body. He showed the mutual dependence of the various classes, and by fair promises and careful dealing induced the people to return to their homes. This time the Senate kept its faith; the imprisoned debtors were liberated, and the insolvent relieved from their obligations.

It is thought that this first break between the two classes of Roman society was rather between the rich and the poor than between the two great permanent divisions of the people. Most of the poor, however, were plebeians, and nearly all of the rich were patricians. In the case of the next insurrection the lines were strictly drawn, according to the political classification. Until now the plebeians had been excluded from the consulship, and were thus without the protection of a magistrate belonging to their own ranks. They therefore insisted on such a change in the constitution as should admit them to a share in the government.

This crisis was one of the most important in the early history of Rome. In the struggle between the classes the plebeians were successful, and it was enacted that henceforth two officers, to be known as TRIBUNES, should be chosen from the commons; that they should be granted personal inviolability; and that any one who assailed them while in office should have his property confiscated and himself pronounced accursed. There was thus established in the constitution of Rome a counterpoise to the power of the consuls.

The first election under the new order resulted in the choice of LICINIUS and BRUTUS as tribunes of the people.

The duty of the new officers was, as the name implied, to manage the local affairs of the tribes. The office was intended, primarily, as a check upon the overgrown—almost regal—power of the consuls. The tribunes exercised only civil authority. No military force was placed at their disposal; but, so far as official dignity and sacredness of purpose were concerned, the new magistrates were in no wise inferior to the consuls themselves. They were regarded as under the special protection of the gods, inasmuch that whoever offered them insult or violence might be killed with impunity.

Any plebeian had the right to appeal to the tribunes against consular authority; and to the end that, at all times and under all circumstances, the appeal might not be obstructed or delayed, the law required that the tribunes should never go to a greater distance than a mile from the city wall, and that the doors of their houses should stand open day and night. From the exercise and extension of their power, the tribunes came to have a veto upon the execution of any law regarded as dangerous to the interests of the people. To assist them in the discharge of their duties, two subordinate officers, known as *ÆDILES*, were chosen under the same statute which created the tribunial office.

It frequently happened that the tribunes must call the plebeians together to consult with them on affairs of state. In these meetings, the popular officers spoke with entire freedom on the weightiest questions which agitated the Republic. These popular assemblies had the right of petition, but no legislative authority. On such occasions, resolutions were adopted which were carried by the tribunes to the *comitia centuriata*; but such resolutions, like those of a modern public assembly, were merely expressions of the public wish, and had no binding force as law. The plebeians themselves, however, were disposed to claim for their resolutions a certain regal sanction, and this view of their import was favored by the adoption of the Icilian Law proposed by the tribune ICILIUS, in the year B. C. 493, wherein

it was enacted that any one interrupting a tribune while addressing the people should be punished with death.

As was to be expected under such conditions, the powers of these officers of the people were rapidly extended. They soon usurped authority which did not originally belong to them. They even went so far as to claim the right of summoning patricians before them, and of punishing them with fines, imprisonment, or death. The first instance in which this stretch of power was brought to the test was in the case of Caius Marcius Coriolanus. There was a famine in Rome. The poor were starving. Corn was brought from Etruria to relieve the destitute. This being insufficient, Gelon, king of Syracuse, sent shiploads of supplies as presents to the Roman people. Coriolanus, a patrician and soldier, who had won a civic crown by his bravery at the battle of Lake Regillus, proposed that none of these provisions should be distributed to the plebeians until they consented to give up their tribunes.

For this he was impeached by the people's officers. He was accused before the *comitia centuriata* of having broken the peace between the two classes of Roman citizens, as well as having violated the sacred laws of humanity. The patricians were unable to protect him from popular indignation, and fleeing from Rome he sought refuge among the Volscians. Once safe in Antium, the capital town of that tribe, he persuaded the king to join him in making war on Rome. With a large army Coriolanus invaded the Roman territory, and made his way within five miles of the city. He wasted the country and spread terror on every hand until the Romans were glad to sue for peace; but Coriolanus imposed harsh terms. He demanded that all the towns hitherto taken from the Volscians should be unconditionally restored.

The people sent out a second embassy to beg for more favorable conditions; but the envoys were turned away with disdain. Finally a procession of Roman matrons, headed by Veturia and Volumnia, the mother and wife of Coriolanus, came to beseech him to spare his country from further persecution. It is related that the laughty patrician, addressing his mother with a sort of indignant loyalty, cried out:

“Mother, you have saved your country, but lost your son.” He at once withdrew with his army, and the territory of Rome was quickly recovered.

According to one of the traditions, Coriolanus returned to the Volscians, by whom he was put to death; but another is to the effect that he spent the rest of his days in exile. The result of the struggle had on the whole been favorable to the cause of the plebeians. The power of the tribunes was more secure than before the outbreak. The Roman commons were now an organized body, and were able, by means of their officers, to offer systematic resistance to the consuls, backed as the latter were by the patricians.

At the bottom of all the civil dissensions which now distracted the state of Rome lay the *question of land*. The territory of the commonwealth was limited. The land had been acquired by conquest. Since, from the early days, the patricians had virtually constituted the state they claimed and exercised the right of dividing all the conquered lands among themselves. As the plebeians grew to be an important element in the political society of Rome they began to claim their right to share in the distribution of new lands, to the conquest of which they had contributed as much as the patricians. But this claim was disallowed by the ruling classes.

After the expulsion of Tarquin, the *patres* relented to the extent of conceding certain lands to the plebeians on the same terms as those under which their own estates were occupied; namely, the payment to the government of one-tenth of the income. Subsequently still larger distributions of conquered territories were made to the plebeians, but always with such restrictions and discriminations as tended to engender discontent. Cultivation was made a condition of the gift, and the poor peasant, whose resources consisted of cattle and sheep, was only mocked by the offer of what he could not possess. The principle of debt, too, with the usurious rates of interest which were charged, tended constantly and powerfully to throw all of the lands into the hands of the nobles, and to reduce the plebeians to the level of serfs.

The Roman commons became day-laborers

on the estates of those who were their masters in all but the name. For this state of affairs there was no remedy except to strike at the root of the system, and change the principle which had hitherto governed the distribution of the public lands. The partial concession which had been made had thus far affected only the wealthier plebeians, and this to the suffering poor had been an injury rather than a benefit; for the more powerful of their own class were thus drawn over to the patricians, who persisted in claiming the full right of disposing of the *ager Romanus* as they would.

It was in this emergency that SPURIUS CASSIUS, a patrician of noble birth, came into the *comitia centuriata*, and proposed the first Agrarian Law. He was himself a man of great influence in the state, having twice held the office of consul. He had conducted two successful wars, the first with the Latins, and the second with Hernicians. Both of the conflicts had been concluded with treaties favorable to Rome, whereby considerable accessions had been made to the public domain. Cassius now proposed in the assembly that the newly acquired lands, instead of being offered for occupation on the old conditions, should be freely distributed to the plebeians and subject Latin population. His proposition went so far as to reclaim—in case the new lands should prove insufficient in quantity—certain parts of the public domain previously distributed to the rich.

This radical movement on the part of Cassius awakened the most violent opposition. The patricians were greatly embittered; and the wealthy plebeians selfishly added their influence to the opposition. The patricians claimed that Cassius was violating the Roman constitution by proposing in the *comitia* a measure which could only be lawfully discussed by the Senate; and that the measure itself was against the common right of property, since it touched the redistribution of lands already acquired. Even the plebeians were dissatisfied with the proposition made by their friend, since it included the Latins with themselves in the new assignment of real property. Nevertheless the measure was adopted by the *comitia*, and the patricians contented themselves with preventing the execution of the law. At the expira-

tion of his consulship, Cassius was charged before the Senate with aspiring to kingly power, and after a trial was condemned to death.

With the fall of the people's friend, the patricians became more haughty and severe than ever. In B. C. 485, the Fabian Gens obtained the consulship by usurpation, and, contrary to the Valerian Law, held it for ten years. During this interval the plebeians suffered the heaviest oppressions. In order to compel service in the army, the officers of the government adopted the plan of enlisting recruits beyond the limits of the *pomerium*, where the authority of the tribunes could not avail to save the poor man who was arrested. Another method adopted by the authorities was to suborn one of the tribunes, and induce him in any particular case to veto the acts of his colleagues.

Meanwhile the Fabii continued to be nominated for the consulship year after year. This course produced its natural effect, and a certain CÆSO FABIVS, himself a patrician, brought forward a proposition to enforce the Agrarian Law. This was done for the purpose of winning over the plebeians to his support. The government became alarmed at the prospect of a usurpation, and the whole Fabian Gens, now numbering three hundred and six citizens and more than four thousand clients, was compelled to retire from the city. They marched to the river Cremera, and established a fortified camp near the town of Veii. Here they sustained themselves for two years, but in B. C. 477 were enticed into an ambush, and slain to a man. Only one boy belonging to the Gens remained at Rome to preserve the name of the great family which had recently controlled the state.

A crisis was now reached in the long struggle between the two political classes of Roman citizens. After the banishment of the Fabii, the contest over the execution of the Agrarian Law became hotter than ever. In B. C. 473, the tribune GENUCIVS brought forward an accusation against the consuls, charging them with neglecting to make the promised distribution of lands. The day of trial was set, but on the night before the opening of the cause the tribune was murdered in his own house. His colleagues were terrified into si-

lence, and the trial of the consuls came to naught.

The murder of their favorite representative enraged the plebeians more than ever, and they demanded that henceforth the tribunal elections should be conducted exclusively by themselves without patrician or senatorial interference. The tribune VOLERO PUBLIVS was the leader in this movement, while the patricians were headed by APPIVS CLAVDIVS. The latter entered the plebeian assembly, and for a while delayed the adoption of the measure proposed by Volero; but the popular leader rallied his adherents, secured his reelection as tribune, and succeeded in forcing the measure through the assembly. The law required that henceforth the tribunes of the people should be chosen by a *comitia* composed exclusively of plebeians. It was a great victory for popular rights. From the first step which was taken by the adoption of the Icilian Law there had been a constant progress in the direction of emancipating the Roman commons from the thralldom in which they had been held by the patrician order.

For ten years after the passage of the Publilian Law there was a time of comparative quiet; but the plebeians, now partially freed from servitude, began to make still further demands for the enlargement of their rights in the state. Their aim was to secure an unequivocal recognition in the constitution of their position as an independent element of political society. The great obstacle in the way of a further development of popular liberty was the consular prerogative. This, though many times assailed, still stood in stubborn opposition to any advance on the side of the people. The new demands now found expression in a measure proposed in B. C. 462, by the tribune CAIVS TERENTIVS ASSA, to the effect that a commission of five members should be appointed to draw up a code of laws limiting the judicial powers of the consuls.

Until the present the knowledge and practice of the law had been restricted to the patrician order. The Senate and nobles had purposely prevented the reduction of the laws to writing to the end that even the tribunes should remain dependent upon others for an interpreta-

tion of the statutes. In new cases, which were constantly arising, the whole matter rested with the magistrate, who made and executed the rules of procedure as he would. It thus became indispensable to the welfare of the masses that the statutes of the state should be reduced to a written body, to be known and understood of all. The measure proposed by Terentilius was at once adopted by the plebeian assembly, but was rejected by the Senate.

The issue thus created was contested with great spirit. The contentions between the parties became as violent as those which had attended the first agitation of popular liberty. The neighboring states took advantage of the civil commotion to invade Latium. The Volscians made a successful campaign into the heart of the country, and the Æquians defeated a Roman army on Mount Algidus. In these contests the plebeians held aloof, hoping by that means to compel the patricians to make the desired concessions. But the latter, for the time, held out stubbornly.

To this period (B. C. 458) belongs the story of LUCIUS QUINCTIUS, better known by the name of CINCINNATUS.¹ Rome was engaged in a desperate contest with the Æquians. Her army had been intercepted among the defiles, and was in imminent danger of destruction. In this emergency the people demanded the appointment of a dictator. Quinctius had already acquired fame as a brave and unselfish patriot. The messengers of the Senate found the old hero working with bare arms in the field. Having thrown a mantle about his shoulders, that he might receive the envoys with proper respect, he heard their message, and accepted the commission. As master of the horse he chose the valiant LUCIUS TARQUITIUS. Then with fresh levies of troops he fell suddenly upon the rear of the Æquians, forced them to an engagement, and captured their whole army. He then compelled his prisoners to pass under the yoke, and marched the whole force to Rome in triumph. The spoils of the great victory were divided among the soldiers; and then the aged victor laid down

his office and returned to his plow, bequeathing to after times a name which, whether real or mythical, has never been tarnished with reproach or blurred with envy.

In B. C. 457 the dominant class consented to a further popular modification of the law. It was agreed that the number of the tribunes, which had already been increased from two to five, should now be augmented to ten members, to the end that greater facilities of appeal might be secured to the people. Three years later the tribune ICILIUS secured the passage of a measure by which the lands on the Aventine were given up to plebeian occupation. The next concession was brought forward by one of the consuls, who proposed a limitation on the amount which might be assessed by any magistrate—consul or tribune—on a citizen. The sum was limited to thirty oxen and two sheep.

Still the popular demands continued. They grew with each enlargement of the people's rights. In B. C. 454 the patricians assented to the appointment of a commission to codify the laws, but coupled the concession with the proviso that the commissioners should be appointed from their own order. Three patrician lawyers—POSTUMIUS, MANLIUS, and SULPICIUS—called *triumviri*—were accordingly named and sent into Greece and Southern Italy to study the legislation of the Greeks. This embassy was rather to collect information than to prepare the code. On the return of the envoys, ten citizens were chosen by the *comitia*, and commissioned with full authority to formulate a new code for the government of the state.

The *decemviri* entered at once upon their work, which in the form of the *Ten Tables* was published within the year. The code was approved by the *comitia centuriata*, and became the fundamental statute of the commonwealth of Rome. The new laws were received with great favor, and a second commission of *decemviri* was appointed to give the finishing touches to the work. Among those chosen for this duty were plebeians as well as patricians, so that the sanction of all classes might be had to the final revision. Appius Claudius was the only member of the old board reelected to

¹ So called on account of his long hair, which he suffered to fall in curls about his neck and shoulders.

the new. Two additional statutes were prepared, and the whole given to the public as the Twelve Tables of Laws; and these became the basis of all subsequent legislation in both the Republic and the Empire. The new code was plainly written and affixed to the rostra in front of the Curia Hostilia, that all the people might scrutinize the work of their commissioners. It became customary to transcribe them and to learn them by heart, so that the citizen of Rome, even from his school-boy days, might have the laws of his country at his tongue's end.

The code of the Twelve Tables was noted less for revolutionary enactments than for the succinct statement which it gave of the existing laws. The law of debt remained as before, except that the rate of interest was limited to ten per cent. The marriage statute still interdicted the union of patricians and plebeians; and the discrimination against the *proletarii*, or those whose property was assessed at less than eleven thousand asses, was retained as it had been since the days of Servius. So also the old laws relative to fines, imprisonment, and the punishment of death were allowed to stand with little modification. The great benefit conferred on the state by the new code was that it gave a fixed and indisputable form to that which had previously been the subject of endless disputes, and gave *publicity* to the whole, so that every citizen might know the laws of his country.

The popularity won by the decemvirs soon led to haughtiness and usurpation. Before the end of their second year in the government their conduct was such as to effect a complete estrangement of the people. They appeared in the Forum accompanied by lictors, who carried the *fusces* with axes—an assumption of authority which not even the consuls would have ventured to make. They neglected to observe the forms of law, and when the term of their office expired refused to resign.

A revolt was already imminent when two acts of infamy precipitated a crisis. Learning the condition of affairs in Rome, the Sabines and Æquians took up arms and began to pillage and devastate the country. They advanced into the heart of Latium, and gained

possession of Mount Algidus. Appius Claudius and his colleagues of the *decemviri* now became alarmed, and convened the Senate. War was declared, and a levy of troops made to fill the army. But the soldiers permitted themselves to be defeated, and the capture of the city seemed imminent. In the legion opposing the Sabines was a brave soldier named LUCIUS LICINIUS DENTATUS, who had held the office of tribune, and who now denounced Appius Claudius and the decemvirs as unworthy of confidence. For this he was murdered by the connivance of the authorities.

Soon a second outrage occurred, which roused the indignation of the people to a still higher pitch. VIRGINIUS, a man of plebeian rank, but of the highest character, was the happy father of a beautiful daughter, VIRGINIA. On her way to school she was seen by Appius Claudius, who determined to gain possession of her person. He therefore directed one of his clients to claim her as his slave. The maiden was seized and brought before Appius, who sat as judge to try the cause between the father and the client. The foregone decision was rendered that Virginia was the slave's daughter, and the decemvir ordered that Virginius should give her up. The father in despair turned aside into a butcher's stall near the Forum, and concealing a knife under his cloak, returned to bid his child farewell. First embracing her tenderly he suddenly raised the knife and smote her dead on the spot. Waving the bloody blade above him, he broke through the lictors and escaped to the army.

When the soldiers heard the story their suppressed wrath broke forth in fury. It was as if the tragedy of Sextus and Lucretia had been again enacted. The army mutinied and marched on the city. Having taken the Aventine, it was joined by other forces, and the whole withdrew to the Sacred Mount. The decemvirs were driven to resign. The moderate party, headed by Horatius and Valerius, entered into negotiations with the insurgents, and a reconciliation was soon effected. Amnesty was agreed to for all except the decemvirs. The tribunes were restored and the right of appeal again granted to the people.

Appius Claudius and Oppius, his chief abet-

tor in the recent scenes of violence and outrage, were arrested and thrown into prison, whence they were glad to escape by suicide. The other eight decemvirs fled into exile. Three new statutes, known as the Valerio-Horatian Laws—from the name of their authors who were now elected to the consulship—were enacted, in which the consular authority was still further limited. The first law was a renewal of the guaranty by which the tribunes

claimed coördinate jurisdiction with the Senate in the matter of making laws; and though the latter body naturally resented this division of a power which had been exclusively its own, yet the assertion of plebeian rights could not be longer prevented. It came to pass in practice that the tribunes carried the laws which they desired to have adopted to the Senate to receive the sanction of that august assembly; and for a while the popular officers would re-



THE DEAD VIRGINIA.—Drawn by H. Vogel.

of the people were made inviolable in their persons, and also a restoration of the old Icilian Law. The second statute revived the right of appeal against the sentence of any magistrate; and the third and most important was that the *plebiscita*, or resolutions adopted in the assembly of the plebeian tribes, should have the force of law upon the whole people. Thus, at last, was the legislative power of the Roman commons directly recognized and accepted.

The plebeians were quick to avail themselves of their new prerogatives. They now

main outside the Senate House while the proposed measures were discussed by the *patres et conscripti*. By and by, however, the tribunes, emboldened by familiarity, entered the Senate freely, listened to the debates, and, in case of an obnoxious measure, arose and pronounced their veto. It thus happened that when the senators were tempted to enact unpopular laws, they were confronted in advance with the menace of the tribunes, whom they could not successfully resist; and thus it came to pass that the tribunal office grew from a mere pro-

teetorate of the people to a coördinate branch of the Roman government. In the very next year after the adoption of the Valerio-Horatian Laws (B. C. 447), the work of popular reform was carried forward by the transfer of the choice of the quæstors from the consuls to a free election by the *comitia* of the tribes.

Thus by degrees had the plebeians gained the privilege of sitting by the side of the patricians in the curule chairs, and of wearing the time-honored badges of office. One of the effects of the firm establishment of these prerogatives was that that class of plebeians who had grown wealthy and had thus been thrown into sympathy with the patricians rather than with their own order, were now brought back by their interests and attached to the commons. For by such a reunion they hoped to be able to achieve an absolute equality with the patricians.

The year B. C. 445 was marked by another radical movement, headed by the tribune CANULEIUS. He proposed two additional statutes bearing directly upon the social and political order of the state. The first was a law rendering valid marriages between the plebeians and the patricians, and legitimizing the offspring of such unions. The enactment made no discrimination as to whether the man or the woman was from the lower rank, merely providing that the children should take the name of the father. A second law, proposed at the same time and by the same officer, provided that the consulship should hereafter be open to plebeians as well as patricians, thus putting the highest office in Rome within reach of the humblest citizen.

The first of the bills which were presented by Canuleius was passed, but the other was a measure so revolutionary that a compromise was substituted therefor. In this it was provided that henceforth the Roman people might elect either consuls (and only patricians were eligible to the consulship) or military tribunes to be chosen promiscuously from any rank of society. The latter officers, hitherto unknown to the constitution, were to have consular power, and the Senate was to decide whether at any given annual election the voting was to be for consuls or for military tribunes.

In the first year after the Canuleian law was passed, namely, B. C. 444, it was determined to elect three military tribunes, of whom two were plebeians, but after a choice had been made the augurs decided that the auspices had been unfavorable and that a new election should be held for consuls. This was accordingly done, and a struggle began which continued for six years before tribunes were again chosen. After that an interval of thirty-eight years elapsed before the consulship was again broken by the substitution of the more popular office. It was not until B. C. 400 that a board of five military tribunes, a majority of them being taken from the plebeians, was chosen to perform the duties of the consular office. So desperately do the old privileged orders of human society cling to the rights which they have inherited.

As soon as the principle of the military tribuneship was well established as a part of the constitution it became the policy of the patricians to make the concession as little useful as possible by stripping the office of a part of its importance. Among the duties hitherto performed by the consuls none was more essential than the taking of the census. Upon this depended—more even than in the case of an American apportionment—the relative representative strength of the different elements of Roman society. The Senate now detached the duty of taking the census from the consular office and assigned the same to a new officer, called the CENSOR, who might be chosen from the patricians only. It was thus sought to remand the distribution of political power in the state to the exclusive control of the nobility, which was now assuming the character of an oligarchy.

In dignity the new officer ranked next to the consuls. To the censor was committed the registry of the tribes, and this in its turn regulated the military service and political status of every citizen. When vacancies occurred in the Senate or in the ranks of the Equites it was the duty of the censor to fill the same by new appointment, and his power extended even to the striking off the names of senators and knights from the lists of their respective orders. With the growth of the

office other duties, such as the supervision of the finances, the distribution of lands, the management of public works, the farming of indirect taxes, and the oversight of the public and private lives of the citizens, were added to the office, greatly augmenting its importance in the state. For ninety-four years (B. C. 445-351) the censorship was held exclusively by patricians, and was, of course, so managed as to uphold the exclusive privileges of that aristocratic order. Not until B. C. 351 was the office finally opened to the plebeians.

The next step in the development of popular liberty among the Romans was the increase in the number of *quæstors*. This was fixed at four instead of two. Of these one-half were to remain in the city while the others were to serve as paymasters with the army.

These political struggles of the fifth century B. C. were frequently marked with violence and bloodshed. One such scene of special note was that in which *SPURIUS MÆLIUS* was the principal actor. He was a plebeian knight and one of the wealthiest men of Rome. During the famine of B. C. 440 he went into Etruria and purchased large supplies of corn, which he sold at a nominal price or distributed gratuitously to the poor of the city. His philanthropy drew to him the hearts of the people. When it was seen that he was beloved and applauded the jealous patricians charged him with aspiring to kingly power. Such was their usual method with those whom they hated. The rumor was spread abroad that the house of Mælius had been converted into an arsenal, and that the tribunes had been seduced from their allegiance to the people. In this factitious emergency the Senate prevailed upon the consuls to nominate a dictator, and the aged Cincinnatus was again called to that high office. Mælius was summoned to appear in the Forum and defend himself against a charge of treason. Knowing the probable issue of the trial he appealed to the people for protection; but before the cause could be heard he was assassinated by *CAIUS SERVILIUS AHALA*, the master of the horse. The house of Mælius was leveled to the ground, and his property confiscated to the state. The people were so

enraged at the murder of their friend that Servilius, in order to save his life, was obliged to go into exile.

It was the peculiarity of these intestine commotions that during their continuance the enemies of Rome were almost constantly victorious in the field. It was evident that the soldiers of the Republic had learned to yield in battle for the express purpose of depriving the consuls of a triumph. The neighboring nations watched their opportunity, and when they saw the Romans engaged in a domestic broil, were quick to take advantage of the situation. Such were the *Æquians* and the *Volscians*, who time and again invaded the Roman territory. The former people, shortly after the death of Mælius, gained possession of Mount Algidus and devastated a considerable district of *Latium*. The Latin towns, thus overrun, appealed to Rome for aid, and the people, at that time in a patriotic mood, on account of the concessions made to them in the *Canuleian Law*, rallied to the defense of the state, and the enemy were driven out of the country.

At this time the plan of establishing military settlements in districts conquered by the Roman arms became a part of the policy of the state.

To the year B. C. 396 belongs the conquest of the Etruscan town of *Veii*. For a long time hostilities had been at intervals carried on with this people. The neighboring town *Fidenæ* was first taken and destroyed. *Veii*, the capital city of Southern Etruria, was then subjected to a siege of ten years' duration. The Roman army was obliged to continue the siege winter and summer. The struggle was finally ended by the capture of the city, and the large territory belonging to the *Veientes* was added to the Roman dominions. Room was thus afforded for the organization of four new tribes, and the city, being thus relieved of her surplus population, as well as enriched by her recent conquests, entered upon a new life, a new prosperity.

In B. C. 390 the Republic suffered an invasion by the Gauls. This wild, semi-barbarous people was distributed over the greater part of Western Europe. The principal seats of their power were Gaul and Britain, but in their

tribal migrations many of the race had crossed the Alps, and settled in the valley of the Po. From this position they advanced to the south until they came into contact with the Romans

of Central Italy. The movement of the Gauls was in the nature of a vast marauding expedition; but their numbers were so great that the Roman army sent to oppose them was disas-



OLD PAPIRIUS AND THE BARBARIANS.—Drawn by A. de Neuville.

trouly defeated in the great battle of Allia, fought in B. C. 390, eleven miles from Rome.

The remnant of the army of the consuls escaped into the city, and the Gauls swarmed about the ramparts by thousands. The Romans were panic-stricken. The walls were abandoned; and the terrified people flocked to the Capitol, carrying with them whatever they could seize. The Gauls poured in like a flood, and the city was taken without resistance. At this juncture occurred that famous incident, doubtless the invention of Roman pride in after times; namely, the heroic conduct of the Roman senators in the presence of the barbarian invaders. It is related that the venerable fathers of the Republic clad themselves in the robes and insignia of their office, and seated themselves in their curule chairs in the Forum. They sat in silence in the presence of the astonished Gauls, who knew not whether these sage, gray-bearded figures were men or gods. At last, rather to satisfy himself than to commit an indignity against a being who might be one of the immortals, a certain Gaul approached the aged Papirius and stroked his flowing beard. For this the venerable senator struck him to the earth with his wand. The barbarians were at once aroused to passion, and soon glutted their vengeance by the massacre of the whole assembly. The city was then pillaged and burnt, but the Capitol held out against the invaders. Without the means of conducting a regular siege, the Gauls were baffled in their assaults, and were obliged to content themselves with an attempted reduction of the place by famine. The courage of the Romans was sustained in the emergency by the conduct of a certain Fabius, who in the very face of the Gauls made his way to the Quirinal Hill, and there performed those expiatory rites which were said to be due to the gods.

Another brave deed was done which raised the spirits of the besieged. A valiant plebeian, named Pontius Cominius, escaped down the precipice of the Tarpeian Rock, swam the Tiber, and carried an invitation to CAMILLUS, then at Veii, to accept the dictatorship and come to the rescue of the city. The hero's footprints were discovered by the Gauls,

and on the following night they undertook to scale the cliff down which Cominius had escaped. The Romans, regarding this part of of the rampart as impregnable, had taken no care to strengthen the defenses. The barbarians, aided by the obscurity of night, were on the point of gaining the summit, when their coming was revealed by the clamor of the sacred geese kept in the temple of Juno. The soldiers rushed to arms, but even these would hardly have prevailed to keep the Gauls at bay had not the brave patrician, Marcus Manlius, thrown himself upon the foremost barbarians, and hurled them down one by one from their slippery footing. Thus the fortress was saved from its peril, and the people, in gratitude to Manlius, conferred on him the title of Capitolineus.

Meanwhile Camillus had accepted the dictatorship, and was proceeding with that part of the Roman army which had survived the defeat at Allia to the rescue of the city. Before his arrival, however, the Romans were driven to desperation, and offered to surrender to the barbarians. The latter consented to accept a large sum of gold and retire from the city. The terms were agreed to, and the Roman officers were weighing out the money, when BRENNUS, the Gaulish chieftain, in order to increase this amount, threw his sword into the opposite side of the balance, exclaiming as he did so, "Woe to the vanquished!" At this moment of desperation, however, Camillus arrived, and stopped the whole proceeding with the declaration that the Romans, having a dictator, could make no treaty without his consent. He seized the money which was about to be paid to the Gauls, and bade defiance to Brennus and his host. The latter shrank from a renewal of the encounter, and retired from the city. They were pursued and routed by Camillus before they escaped from Latium.

Such is the popular tradition, embellished, no doubt, with much poetic fiction, of the pillage and capture of Rome by the Gauls. From many circumstances, it appears certain that the city was once for a season in the power of these barbarians. There are also good grounds for believing that they were presently driven out of the country. Nor is it unreasonable to



ROME PLUNDERED BY THE GAULS.

accept the story that Camillus deposited in the vaults of the Capitol, as a sacred reserve against a possible repetition of the invasion, the gold which he recovered from the barbarians. In the times of Julius Cæsar such a reserve-fund still existed, and popular belief associated the same with the deposit made by Camillus. There is little doubt, then, that about the beginning of the fourth century B. C., the barbarians of the North took and plundered the Eternal City—a feat which their countrymen were not destined to repeat for more than eight hundred years.

The fate of the two principal actors in the drama, by which Rome was so nearly extinguished, may well receive a word of further notice. Manlius, the defender of the Capitol, as nearly always happened with those who became the benefactors of the people, fell under the ban of the patricians. On a certain occasion he saw a debtor, one who had been a brave centurion, borne away to prison to expiate what he could not pay. Manlius, thereupon, discharged the debt and set the prisoner free. Soon afterwards he sold an estate near Veii, and loaned the proceeds, without interest, to the poor, thereby relieving more than four hundred of his indigent countrymen. The praises of the benevolent man were heard on every hand, but such a reputation was worm-wood to the jealous patricians. They demanded that a dictator should be named, and that Manlius should be held to answer the charge of kingly ambition. Twice he was brought to trial, but the city was profoundly excited in his favor; and it was found impossible to condemn him in sight of the Capitol which his valor had saved from the enemy. A third time, however, he was arrested and

brought before the judges in the grove of Pœtelius. Here where the Capitol was no longer visible, a conviction by his enemies was at last secured. He was speedily condemned to death, and hurled from the summit of the Tarpeian rock.

Camillus was named the Second Founder of Rome. He it was who, when the people, after the departure of the Gauls, fell into despair, and would fain have removed in a body to Veii, abandoning to her ruin the city of Romulus, persuaded them to rise from their desolation and begin again, on the hill made glorious by their ancestors, the struggle for renown. He it was, also, who ordered Veii to be dismantled, and the stone and other valuable materials to be removed for the rebuilding of Rome. While this work was in progress, several fortunate omens gave good courage to the people. Among the *dibris* of the ruin accomplished by the Gauls were found the augural staff of Romulus, the Twelve Tables of the law, and some of the ancient treaties of the city. Camillus showed his wisdom by inviting the Veientes and the people of Capenæ to settle in the city. By this means the population was so rapidly augmented that Rome was again able to contend successfully with her enemies. Her old foes, the Æquians, the Volscians, the Etruscans, the Latins—all by turns taking courage from the apparent weakness and despair of their rival—banded themselves against her; and at times the city was reduced to the greatest straits. But the indomitable will of Camillus, aided as he was by the valor of CORNELIUS Cossus, triumphed over all opposition, and every state which had taken the hazard of war was subjugated.

CHAPTER LIX—CONQUEST OF ITALY.



THE disastrous effects of the conflicts described in the preceding chapter fell most heavily upon the Roman poor. The plebeians were again and again reduced to the greatest extremity under the pressure of debt and poverty. The slave-barracks were crowded with prisoners, and the creditors had their share of cruelty and extortion. The old quarrels between the two orders of Roman citizenship broke out with as much violence as ever. The disturbances were so great, even before the recovery of the city from the effects of the Gaulish invasion, that resort was had to arbitrary authority, and in B. C. 385, Cornelius Cossus was created dictator to suppress the commotions in the city.

To this period of Roman history belongs the story of the great reforms introduced by the tribunes, LUCIUS SEXTIUS and CAIUS LICINIUS STOLO. These distinguished representatives of the people came into office in B. C. 377, and were reelected for ten consecutive years. It appears—if tradition may be trusted—that a bit of domestic jealousy, small as such a cause may seem, was the occasion of the legislation of Sextius and Licinius. A certain LUCIUS FABIUS AMBUSTUS, a man of senatorial rank, gave his two daughters in marriage, the one to the patrician SULPICIUS and the other to the plebeian tribune Licinius. Both were men of rank and influence in the state, but the wife of Licinius soon discovered to how great a disparagement her husband was subjected on account of his birth. At her sister's house she was laughed at on account of her ignorance of patrician etiquette. For these wrongs she found relief in tears shed in the presence of her husband and father. To them she made her plaint, beseeching them to combine in an effort to remove the social stigma fixed upon herself and family by the accident of birth and the folly of custom.

Whether the story be true or fictitious, certain it is that the tribunes, Licinius and Sextius, in B. C. 367, brought forward and secured the passage of certain statutes well calculated to wring from the patricians an equal share in the government. These enactments are known by the name of the *Licinio-Sextian Rogations*. The first law provided that all payments of interest on the current debts in Rome should in the settlement be deducted from the principal, and that the remainder should be paid in three equal annual installments. The second statute provided that no person should possess more than five hundred jugera—that is, about three hundred and twenty acres—of the public land; nor should any one pasture on the same more than a limited number of cattle. Another clause of the same law assigned to every poor citizen a small farm of seven jugera. The third enactment abolished the office of military tribune, and provided that hereafter one of the two consuls must be of the plebeian order.

Of course these radical reforms were opposed with the whole power of the patricians. They called upon the aged Camillus once more to accept the dictatorship, and prevent further encroachment upon their time-honored prerogatives. The struggle, however, was in vain. Camillus was obliged to resign his office. The assembly of the tribes voted to accept the Licinian Rogations, and then elected Lucius Sextius as the first plebeian consul of Rome. The curies, however, refused to induct him into office, and civil war was on the point of breaking out when the venerable Camillus again interposed and secured the confirmation of Sextius by the Senate. The end of the contest, which closed a struggle of more than two hundred years' duration, was marked by the erection and dedication of the Temple of Concord.

It was a peculiarity of the Roman patricians that they never retreated from one position to another without attempting to hold by subtlety what they were losing in the open

contest. So it was when the consulship was finally thrown open to the plebeians. The measure was coupled with the creation of the patrician office of *pretor*; to which was assigned the performance of the judicial duties hitherto belonging to the consuls. Though the nobles could not prevent the accession of a plebeian consul, they succeeded in stripping the office of a part of its dignity.

The general effect of this stormy legislation was to bring about an era of calm, which might have continued for a long period but for the hereditary distrust of the two factions in Roman society. As for the patricians, they refused to regard their defeat as final and continued to strive for the recovery of their lost prerogatives, while the plebeians failed not to complain and struggle as long as a vestige of discrimination was held against them. Of the exclusive privileges still retained by the patrician order, the most important were the offices of dictator, censor, and prætor. Up to this time, also, the pontiffs and augurs were always chosen from the patricians. These privileges, however, were invaded one by one. The dictatorship was open to plebeian occupation in B. C. 356; the censorship, in B. C. 351; the prætorship, in B. C. 337. Until the close of the century the pontiffs and augurs continued to be exclusively patrician; but in B. C. 300 the number in the pontifical college was increased from five to eight, and that of the augurs from six to nine; and it was enacted that four of the former and five of the latter officers should be chosen from the plebeian ranks.

It was not long, however, until the patricians broke faith with the people by securing the election of both consuls from their own ranks. As a kind of balm for this aggression they agreed to a reduction, B. C. 347, of the rate of interest to five per cent. The concession, however, did not suffice to calm the popular discontent. In the year B. C. 342 the Roman army, being then in winter-quarters in Campania, rose in mutiny and marched on the city. The government, notwithstanding the appointment of the popular dictator, VALERIUS CORVUS, was suddenly forced into the humblest attitude. The Licinian laws were

reënacted, and to these were added four additional sections, which were made necessary by the alarming condition of affairs in the state.

The first of these enactments provided that both consuls might be chosen from the plebeian order; the second, that no Roman soldier while in active service should be discharged without his own consent; the third, that no person should be elected to the same magistracy within ten years; and the fourth, that all interest on loans should be abolished.

No sooner was the peril passed than the patricians again attempted to regain at least a portion of their privileges. The public land was distributed, not according to the law of Licinius, but in such way as to subserve the interests of the Senate. The latter body continued also to exercise in a factious spirit its right of withholding sanction from the resolutions adopted in the *comitia*. For three years after the mutiny the broil continued until, in B. C. 339, the dictator, QUINTIUS PUBLILIUS PHILO, secured the enactment of three additional laws. The first of these statutes required that the resolutions carried in the plebeian assembly of the tribes should be binding on all the people; the second, that all laws passed in the *comitia centuriata* should previously receive the sanction of the Senate; the third, that one of the two censors must be a plebeian. It will be seen that the first of these laws was to all intents a reënactment of the Valerio-Horatian statute of B. C. 449. The second law was a virtual abrogation of the veto power held hitherto by the patricians over the legislation of the state; while the third enabled the plebeians to exercise a direct influence on the census and the consequent distribution of senators and knights.

In the mean time, B. C. 365, the great dictator Camillus had died. He was, without doubt, the most illustrious Roman of the age. In wisdom, patriotism, and influence, he has been considered by many the greatest man of the Republic before the days of Julius Cæsar. He was carried off by a plague of the year 365, but fell at a ripe age and full of honors. The pestilence in which he was carried away was the sixth visitation of the kind with which the city had been afflicted since the expulsion

of the Tarquins. The Romans always attributed the reappearance of the plague to the anger of the gods, and on such occasions, instead of attending to the condition of the city—its rubbish, its drains, its water-supplies—they, like the other foolish people of ancient and modern times, sought to placate the offended deities by building altars and shrines and performing religious solemnities. It was customary on such occasions to take from their places all the statues of the gods, bear them through the streets of the city, and place them on couches in the Capitol, before tables loaded with sacrificial offerings.

The nation of the Gauls did not fail, at intervals, to make incursions into Italy, and more than once the territory of Rome was invaded. The Romans stood in greater awe of these huge and fierce barbarians than of their civilized neighbors. Nevertheless, the courage of the people proved sufficient for every emergency, and the city never again suffered such peril as in the case of the first great invasion. In these forays of the barbarians many opportunities were offered for the display of that particular type of heroism which the Romans so much admired. In one instance the popular hero **TITUS MANLIUS**, having encountered a gigantic Gaul on one of the bridges of the Anio, slew him, and tore off his twisted chain of gold. From this exploit he and his family received and proudly wore the name of *Torquatus*. In another case, when **MARCUS VALERIUS** was engaged in a deadly combat, a crow suddenly alighted on his helmet, and so flapped and tore with wing and beak and claw the face of his antagonist as to give Valerius an easy victory. Hence he and his family were surnamed *Corvus*.

During the continuance of these incursions the Gaulish tribes held certain of the defiles in the Alban hills, and were supported in their campaigns by those ancient enemies of Rome, the Hernici and the Aurunci. More than once it was found necessary for the consular armies to go forth against these marauders, and punish them for their depredations.

To this period of Roman history belongs the story of the revolt of the two Etruscan towns of Cære and Tarquinii. The suppres-

sion of this insurrection was by no means an easy task. In one instance the consular army was defeated by the insurgents; but they were finally reduced to submission, and were glad to purchase safety by subscribing to a truce of a hundred years' duration. But in spite of this hard struggle of Rome to maintain herself in the contest with domestic foes and actual assailants, she continued to wax in strength, and soon found herself able to turn her thought to foreign conquests. The first of these great conflicts, in which the power of Rome began to be felt beyond her own borders, was the war with Samnium. Before beginning, however, the narrative of this first important struggle of the Romans for the dominion of Italy, it will be appropriate to add a few paragraphs respecting the character of the Roman constitution of the period and the political status of the people.

A formal equality had now been attained between the two classes of society. After the adoption of the Canuleian Law intermarriages became common between plebeians and patricians. Many of the former rank had now grown wealthy. The public offices, open alike to both orders, had gradually raised the plebeians in the social scale. The patricians were relatively less numerous than of old, and the decayed families lost their prestige and influence in the state. It thus happened that the ancient lines of demarkation were to a considerable extent effaced. But while this leveling tendency was at work in the commonwealth a new nobility arose, based not on birth, but on wealth and office. The poor were the common people—the democracy; the rich men and office-holders were the nobility—the aristocracy.

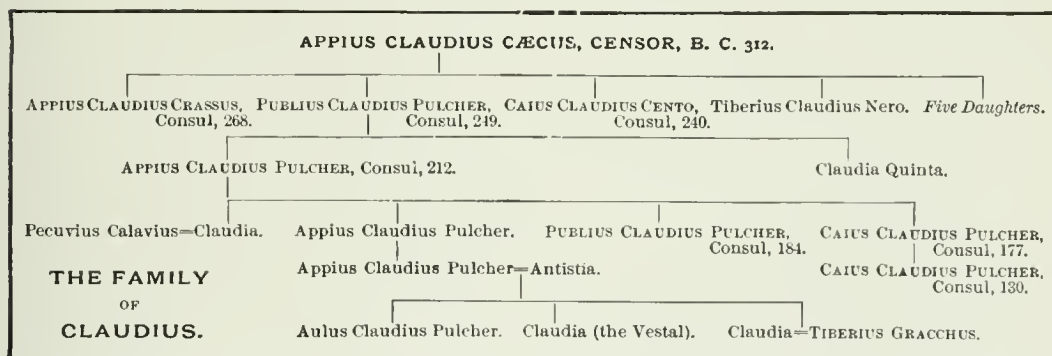
Meanwhile the long-continued struggle of the classes had changed to a considerable extent the relations of the law-making assemblies of the Republic. The ancient *comitia centuriata*, though still retaining its right to authorize a declaration of war and a few other important prerogatives, had been stripped of most of its legislative functions by the *comitia tributa*, or assembly of the tribes. To the latter body belonged the election of all the new magistrates except the censor and prætor, and the law-making power was gradually usurped and ex-

exercised by it. As was natural under such circumstances, the influence of the four city tribes generally preponderated in the decision of questions before this assembly; for the extension of Roman territory had thrown the outside tribes to such a distance from the capital as to make their influence but little felt in the ordinary business of legislation. In the mean time the rank of the *concilium tributum plebis* had been reduced to the level of the *comitia centuriata*; for in the *concilium* only plebeians were allowed to vote, and with the fading out of class-lines, the influence of the exclusive bodies became less and less.

As to the political condition of the citizens, several important changes had been effected. One of the principal of these was the enrollment of the tradesmen, artisans, clients, and

admitted to the *concilium* and the two *comitias*, the freedman and artisan-class brought into those bodies a large element of democracy, which was regarded by the nobility as especially dangerous to the state. In B. C. 304 a law was passed, under the influence of the censors, Fabius and Decius, whereby the admission of tradesmen to citizenship was limited to the tribes of the city.

One of the most noticeable changes in the Roman constitution was the curtailment of the consular office. In the early Republic, the consuls had exercised an authority almost unlimited. The history of the two centuries preceding the Samnite wars exhibits a constant weakening of the prerogatives of the consulship. Function after function of the chief magistracy of the state was either annulled or



even freedmen, within the corporation of Rome with the various city tribes to which they were assigned. As yet the country tribes were composed exclusively of freeholders. After the conquest of Veii, the number of slaves was so greatly increased that manumission became more common, and the number and importance of the freedman-class were greatly increased. Rome meanwhile had become the metropolis of Latium, and tradesmen, artisans, and adventurers flocked thither in crowds, swelling the enumeration of the tribes. At the first they were enrolled as citizens, but were excluded from classification and from military service. They were given the rights, but not the privileges, of Roman citizenship.

It was APPIUS CLAUDIUS who, as censor of Rome, first enumerated this increment of society with the tribes of the city. Being thus

transferred to other offices. The administration of justice was given to others; the election of senators and knights was taken away; the taking of the census with the consequent classification of the citizens was handed over to the censors; the prætor took up the judicial duties of the consuls; and the management of the finances was assigned to the quæstors. Besides all these reductions of prerogative, the influence of the consulship was still further weakened by the frequent appointment of a dictator. It became a precedent with the Roman people, in times of emergency, to rely, not upon the ordinary chief magistrates of the Republic, but upon the unusual powers and activities displayed by the dictatorship.

As to the Senate, it was still the great governing power of the state. It consisted of three hundred members, who held their office

for life. They were subject to removal by the censors, and after the passage of the old Ovinian Law in B. C. 351, the same officers had the right of filling senatorial vacancies. According to the statute, every one who had been consul, prætor, or curule-ædile was entitled at the expiration of his official term to a seat in the Senate. The number of senators thus derived, however, was insufficient to fill the quota of membership, and the censors were empowered to make up the deficiency by the election of those who had not held office.

The body thus constituted was the great central wheel in the machinery of the Roman state. Here the nobility, the *patres* by birth, and the *conscripti* displayed their full influence in the management of public affairs. As a rule, every measure of legislation, from whatever source proceeding, must receive the senatorial sanction before it could become a law. All the higher functions of government, such as questions of peace and war, the management of the finances, and the control of the public domain, were lodged with that august body of law-makers. By them, the consuls were instructed in what manner they should perform their duty. By them, the provinces were assigned to their respective governors. By them, the organization of the legions was determined, supplies voted, the triumphs of the generals conceded or disallowed.

By the original constitution of the state, a certain limitation was laid upon these extensive powers of the Senate. The body at the first was advisory rather than imperative. In the earliest times, the kings ruled and the Senate gave counsel. The executive functions of the kingdom fell to the consuls, and the senators' relation to administrative powers remained as before. Still the fact that the consuls themselves, at the expiration of their terms of office, were to become members of the great legislative body of the state disposed them while still in the consulship to deferential respect for the edicts of the Senate, and it was not often that these were overridden by the sheer force of consular prerogative.

Notwithstanding the growth of popular tendencies in the state, Rome remained an aristocracy. The patrician ranks, so far as mere

birth—privilege was concerned, had broken down, but these were constantly reinforced by the addition of rich plebeian families. The aristocracy of birth in the Old Rome gave way to the aristocracy of wealth in the New, and this continued to repress and oppress the people. Down to the close of the Republic the government remained essentially the government of the nobility, while around the great central rock of privilege roared and surged the limitless ocean of Rome.

After the peril of the Gaulish invasion was passed, Rome soon regained her place as the chief state of Latium. Those Latin towns which, under the imagined immunity occasioned by the presence of the barbarians in Central Italy, had thrown off their allegiance to the city of the Tiber, now found time to repent at their leisure. They were subdued one by one, and forced to resume their former dependence. As already narrated, the Volscians and Æquians had been severely punished for their defection. It was not long until the victorious arms of reviving Rome were carried to the River Liris, which constituted the limit of Samnium. Across this stream the two principal peoples of Central Italy glared at each other for a moment, and then went to war.

The Samnite people, inhabiting originally the lofty ridges of the Apennines, had spread by successive migrations into the surrounding plains, until they had become the principal family of the Sabellian race. In their growing career they had overrun the towns of Campania. Even Capua and Cumæ had fallen into their power. In this luxurious climate, so unlike the mountainous district from which they had come, the Samnites established themselves, and it was not long until connection between them and their countrymen of the hill-country was broken off. They became the dominant people in Campania, and sometimes engaged in hostilities with their kinsfolk of the central ridge. By and by, a second migration of mountaineers descended into the Campanian plain and attacked the city of Sidicini. The people of this town were unable to repel the invasion, and appealed to the Campanians for aid. The request was com-

plied with, but the combined force was unable to withstand the onset of the mountaineers. The latter gained possession of Mount Tifata, and from this stronghold made successful incursions into the surrounding country.

In this emergency Campania appealed to the Romans for assistance. The latter were bound to the Samnites by a treaty, which had not been violated; but the devil of ambition had now entered into Rome, and the compact with her neighbors was disregarded. She at once declared war against Samnium, and made a campaign against the Samnites of Campania. Every thing seemed going in her favor, and the prospect of a great enlargement of territory was opening before her when an unexpected revolt of the Latin towns compelled the Romans to concentrate all their energies for the maintenance of peace in Latium. Since the days of the kings, Rome had held a primacy among the Latin towns. In war the people of these municipalities had made common cause with the consular armies. It was a part, however, of the adroit policy adopted by the Senate to incorporate conquered territory, not with the Latin league, but with the state of Rome. It had frequently happened, moreover, that a Latin town would revolt, and be subjected to punishment. In such cases conquest was always clenched by the Romans by the addition of the insurrectionary place to their own dominions. It thus happened that by the outbreak of the Samnite war the territory of Rome was largely expanded and expanding. The city was in a favorable condition to continue the expansion of her dominions; and it was easy to foresee that in case of victory over the Samnites she would in the usual way signalize her triumph by adding their territories to her own. This condition of affairs greatly alarmed the towns of the Latin league, and they rose in open revolt.

It is illustrative of the times that in this emergency the Romans turned suddenly about and made an alliance with the Samnites. Their armies were united for a joint invasion of Campania. The forces of the Latins took the field against their enemies, and met them near the foot of Mount Vesuvius. Here a decisive battle was fought, in which the Romans and Sam-

nites were completely victorious. The Latin league was broken up, and the people of each town betook themselves within their own fortifications. In subduing these places one by one, the Romans consumed nearly two years (B. C. 340-338); but the work was finally accomplished, and the Latin confederacy obliterated.

With her usual selfish wisdom Rome extended to the vanquished peoples the privilege of settlement and trade in the capital. Even the marriage right was recognized between Latins and Romans, but not between the people of one Latin town and another. A large part of the conquered territory was incorporated with the dominions of Rome, and two new tribes were formed out of the subject population. As a further condition of unity the plan of colonization was adopted, and settlements of Romans were established at several points in Campania. The town of Fagellæ, the most important on the Liris, was thus, in B. C. 328, occupied by Roman colonists. By this means the authority of the aggressive state was thoroughly enforced and accepted as far as the borders of Samnium.

Rome having thus overthrown the Latin league, which had so long menaced her supremacy in Latium and Campania, now only awaited an opportunity to renew the contest with the Samnites. An excuse was presently found in the conduct of the town of Paæopolis. It was complained that the people of this place had committed outrages upon the Roman citizens who had settled in the neighborhood of Cumæ. As might be said of every other city of the times, the people of Paæopolis were divided into two parties—an aristocracy and a democracy. The first was favorable to the Romans, and the latter sought aid from the Samnites. By them a large force was at once sent to the city; thus the war broke out in earnest.

The Romans, under the military leadership of QUINTUS PUBLILIUS PHILO, at once advanced an army to the south, and laid siege to Paæopolis. The year of his office expired, however, before he was able to reduce the city, but the Senate extended his official term under the title of proconsul, and Paæopolis, with the exception of the citadel, was taken. Until

this juncture war had not been formally declared.

A demand was now made upon the Samnites to withdraw their garrison from the arx, and on their refusal to do so the *fetiales* proceeded to declare hostilities.¹ Three Roman armies were thrown into the field, one to continue the siege of Paëopolis, and the other two to invade Samnium. For five years the Romans were almost continuously successful. The Samnite territory was ravaged as far as the borders of Apulia, and the country brought to the verge of submission, when a revolt of the two Latin towns of Privernum and Volitræ suddenly recalled the victors within their own borders. The Senate, however, adopted a conciliatory policy, and the insurgents were induced to submit. The Samnites, taking advantage of this diversion, sued for peace, and the same might have been made on favorable terms; but the Romans would accept nothing less than absolute submission, and hostilities were again renewed.

In the year B. C. 321 the Roman army, under command of the consuls, VETURIUS and POSTUMIUS, advanced from Campania to relieve the town of Luceria, which, it was reported, was besieged by the Samnites. While marching through the defiles near Caudium the whole force entered the celebrated pass known as the Caudine Forks. The Samnites, well acquainted

with the strategic advantages of this place, had broken up their camp before Luceria and taken possession of the further end of the defile; so that the Romans, having entered the pass, found it impossible to force their way through.

In the mean time a division of the Samnites passed around to the rear and gained the entrance by which the Romans had made their way into the trap. The consuls with their armies were as completely caught as if they were blocked in a cavern. They were obliged to surrender, and the commanding officers were bound by a solemn compact to relinquish all the conquests and colonies previously made by Rome in the Samnite territory. The soldiers were then deprived of their arms and made to pass under the yoke. The army was then given its freedom and permitted to return to Rome.

Although the consuls had solemnly sworn to certain conditions of peace, the Senate refused to ratify the treaty. GAVIUS PONTIUS, the Samnite general, a man of great courage and abilities, insisted that the terms must be complied with, or else that by the common faith of nations, the Roman army should be returned to the Caudine Forks, and put into his power, as before. Postumius advised the Senate not to comply with this demand, but declared that he and his colleague, Veturius, together with the other officers who had sworn to a compact which they could not keep, should be redelivered to Pontius, to be dealt with as the Samnites would. This proposal was accepted by the Senate, but Pontius refused to receive Postumius and his fellow officers, and they were permitted to return to the Roman army. Thus by bad faith were the Samnites robbed of the legitimate fruits of a great victory.

The command of the Roman army was now given to PAPIRUS CURSOR, who soon advanced a second time into Samnium.¹ The town of Lu-

¹ The College of Fetiales was regarded as the guardian of the public faith of Rome. They had charge of the transaction of business with foreign states. Theirs was the duty in the case of aggression to demand satisfaction of the offending nation. In such instances a *pater patratus* was elected by the college, who should go and require restitution. This he did four times in succession: First, at the confines of the enemy's country; secondly, of the first native whom he met; thirdly, at the city gate; and, lastly, in the market-place of the magistrate in person. When satisfaction was refused he returned to Rome, and, having consulted the Senate, was a second time dispatched to the border. This time he bore with him a spear with the head dipped in blood, which he hurled across the boundary into the enemy's country. This act constituted the declaration of war; but in after times, when it became impracticable to go as far as the borders of the hostile country, the *pater patratus* went up to the tower of the temple of Bellona, at Rome, and thence discharged the bloody javelin in the direction of the enemy's land.

¹ The Roman conscience was a very inaccurate organ of conduct. Never was this better illustrated than in the miserable subterfuge which was adopted as a sufficient reason for renewing the war on Samnium. It is related that when the disgraced Postumius was led back by the *pater patratus*, and delivered over in the Samnite camp to

ceria was soon taken and occupied by a Roman garrison. The Samnites were reduced to such straits that they eagerly sought for an alliance. Meanwhile a forty years' truce, which the Etruscans had made with Rome, had expired, and they lent a willing ear to the petition of Samnium. A league was effected between the two peoples, and the Etruscans attacked the fortress of Sutrium. The consul **FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS** thereupon led an army through the Samnian forest, and in B. C. 310, inflicted a severe defeat on the Etruscans in a battle at the Vadimonian Lake.

The Samnites were also defeated in several engagements. The capital, Bovianum, was taken, and the authorities were obliged a second time to sue for peace. The Romans compelled them to give up all their conquests and colonies outside of Samnium, and to accept an alliance with their conquerors. Out of the populations thus added, four new tribes were formed. Eight Roman colonies were established within the conquered territory, and the influence of Rome was thus extended through the greater part of Central and Southern Italy. It was no longer doubtful that the city of the Tiber was in influence and power the first in the whole peninsula.

It was during the progress of these events that Alexander, king of Epirus, uncle to Alexander of Macedon, began to make his influence felt in the West. As early as the year 332 he landed an army in Southern Italy, near the city of Paestum, invited, as was said, to such a step by the people of Tarentum. The Romans, now engaged in suppressing the revolt of the Latin league, were well pleased to see their Samnite rivals pressed by a new foe from the south. They accordingly entered into an alliance with Alexander, and gave him assurances of friendship, while prosecuting his plans in the southern part of the peninsula.

king Pontius, he still thought to do something to please his countrymen. He accordingly turned about to the *pater patratus*, and said: "I am now no longer a Roman, but a Samnite like the rest." He then struck the fecial officer a blow with his fist, and exclaimed: "See, Romans, I have violated the sacred person of your herald; it now remains for you to avenge the insult." And Rome considered it a valid cause for war.

It was not long, however, until the king of Epirus was slain, and the Romans were left to carry out their schemes of conquest without his aid.

In the course of the last war between Rome and Samnium, the people of Lucania became divided into parties, the one siding with their neighbors and the other with the Romans. Samnite influence was at this time predominant among the Lucanians, and was maintained by garrisons established in the country. This gave cause to the anti-Samnite party to make an appeal to Rome, and this was accordingly done. The request was gladly complied with, and the Romans were thus again, by becoming a party in the domestic broils of Lucania, brought into conflict with the Samnites. In the interval, however, the Etruscans had been at war with Rome, but had entered into negotiations for peace. The consuls were thus enabled to withdraw their army from Etruria and concentrate their forces for the final subjugation of Samnium. It thus became all important for the Samnites to induce the Etruscans to continue the struggle. The Samnian general, **GELLIUS EGNATIUS**, displayed great abilities and skill in preventing a peace between Rome and Etruria. Three Samnite armies were thrown into the field: the first, to invade Campania; the second, to aid the Etruscans, and the third, to protect the home country from the incursions of the consular armies. The efforts of the Romans to divide her northern and southern enemies—to pacify the one and overthrow the other—were completely frustrated. Besides a large body of Gauls, now in the pay of the Etruscans, hovered on the northern frontier, threatening an invasion of Latium.

But the Romans were undaunted. It was emergencies such as these that brought out those qualities of resolution and heroism for which the race is so justly celebrated. The struggle which now ensued, and which was to determine finally whether Rome was to attain the mastery of Central Italy, extended from B. C. 298 to 290, and is known as the **THIRD SAMNITE WAR**. In the course of the conflict both sides displayed the greatest bravery; but superior generalship and persistency at last

gave the victory to Rome. She put into the field the two largest armies which the Republic had thus far ever organized. The command was given to two of the best generals of the age—the veteran **QUINTUS FABIVS MAXIMVS** and **PVBIVS DECIVS MVS**. At the head of the consular armies, they advanced into Umbria, and met the Samnites at Sentinum, near the pass where the Flaminian Way afterwards crossed the mountains. Here was fought a hotly contested battle; nor did the Romans gain much ground until Decius Mus, imitating the battle of his father in Mount Vesuvius, devoted himself, together with the enemy, to the gods of the lower world. Victory then declared for Rome. The Samnio-Umbrian alliance was dissolved.

After this battle the Samnites retreated into their own country, and there defended themselves to the last. History has rarely exhibited an instance in which the courage of despair was more highly illustrated than in the final struggle of this brave people for the independence of their country. In one great battle the consular army, under command of **FABIVS MAXIMVS GVRGES**, son of the great Fabius, suffered a disastrous defeat. Nor was the fortune of the war restored until the aged **Quintius Fabius Maximus** again took the field in person.

As the legate of his son, the veteran became the inspiring genius of the army. In a decisive battle the Samnites were completely routed. The brave old **Gavius Pontius**—the same who had been for so many years the main pillar of the Samnian cause—was captured and taken to Rome. There he was confined in a gloomy prison under the Capitoline Hill, and, if the bloody tradition of the times is to be believed, was presently beheaded by order of the Senate. The Samnites, after their defeat, betook themselves to the hills, and there in broken bands upheld the lost cause of their country, until they wrung from the Romans an honorable treaty, by the terms of which all the foreign conquests of Samnium were given up, while the people themselves were permitted to retain a measure of independence.

Rome made haste to secure her conquests. In Campania she established the two strong

fortresses of Minturnæ and Sinuessa, both near the coast. In the district where the territories of Samnium, Lucania, and Apulia lie contiguous, she planted the colony of Venusia, for the command of Southern Italy. On the shore of the Adriatic was built the fortress of Hatria, to maintain the predominance of Roman authority in the eastern part of the peninsula. Finally the Sabines, who during the progress of the Samnite war had frequently exhibited signs of hostility toward the Romans, were obliged to make their submission and take the rank of subjects. Nor did Rome in her career of success forget to punish the Gauls, who had threatened her territories with invasion. The Senonian and Boian tribes of this people were overtaken in B. C. 283, at the Vadimonian Lake, and were again defeated by the consular army; and in order to make secure the future possession of this region the fortress of Sena Gallica was established. It only remained to continue the war in Etruria, and this was done with so much vigor that all resistance ended. The town of Volsinii was taken, after a siege, and destroyed; and, with the downfall of Falerii, the conquest was completed.

The next to feel the impact of the strong hand of Rome were the Lucanians, who, notwithstanding their recent adherence to the Samnite cause, seemed to expect impunity. After the subjugation of Samnium they laid siege to the great town of Thurii, and that city in its distress appealed to the Romans for aid. This led to a declaration of war against the Lucanians; but the latter effected an alliance with the Bruttians and the disaffected Samnites, and presented a formidable opposition.

In B. C. 282, the consul **CAIVS FABRICIVS** marched an army against the Lucanian allies, overthrew them in battle, raised the siege of Thurii, and compelled the submission of all the Greek towns of Southern Italy except Tarentum. In each of these a Roman garrison was established, and the consul returned to the city with a long train of prisoners and spoils. The stronghold of Tarentum, still held by the Italian Greeks, was now the only obstacle remaining between Rome and the mastery of Italy.

From the Roman wars we may turn aside for a moment to consider the civil and constitutional progress of the state. An era of some importance was the censorship of **APPIUS CLAUDIUS**, in the year B. C. 312. This man, a descendant of Appius Claudius, the decemvir, resembled his ancestor in character and disposition. At the expiration of his term of office he refused to resign, but continued as a usurper to exercise authority. For this he was denounced in the assembly of the people by the tribune **PUBLIUS SEMPRONIUS**, who was supported by six of his colleagues. The other three tribunes, however, being suborned by the patricians, supported the usurpation, and Appius was thus enabled to continue in the censorship for another year. But when he proceeded to add impiety to arrogance, the deities took the cause in hand, and vindicated both their own and the rights of Rome. It appears that the family of the Potitii, to whom immemorially had been intrusted the performance of the religious rites peculiar to the worship of *Heracles*, were permitted by the censor to delegate their sacred office to clients and dependents. For this sacrilege the whole family became suddenly extinct, and for permitting it Appius Claudius was smitten with blindness, thus obtaining from the Roman people the surname of **CÆCUS**, or the Blind.

In the year B. C. 304, during the censorship of **Quintus Fabius**, an important change was effected in the political distribution of the people. It was in the nature of things at Rome that those elements of society which in a modern city would be designated as the dangerous classes constantly increased and became more turbulent. The state was always menaced by a surging crowd of hungry creatures who could easily be incited to violence and insurrection. It was with a view to the protection of the better classes of society from the menace of this horde that the legislation of **QUINTUS FABIUS** was enacted. It was provided that this multitude of the poor, consisting of the lowest classes, and generally the children of enfranchised slaves, should be arranged in four urban tribes, thus preventing the pressure which would be felt from the admission of this dangerous element into the tribes already estab-

lished by the census. Though the measure itself was aristocratic in its origin and tendency, it can hardly be doubted that the new statute conduced—at least for the present—to the welfare of society.

This success of the nobility by the separation of the rabble from the more reputable class of citizens was counteracted in some measure by popular movements in another quarter. A certain **CNEIUS FLAVIUS**, a man of the people, who had been a clerk of Appius Claudius, was elected curule ædile over the candidate of the aristocracy. Following up his success, he audaciously published on a white tablet, which was exhibited to the people, those forms of legal procedure which the patricians had been able by craft and subtlety to monopolize for their own advantage. Flavius had himself become familiar with these forms while in the service of Appius. The whole mystery of the law was thus given away to the populace, and the patrician suddenly awoke to the fact that his plebeian dependents would no longer be obliged to apply to him for a knowledge of those civil procedures by which his rights were to be maintained in the Roman courts. It was a virtual opening of the tribunals of the city to the practice of the people. The courts became equally free to all, and there was a sudden emancipation of the Roman commons from the judicial thralldom in which they had been previously held by the aristocracy.

Notwithstanding these forward movements in the way of popular rights and privileges, the advance of the Roman people was slow and unsteady. The superior intelligence of the patricians enabled them time and again to counteract in practice what the plebeians had gained in theory. It thus happened that the same social questions which had been apparently settled by legislative enactment would rise again to the surface and demand a new solution. The same intestine quarrels which had disturbed the people in the preceding century broke out afresh—questions of debt, of domestic rights, marriage relations, enrollment, and taxation—every thing, indeed, which was calculated to disturb the political quiet of the Republic.

Thus far in her career Rome had had no relations with any state beyond the Italian peninsula. True it is that in B. C. 324, when Alexander the Great was reposing for a season after the conquest of the Persian Empire, the not unfounded rumor of his purpose to subjugate the West as well as the East was borne to Rome, and the Senate was not unmindful that the Republic might soon be called on to defend herself against the greatest of all foes. But the peril passed with the death of the conqueror. The time had now come when through the agency of the Greek settlements in Southern Italy the first foreign relations of the state of Rome were to arise.

Of the origin of the cities of Magna Græcia an account has been given in the former chapter.¹ They were Hellenic colonies, sent out at an early date to the island of Sicily and the coasts of Southern Italy. Some of these settlements attained an extraordinary degree of prosperity. They were preëminently civilized communities—Greek both in character and culture. The most important of these cities were Agrigentum, Syracuse, Locri, Crotona, Sybaris, and Tarentum. From these great centers of population and refinement the arms of political power were stretched out across the peninsula, and the native races yielded to the supremacy of the Greeks.

The communities of Magna Græcia were, however, afflicted in the way peculiar to all Hellenic settlements. They were factious. Each city had its rival parties ready to rend and tear one another on the slightest provocation. The cities, moreover, were rivals of each other, and frequently went to war to settle some intercolonial dispute. These dissensions entailed their legitimate consequences. The Greek states fell into decline. Cities which had numbered their population by the hundred thousand decayed until they were no more than a shadow of their former splendor. Thus did Sybaris, Locri, Crotona, all the towns of Southern Italy, except Tarentum, and even she was less wealthy and populous than formerly. Such was the condition of affairs when after a seventy years' struggle with the Samnites the Romans emerged victorious and

turned their attention to the Tarentines, now the most powerful of the peoples in Magna Græcia.

The city of Tarentum, situated on the gulf of the same name, had grown great by commerce and manufactures. When the people found themselves unable to protect their wealth from the Lucanians, whom they had offended, they sent to Archidamus, king of Sparta, for assistance. As already said, another appeal was made to Alexander of Epirus, which was only defeated of success by the death of that monarch.

The Samnite wars gave opportunity to the Tarentines to make alliances against the growing power of Rome, but the opportunity was neglected. On one occasion, after the battle of the Caudine Forks, Tarentum assumed the office of arbiter between the Romans and the Samnites; but the interference was resented by the Senate, and a declaration of war was made as the result of what was considered a piece of impudence. Still at the conclusion of the conflict by which Samnium became a dependency of Rome, a treaty was concluded between the Tarentines and the Romans, not wholly unfavorable to the former; for it was stipulated that henceforth the ships of Rome should not sail beyond the Lucinian promontory.

When Caius Fabricius secured possession of Thurii and established therein a garrison, the Senate ordered that a fleet of ten vessels should—though such an act was in direct violation of the treaty—hover about Tarentum as a squadron of observation. The Tarentines, justly incensed at this breach of faith, quickly manned a fleet, and gained an easy victory over the inexperienced armament of Rome. Following up their advantage, they attacked and captured Thurii, expelled the garrison, and sacked the town. The Senate immediately sent an embassy to Tarentum to demand satisfaction, but the envoys were treated with extreme disrespect. The purple-bordered toga of Lucius Postumius, who headed the delegation, was profanely jerked, and when in the market-place of the city he attempted to address the authorities in Greek they laughed immoderately at his vicious grammar and bar-

¹ See *supra* p. 44.

baric accent. "Laugh while you may," said the insulted ambassador, "but this robe shall be washed in your blood." To ridicule Rome was dangerous.

The Senate declared war. No sooner was this done than the Tarentines sought aid from their own countrymen, the Greeks. An invitation was sent to PYRRHUS, king of Epirus, to come into Italy and assume the management of the war. The invitation was gladly accepted, and in B. C. 280 Pyrrhus debarked with a large army at Tarentum. He took control of the government, made the city his head-quarters, closed the clubs and theaters, and impressed the young men and idlers into the service.

The people of Tarentum were greatly discontented, but the Roman army, under command of the consul Valerius Lævinus, was already approaching, and the rebellious spirit gave place to the sense of danger. Pyrrhus went forth to meet his antagonist, and a great battle was fought at Heraclea. It was the first time that the Roman legions had encountered the Grecian phalanx. Seven times the veterans of Valerius attempted to break the line of their enemy, and seven times they were driven back. Pyrrhus hurled his cavalry and elephants against the already discouraged Romans, who gave way before the onset. The victory of the king was complete. The Roman camp and baggage fell into the hands of Pyrrhus; but the latter paid for his victory with the loss of four thousand of his men. Though he had won the battle, he had been taught that the foe with whom he had to contend was terrible in battle and resolute in defeat. It is narrated that the king said, "Another such victory and I must return to Epirus alone." When he passed over the battle-field and saw the Roman soldiers lying gashed, every man in the breast, he exclaimed, "If I had the Romans for soldiers, or they me for a general, we should conquer the world." The king was quick to recognize the fact that it was the charge of his elephants—a terrible sight to an inexperienced soldiery—which had given him success, as well as the other fact that these ominous beasts could not always be expected to excite such terror

Pyrrhus therefore determined to make overtures for peace. He accordingly dispatched to Rome his minister CINEAS, of whom it was said that he won more cities by his eloquence than his master conquered by the sword. Before the Roman Senate the ambassador proposed a settlement on the basis of freedom for the Greek cities of Southern Italy. This policy he defended in an able address; but when a vote was about to be taken, the aged Appius Claudius Cæcus made his way into the Senate House, and urged his countrymen to reject all overtures made by a victorious foe. The veteran patriot prevailed over the diplomatist, and the latter was ordered to leave the city.

As soon as the news was borne to Pyrrhus he broke up his camp, and began his march on Rome. But the city was in no wise terrified. A new army was thrown into the field, and Pyrrhus was brought to a pause. He had hoped that his approach to the capital would be the signal for a revolt of the Etruscans, and that even the old Latin towns would once more lift the standard of rebellion. But this expectation was disappointed, and Pyrrhus was obliged to fall back to Tarentum.

In the next year (B. C. 279), the struggle was renewed. Both parties mustered large armies and prepared for a decisive conflict. When, however, a Roman ambassador came to Pyrrhus to ask for an exchange of prisoners the latter availed himself of the opportunity to reopen negotiations for peace. He invited CAIUS FABRICIUS, the consul, to his head-quarters, and endeavored to persuade him of the expediency of a settlement. The Roman would not be convinced. Then Pyrrhus tried bribery, but all to no purpose. At last he had the curtain drawn aside, and Fabricius found himself confronted by one of the elephants. The huge beast set up a roar, but all in vain. The Roman merely smiled. Finding that no argument would avail, Pyrrhus refused to make the exchange of prisoners, and prepared for battle. The two armies met at ASCULUM in Apulia, where another terrible engagement ensued, and the Romans were again defeated.

Meanwhile another train of events was in

progress, by which the king of Epirus was led to conclude a peace and retire from Italy. The Carthaginians appeared on the scene, and the scene was Sicily. They overran nearly the whole of the island. Agrigentum was taken, and Syracuse was menaced with a similar fate. The Romans entered into an alliance with the Carthaginians, and the people of Syracuse made an appeal to Pyrrhus to come over and help them. Believing Sicily to be for the time a fairer field for military operations than Italy, he accepted the proposal, though the Carthaginians spared no effort which promised to detain him on the other side of the strait.

He accordingly patched up a truce with the Romans, left his general Milo in command of a garrison in Tarentum, and sailed with his army for Syracuse. Arriving in the island, he first used his influence to unite all the Sicilian Greeks in a common cause against the Carthaginians. Assuming the leadership of the league, he then took the field, and regained more rapidly than they had been lost nearly all the places which the Carthaginian general had taken. The latter barely succeeded in maintaining a foothold in the island. Having accomplished the purpose for which he came, the king retired from Sicily in B. C. 276, and returned to Tarentum.

The Romans, in the mean time, had recovered from their defeats, and were ready to renew the conflict. They put into the field two large armies, the first, under CORNELIUS LENTULUS, to invade Lucania, and the other, commanded by MANIUS CURIUS, to hold Samnium. The forces of Pyrrhus had deteriorated, not indeed in numbers, but in character. His best officers had been slain, and the places of veterans were filled with provincial Greeks, who had sunned themselves into indolence under the skies of Southern Italy. The king, moreover, had made himself exceedingly unpopular. Before his retraiy from Sicily the people of that island had become greatly disgusted on account of his harsh and arbitrary methods. His tyranny was as bad as that of the Carthaginians and Mamertines. On his return to Tarentum he had made himself odious by pillaging the temple of Proserpine at Loeri. When therefore the armies, the one

led by the king in person and the other by the consul Curius, met at Beneventum, in Samnium, it stood to reason that the Romans would win the fight. Nor did the result disappoint the conditions. Pyrrhus charged with great spirit, but was repulsed. A young elephant, wounded in the head, set up a pitiful bellowing, and the mother broke out of the battle to protect her young. The rest of the monsters followed, and the defeat of the Epirote army became a rout. Pyrrhus betrayed Tarentum, returned to Epirus, and then undertook the conquest of Macedonia. On leaving Sicily he is said to have exclaimed, as he glanced around him, "What a beautiful field we leave for the Romans and the Carthaginians!"

The departure, albeit without much glory, of the king of Epirus from the West left Rome the unequivocal master of Italy. Tarentum fell into her hands in B. C. 272. The predatory bands of Samnites who still infested their native hills were reduced to submission. The Etruscans no longer threatened the northern border. From the rivers Arnus and Æsis to the heel of Bruttium there were no longer any to oppose the now undisputed sway of Rome over the Italian peninsula. The UNION OF ITALY, under the leadership of the dominant people, was an accomplished fact. It only remains, in concluding this chapter of Roman history to note briefly in what manner the government of the victorious state was exercised over the peoples who had yielded their liberties to the city of the Tiber.

In general, the authority of Rome was mildly wielded over the subject states. It was expected that each of the conquered countries would equip and pay a contingent of troops for the Roman army; but beyond this requirement no tribute was exacted, no tax imposed. As a rule, the local law and institutions of the conquered country remained intact, and were used in administration. Only so much as conflicted with the statutes of Rome was modified or annulled. Rome, to be sure, was regarded as the center of this group of allied states, and from her flowed the streams of executive authority. She was the head and the subject states were the members of the vast corpora-

tion, and from this fountain of power were dispensed the laws and mandates by which the Roman world was governed.

Considering the society of this vast commonwealth, we find the state to be composed of three classes of persons: First, Roman Citizens; second, Subjects; and, third, Allies. The first class embraced the people of the thirty-three governing tribes of Rome. These tribes were subdivided according to population between the city and the country. The second class included all those persons within the Roman territory who had no other than personal or private rights. From them the rights of franchise were withheld, and the privileges of citizenship restricted to the narrowest limits. To this rank belonged the inhabitants of most of the Latin towns, and also the Hernicians, *Æquians*, and Sabines. After the conquest of these people they came to hold nearly the same relations to the state as had been held by the plebeians before their elevation to citizenship. These so-called "subjects" of Rome were required to serve in the army and to bear the usual burdens of Roman citizenship, but were denied a political status under the Republic. In such communities the government was administered according to the laws of Rome by a præfect sent out from the capital. The third class of population, called the "allies," embraced the people of the older Latin towns, such as Præneste and Tibur; the inhabitants of three towns among the Hernicians, and of the Latin colonies; and all those communities of Southern and Central Italy which had recently been subjugated. The position of "ally of the Roman people" had its advantages as well as disadvantages, and it is said that many of the people so designated would not have willingly exchanged their rank for that of full citizenship, with its graver responsibilities.

Like most of the ancient nations, Rome adopted the policy of colonization. Here, however, the motive was different, and withal more humane. Roman settlements were estab-

lished in distant parts, with the double purpose of disburdening the city of her ever-accumulating masses, and of peopling valuable districts naked from primitive barbarism or devastated by war.

Another feature of the Roman administration most notable and salutary was the system of military roads, by which the consular government sought to unite the important points—even the outposts—of the Republic with the capital. This vast enterprise was undertaken by Appius Claudius, the Censor, who, in B. C. 312, after the conquest of Campania, projected a great thoroughfare from Rome to Capua. The scheme resulted in the construction of a broad and straight highway, paved with stone and built with such solidity and skill as to merit the praise bestowed upon it by posterity as the finest military road in the world. This great *APPIAN WAY* was afterward extended to Brundisium by the way of Venusia and Tarentum, thus uniting by a magnificent thoroughfare the whole of Southern Italy with the capital of the Republic. The example of Appius was imitated by other distinguished Romans. The *FLAMINIAN WAY*, extending from Rome to Ariminum by way of Narnia and Fanum, was constructed in B. C. 220 by the censor Caius Flaminius, from whom it received its name. From the terminus of this great road at Ariminum, the *ÆMILIAN WAY*, the work of the Roman general Lucius *Æmilius Paullus*, was constructed (B. C. 187) to Placentia by way of Bononia, Mutina, and Parma; while another branch of the same road, known as the *CASSIAN WAY*, was afterward extended from Bononia to Arretium. The country of the Sabines and *Æquians* was joined to Rome by the *VALERIAN WAY*; while another thoroughfare, called the *LATIN WAY*, led through the valley of the Liris to the town of *Æsernia*. It was over these broad and stone-paved highways that the thundering legions of Rome went forth to battle, and returned in triumph, laden with the spoils of the nations.

CHAPTER LX.—THE PUNIC WARS.



E now come to the struggle between Rome and Carthage for the mastery of the West—a struggle most bravely contested, and, at the same time, one of the most important recorded in ancient history. By it was decided a question no less momentous than this: Whether the Aryan or the Semitic race should become predominant in Europe—whether the speech, language, institutions, and laws of the aggressive sons of Japhet should prevail over the star-lore and mysticism of the Chaldee and the Phœnician. For more than a hundred years the struggle was renewed with a courage and pertinacity rarely equaled—never surpassed—in the annals of mankind. It was a battle to the death. The issues involved were of such a sort as to admit of a solution only by the destruction of one of the combatants. It was a case in which victory to either party meant not merely to defeat, but to devour and annihilate the other.

The city of **CARTHAGE** was situated on a peninsula extending into a bay of the Mediterranean, near the site of the modern Tunis. It is said to have been founded about B. C. 880, by a Phœnician colony led by the princess Dido. Of the early history of the city, beyond the mere nativity of the colonists, nothing definite is known. Even the date of the foundation has remained a matter of dispute among historians and antiquarians. It is safe, however, to assume that Carthage was an older settlement than Rome, and that she became populous and wealthy at a date when her rival was still struggling for existence. The two principal facts which may be relied on as authenticated in the early history of the city are the monarchical character of the government and the commercial enterprise of the people.

For how long the monarchy was maintained before it gave place to a republican aristocracy, we are not certainly informed.

Tradition makes the period extend over three hundred years. The commercial relations of Carthage were the most important in the West. Her maritime trade extended to all the ports of the Mediterranean, and her inland commerce was carried in one direction to the Nile, and in the other to the Niger. The Carthaginian ships passed the pillars of Hercules, and navigated the coasts of Western Africa and Northern Europe.

The first relations between the Carthaginians and the Romans dated from the year B. C. 508, and bore upon the question of commerce. It appears from the treaty that, at that time, both Sardinia and Sicily were subject to Carthage; nor was it long until her supremacy was established over all the islands of the Mediterranean. The maintenance of her commercial ascendancy was the fundamental article in the policy of the city, and it was in the pursuance of measures calculated to foster and uphold her maritime rank that she became embroiled with foreign states, and notably with Rome.

Of the general character and history of the Carthaginians, from the founding of the city down to the epoch of her wars with Rome, less is known than of any other great nation of antiquity. With the exception of a few inscriptions on medals and coins, a score of verses in one of the comedies of Plautus, and the periphrasis of Hanno, not a solitary relic of Carthage has been preserved. She left no literature, no art, no monuments, no traces of her language or people. For the preservation of her fame the modern world is indebted to her enemies, and it is believed that among these the Romans, instead of exercising care to preserve the authentic memorials of the great power with which they had struggled for more than a century, destroyed in the temple of Carthage the Punic archives covering a period for more than three hundred years.

At the beginning of the fourth century B. C. we find, then, the power of Carthage well established around the shores of the Western

Mediterranean. Sardinia and Corsica were subject to her authority. The coasts of Sicily were occupied with fortresses and seaports. The Carthaginian army and navy were recruited from the subject countries; and with her land forces and fleet, commanded by native generals of distinction, she maintained her authority by sea and land, and extended her conquests into foreign parts.

The political constitution of Carthage resembled that of Sparta. It contained the elements of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy; but in what way these diverse principles of government were practically combined is not certainly known. Following the analogy of other nations, it is probable that in the earliest times the monarchy predominated; that in mediæval Carthage the aristocracy was the ruling element; and that in the later periods of her history the influence of democracy was more distinctly felt. But it appears certain that the democratic principle made less progress among the Carthaginians than with the Greeks and Romans; for in the time of the Punic wars the aristocracy, supported as it was by commercial wealth rather than by distinction of birth, was still the controlling force in the government of Carthage. The hereditary nobility, however, continued to furnish the two principal officers of the state, called kings or *Suffetes*,¹ to whom were committed the executive functions of the government, including the supreme civil power in the state and leadership in war. In the growth of the commonwealth these Suffetes were shorn of their strength by the usurpations of the nobility, until they were reduced to a rank which has been properly compared with that held by the doges of Venice.

The Carthaginian Senate consisted of a hundred and four members. Of these, it is believed, that five retired annually, their places being filled by five others newly elected. The five retiring members constituted a kind of secret advisory body of the Suffetes, called the pentarchy; and in time of emergency all the pentarchs, sometimes numbering a hundred or more, were called together to delib-

erate on questions affecting the welfare of the state.

The Carthaginian government also included a Great Council composed of a hundred members; but it is conjectured by some authors that this body was none other than that constituted by the pentarchs or ex-senators. It is known, however, to have been a part of the Carthaginian system greatly to multiply the number of officers, and it is, therefore, not improbable that the ordinary Great Council was distinct from that other body which was summoned on extraordinary occasions.

The offices of the government were held almost exclusively by the rich—the aristocracy. The Carthaginian commons had little influence and no power in the state. It does not appear, however, that the commonwealth was ever seriously afflicted with popular discontent and insurrections. The army was rarely filled by conscription of natives. The government adopted the policy of recruiting among the subject peoples. The land forces consisted of Libyans, Moors, Spaniards, Gauls, and Greeks. The commons of Carthage, being thus relieved from military duty, had less cause of discontent. The state also favored the people by a systematic plan of colonization. When the population began to swarm and the competition for the means of subsistence became sharp, large bodies were collected, and sent at public expense into some favored locality, where they were provided with homes. Perhaps, too, the natural disposition of the Carthaginians was less inclined to the excitements of politics than was that of the Greeks and Romans.

The religious institutions of Carthage were derived from Syria. The ceremonial was sensuous and revolting. Astarte and Baal were worshiped. It was the custom, when spring returned, to kindle a pyre, and to send up an eagle from the flame towards heaven. This was done in imitation of the Egyptian phoenix. The flame was the god Moloch. He it was who demanded human victims. Children were dearer to him than men; and the tender ones were flung by hundreds to his fiery embrace. The brief, spasmodic cry of infantile anguish was drowned with frantic dances and wild songs ejaculated in the harsh language of

¹This word is the same as the Hebrew for "*Judges*."

Syria; while the clamor of the tambourines of barbarism rose above the moan of nature.

The Carthaginians were a people of little enthusiasm; mournful in demeanor, rugged in manners. They are represented as a covetous and sensual race; having the spirit of adventure without the fire of heroism. The public ceremonies at Carthage were of a sort to shock the sensibilities of a refined people. It was customary in times of calamity to drape the walls of the city with black cloth. When Agathocles laid siege to Carthage, he found the statue of Baal illumined with internal fires, into which two hundred children were cast as a sacrifice. Afterwards three hundred of the people threw themselves into the same horrid furnace and were consumed. When the city was taken by Gelo, he ordered that human sacrifice should cease, but the people could not be deterred. As late as the time of the Punic wars it was still customary to appease the benevolent deities with the offering of human life.

Many of the laws and usages prevalent among the Carthaginians might be cited as examples of harshness and singularity. One statute was that any stranger caught trading with Sardinia, or any point between that island and the pillars of Hercules, should be drowned. The Sardinians were forbidden, under penalty of death, to cultivate their own lands. The tone of Carthage toward other nations was extremely harsh. At the close of the First Punic War, Hanno declared that the Romans should not be permitted even to wash their hands in the Mediterranean.

Carthage first became embroiled with Rome by an attempt to possess herself of the Greek towns on the coast of Sicily. For a long time already the two rival cities on the opposite sides of the Mediterranean had watched each other with jealous enmity. Each was wary of doing a deed which might provoke the other or give advantage in the approaching struggle. The invasion of Italy by Pyrrhus had afforded an opportunity to the Carthaginians to continue their conquests in Sicily; but the advantage was counterbalanced when the king of the Epirotes abandoned the peninsula and passed over into the island. The retracy of Pyrrhus into his own country left matters very

much as they were before; but the conduct of Carthage had shown that she was on the alert to gratify her ambition at the expense of her neighbors.

During the progress of the war between Rome and the king of Epirus certain bands of mercenaries in Sicily had availed themselves of the disordered state of affairs to seize the towns of Rhegium and Messana, situated on opposite sides of the strait. As soon, however, as Pyrrhus had betaken himself to distant parts the insurgents who held Rhegium were overthrown, and most of them put to death; but those who held Messana were not so easily suppressed. Indeed, the Romans had no rights on that side of the channel, and the Sicilians were unable to dislodge the rebels. The latter called themselves Mamertines, or sons of Mars, and they justified this assumption by making war upon the surrounding districts, wasting the country and killing the inhabitants.

At length their ravages provoked the anger of Hiero, king of Syracuse, who went against them with an army, defeated them in battle, and shut them up in Messana. Here they were besieged for five years. At last, when they were brought to the verge of starvation they appealed to Rome for aid. The Senate had a difficult question to decide. It was known that if the appeal should be refused the Mamertines would apply to the Carthaginians, and that Messana would be given into their power. On the other hand, Hiero was the friend and ally of the Roman people. Six years previously he had aided them in the reduction of Rhegium and for the same reasons he was now besieging Messana. All consistency would have to be blown to the winds before the Romans could now take the part of the Mamertines against him. But Rome was not the state to allow so slight a matter as consistency to stand between her and the allurements and profits of war; and so, though it was foreseen that a conflict with Carthage would be inevitable, the appeal of the Mamertines was favorably entertained, and an affirmative vote given by the Senate. The command of the expedition charged with the liberation of Messana was intrusted to Appius Claudius, the consul.

Before the Roman army could be brought to the seat of war the movement was anticipated by the Carthaginians. Hanno, with a large force, arrived at Messana, and induced the Mamertines to make peace with Hiero. He was then himself admitted into the city, and when the Roman consul arrived on the other side of the strait he found the Sicilians as much at peace as though war had never raised his banner in the island. But Appius Claudius was little disposed to return home empty-handed from a campaign which had promised such great results. He accordingly sent an ambassador to Messana, and persuaded the Mamertines to expel the Carthaginians from the city. The latter again made common cause with Hiero, and Messana was a second time besieged. Appius Claudius, managing to elude the Carthaginian fleet which guarded the strait, crossed over with his army into Sicily in B. C. 263. The event is noteworthy as the first occasion on which the soldiery of Rome trod the soil of a foreign state. The Mamertines in Messana were at once relieved; and Appius Claudius, advancing in the direction of Syracuse, inflicted a severe defeat on Hiero and the Carthaginians.

In the following year Rome sent two consular armies into Sicily. The towns of the island deserted the Syracusan cause and joined the invaders. For the time it appeared that the Romans would soon be in possession of all Sicily. It now became apparent to Hiero that in selecting an ally he had made a great mistake by giving the preference to Carthage. He accordingly made peace with the Romans, and was ever afterwards careful not to incur their displeasure.

The consular forces were now free to prosecute the war in other parts of the island. At this time the stronghold of Carthage in Sicily was the old Greek town of Agrigentum, on the southern coast. For seven months this city was invested, and was finally—though not without great loss to the besiegers—compelled to surrender. The result was the entire expulsion of the Carthaginians from all points in the island except Eryx and Panormus. So great was the success achieved by her arms that Rome no more aspired merely to the expulsion of

her rival from the island, but began to cherish the ambition of adding the whole to her dominions. It was the first impulse of that tremendous lust which led to the conquest of the world.

It was not long until the mistress of Italy found herself confronted with a serious problem. Though the Sicilian cities were nearly all in her power, and though victory after victory declared the superiority of her arms, yet she possessed *no fleet*. The sea belonged absolutely to her rival. Centuries of experience, not only in the Mediterranean, but among the breakers of the Atlantic, had made the Carthaginians the most expert and courageous seamen in the world. Rome, on the other hand, had gained her supremacy on the land. Of ships, their building and management, she knew nothing. History furnishes no other example of a people who had grown so powerful, wealthy, and aggressive, who were at the same time so little experienced in the affairs of the sea. Having conquered all Italy, and now adding Sicily to her dominions, she suddenly awoke to find her coasts in every part exposed to the assaults of an enemy whose chief renown was in the mastery of the deep. As fast as Rome could conquer the Sicilian seaports they were assailed from the side of the sea by the powerful squadrons of Carthage, sailing wherever they would, and doing as they liked. In the very midst of her successes in Sicily she found her own shores assailed, and her seaboard populations kept in constant alarm by the Carthaginian galleys. She saw her rival making good that threat which said that no Roman should dare to wash his hands in the Mediterranean.

In this condition of affairs Rome had the alternative of two courses: she must either stop short in her career of conquest, and surrender a portion of what she had already gained, or else she must build fleets, and meet her enemy on the sea. It could hardly be doubtful which of these two courses she would pursue. The race of Romulus was not likely to stop short in the career upon which it had entered. The Romans would build a fleet, defend their own coasts from assault, meet and overwhelm the foe on his chosen element.

Hitherto, there were no Roman ships larger than the trireme, or galley of three banks of oars. The Carthaginian fleet was composed of vessels of the largest bulk then known to the ship-carpenter's art. They were quinqueremes or galleys of five benches, ponderous and strong. Against these the lighter triremes would avail nothing in battle. Meanwhile Neptune, not unmindful of the sorrows of Æneas, heaved up on the coast of Bruttium one of the huge quinqueremes of Carthage. There lay the wreck, and Rome found a model. Then were the dock-yards enlarged; the Roman forests on the slopes of the Apennines fell with a crash; and the ominous hulks of one hundred and twenty vessels of war were seen in outline against the western horizon of Latium.

In B. C. 260 the first Roman fleet, of seventeen ships, put to sea under command of CNEIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO. The squadron was surprised in the harbor of Lipara, and armament, crew, and consul were captured by the Carthaginians. Nothing daunted, the other consul, CAIUS DULLIUS, sailed with the remainder of the squadron, and met the enemy off the coast of Mylæ. Here the first sea-battle of the Romans was fought. Knowing the superior tactics of the Carthaginians, and aware of their own want of skill, the Romans invented the grappling-hook and boarding-bridge, with which each ship was supplied, and by which it was to be lashed to the enemy's vessel, side by side, thus converting the double deck into a battle-field, on which the 'terrible soldiers of Rome could do their work as usual.

Calmly confident of victory, and unaware of the boarding-bridge contrivance, the Carthaginian ships bore down swiftly upon the Roman squadron, but were suddenly surprised, on the dropping of the grappling-hooks, to find themselves lashed vessel to vessel, and their inveterate foemen pouring over the sides. The result was a complete victory for Duillius, who returned to Latium with the wrecks of the Carthaginian armament, and was granted a triumph in honor of his great achievement. The victory was commemorated by the erection of a pillar called the *Columna Rostrata*; for it was decorated with the beaks (rostra) of

the enemy's ships. Thus by a single heroic blow was the maritime supremacy of Carthage shattered and dispelled.

But the struggle was by no means decided. It was now an open question with the Romans whether in following up their success, they would carry the war into Africa, or limit their present operations to the conquest of the islands in the western Mediterranean. The latter plan was adopted, and expeditions were at once fitted out against Corsica and Sardinia. Another army was sent against Hamilear, who now commanded the Carthaginian forces in Sicily. All of these movements were attended with success. The first two islands mentioned were speedily overrun, and Hamilear was driven back to the western end of Sicily. In B. C. 257, a second naval victory was gained by the Romans in the battle of Tyndaris.

All of these achievements were backed up with the greatest energy by the Senate and people. New levies of troops were ordered, the fleet was enlarged, and preparations made on an elaborate scale to transfer the war to Africa. The command was given to the two consuls, MARCUS ATILIUS REGULUS and LUCIUS MANLIUS VULSO. While coasting Sicily on the south, off the town of Ecnomus, the squadron met the Carthaginians, commanded by Hamilear and Hanno. The latter were superior in ships and men, having, according to Polybius, three hundred and fifty vessels carrying a hundred and fifty thousand soldiers; while the Roman force was reckoned at three hundred and thirty ships and a hundred and forty thousand men. Nevertheless, the Romans gained another great victory. The Carthaginian fleet was so badly shattered as to be unable longer to oppose any serious obstacle to the progress of the Roman fleet toward the African coast. A landing was effected near the town of Clypea, and there the consuls established their camp and base of supplies.

This part of the African coast was populous and wealthy. It was a favorite neighborhood with the Carthaginian nobility. Here they had their villas. Here, on every hand were flourishing towns and villages. These were overrun by the Romans with little opposition, and enormous spoils were sent home to Italy.

Carthage itself was in imminent danger of capture. The authorities made overtures for peace, and the same might have been concluded on terms especially favorable to Rome; but the conditions prescribed by the consuls were so humiliating to the Carthaginians as to

the resources of his military genius to those of the Carthaginian commanders. He urged upon his colleagues the necessity of a new plan of battle. Hitherto they had chosen the hill country, thereby sacrificing the advantage of using their elephants to a supposed superiority



BATTLE OF ECNOMUS.

make their acceptance impossible. In her desperation, Carthage now displayed the greatest energy. New levies of troops were made, and it was determined to fight the Romans to the last.

At this juncture the besieged city was greatly encouraged by the arrival of the Spartan general, XANTHIPPIUS, who at once added

of position. Xanthippus now induced them to leave the hills, and offer battle to the enemy in the open plain. Regulus hesitated not to accept the challenge, and in B. C. 255, a great battle was fought in which Regulus was taken prisoner and the consular army disastrously defeated.

The remnants of the Roman forces were gathered up by the fleet, and borne away for Italy; but off the Sicilian coast, the squadron was overtaken by a terrible storm, and the shore for miles was strewn with the wrecks of the armament and the bodies of dead men. The whole fortune of war seemed to be suddenly reversed, and the prospects of Rome grew dark to the horizon.

It was, however, in crises such as this that the splendid recuperative power of the Romans revealed itself most strikingly. In the very next year after the disasters just described, a new fleet of two hundred and twenty vessels was equipped and sent to sea. The squadron bore down at once upon the coast of Sicily, and, before the enemy was aware of the presence of the armament, surprised and captured the stronghold of Panormus. So signal was this success that the expedition was continued to Africa; but the Carthaginians now guarded their shores with such vigilance that the Romans were unable to regain a footing. The fleet returned to Italy, but, like its unfortunate predecessor, was caught in a storm off the coast of Lucania, and a hundred and fifty vessels were dashed to pieces on the shore. The disaster was such as could not be immediately repaired, and for several years neither party was able to renew the conflict with the accustomed energy. All Northern Africa and the two Sicilian towns of Lilybæum and Drepana were held by the Carthaginians, while the rest of the island and all of her own dominions remained to Rome.

Carthage was the first to renew the contest. In B. C. 251, Hamilcar made a descent on Sicily with a large army and one hundred and forty elephants. His progress was not much resisted until he approached Panormus, when he was given battle and completely overthrown by the consul LUCIUS METELLUS. The victory was so signal as to restore the fortunes of Rome and send great discouragement to Carthage. The latter again offered to make peace, and to this end sent an embassy to Italy. Regulus was taken from prison and made one of the envoys who were dispatched to Rome to negotiate a settlement and an exchange of prisoners. And here follows that celebrated tradi-

tion, coined perhaps by the Roman poets, which recounts the story of Regulus as ambassador of Carthage to Rome. The Carthaginians bound him by an oath before his departure either to secure a peace or else return to his captivity. True to his country, he refused to plead for peace, but urged the Senate to continue the war. His family and friends besought him to break his pledge and remain in Rome, but he was deaf to all entreaties. He declared that the Carthaginians would soon be exhausted; that no exchange of prisoners should be made; that his own life was now nothing since he was legally dead, being a prisoner; that the enemy had already administered to him a slow poison which would soon end his days; and that he would keep the faith of a Roman by returning to prison. He accordingly quitted Rome and went back to the Carthaginians, by whom he was cruelly put to death. True or false, the story has obtained a place in the annals of heroism, and is not likely to be forgotten.—The embassy came to nought, and the war was continued.

Rome now bent all her energies to the expulsion of the Carthaginians from Sicily. As already said, the fortress of Lilybæum, in the western extremity of the island, was still held by the enemy. A siege of this stronghold was begun, and continued for ten years. The works were built on a promontory, and had been rendered well-nigh impregnable. The assaults of the Romans proved of no avail. Meanwhile a consular army, commanded by Publius Claudius Pulcher, was sent into Sicily to operate against Drepana. Before this town a great battle was fought, in which the Romans were disastrously defeated, losing eight thousand in killed and twenty thousand prisoners. So signal was the overthrow that Rome was for a season thrown into consternation. Shortly afterwards the other consul, LUCIUS JUNIUS PULLUS, was conducting a fleet of eight hundred transports along the coast of Sicily, on his way to supply the army before Lilybæum, when he was overtaken by a storm and lost his fleet to a ship; not a single transport was saved from the sea.

These continued losses and defeats affected somewhat even the iron purpose of Rome. She

had now lost four great armaments and one-sixth of her fighting population. The Sicilian fortresses still held out as stoutly as ever. The enormous spoils of her first campaigns in Sicily and Africa could hardly compensate for the destruction with which she had subsequently been visited. Fifteen years of war had not

ILCAR BARCAS. He was made Suffete in B. C. 247, and remained in command for six years. During this time he conducted the war with the greatest ability. In Sicily he seized Mount Herote, which commanded the town of Panormus, and was able to threaten the Romans in their stronghold. In like manner he secured



REGULUS, UNMOVED, DEPARTS.

materially augmented her territory. The industries of Italy were paralyzed. The people became sullen and gloomy. The warlike spirit subsided, and for the next six years the military operations of the Romans were limited to the blockade of Lilybæum and Drepana.

At the same time that discouragement was thus prevailing in Rome, the fortunes of Carthage were revived by her great general, HAM-

Mount Eryx, overlooking Drepana, and for two years menaced that fortress of the enemy. Against every coast where the Romans had an interest he directed his expeditions, and even the shores of Latium trembled at his approach.

In the mean time the maritime power of the Romans had declined, and the squadrons of Carthage sailed everywhere at will. In this ebb of her fortune and fame Rome suddenly

aroused herself, and built a new fleet of two hundred ships. The command was given to the consul CAIUS LUTATIUS CATULUS, who at once made a descent on Sicily. The Carthaginians had now grown careless with confidence. Their fleets were scattered abroad on marauding and mercantile expeditions. The army in Sicily was thus left without proper support. Catulus found time and opportunity to land his forces, and to drill them carefully for the approaching conflict. Drepana was again blockaded before Hamilcar was able to intercept the movement.

But it was now the beginning of the end. In a short time (B. C. 241) the two fleets met off the Ægatian islands, and a decisive battle was fought, in which victory declared for Rome. Carthage again found herself deprived of her supremacy over the sea. The effect of the naval defeat was to deprive the blockaded armies at Lilybæum and Drepana of the means of subsistence, and to compel a surrender. Hamilcar was granted honorable terms and permitted to carry his arms and ensigns to Carthage; but it was evident that he would not for the present be enabled to renew the contest.

The Carthaginians were virtually exhausted. The spirit of the people was broken by the recent defeats. The mercenaries who composed the army were sullen and discontented. It was determined by the Carthaginian council to renew the negotiations for peace, and to this end Hamilcar was authorized to treat with Catulus. The Roman consul was anxious to signalize his term of service by bringing to an end a war which had continued for twenty-four years. The conditions were soon agreed upon, and peace was concluded on terms which were in general favorable to the Romans. It was stipulated that Carthage should evacuate Sicily and recognize Hiero as king of Syracuse; that she should restore all her prisoners without ransom and pay a war indemnity of three thousand two hundred talents. Thus closed the First Punic War with an enlargement of the resources of Rome at the expense of her rival.

The two great nations that had thus grappled with each other in deadly conflict for

nearly a quarter of a century now entered upon a period of peace of twenty-three years' duration. But the benefits of such a period were, in the case of Carthage, overcome by the internal commotions of the state. These troubles were partly civil and partly military. About the time of the close of the war the African dependencies of the Carthaginians revolted; and when the mercenaries, who for the most part composed the army of Hamilcar, returned from Sicily, they mutinied for want of pay. These mutineers and the insurgent of the African provinces made common cause against the government. The rebellion made great headway, and at one time all the Libyan towns except Carthage were in the hands of the mutineers. It required the utmost exertions of Hamilcar and three years of war to suppress the insurrection. The revolt was directly traceable to the vicious military system of the Carthaginians, which, instead of organizing a native soldiery, interested by family and patriotic ties in the honor and success of the state, substituted a horde of mercenaries, gathered from the ends of the earth, and interested in nothing except being paid and *not* being killed.

Rome employed the interval to better advantage. Husbanding her resources and governing the allied states with lenient sway, she grew stronger year by year. She knew, as well as Carthage, that the treaty of B. C. 241 would ultimately be broken, and that another war more sanguinary than the last would be the result. To prepare for the inevitable struggle and to stand ever on guard against any possible advantage of the rival power became the policy of both the states while breathing from one fight and waiting for the next.

From this period in the history of Rome is dated the beginning of her Provincial System. The same began incidentally with the conquest of Sardinia, in B. C. 227. This island had been a dependency of Carthage, but had taken advantage of the late war to throw off the yoke. After peace was declared Carthage made an attempt to reassert her supremacy, but was met by Rome, who presumed to regard such a step as a threat of war. She accord-

ingly interdicted her rival from interference in Sardinian affairs and compelled a surrender of the island to herself. She also obliged Carthage to pay one thousand two hundred talents as the cost of this supposed menace to Roman domination. The island of Corsica was given up along with Sardinia, and both were organized under one government as a province of Rome. A system of taxation was devised, and a governor, called a prætor, was appointed to execute the laws, maintain order, and collect the revenues. In the same year Sicily, which since the close of the war had been subject to the will of the conqueror, was organized as the second Roman province. Such were the beginnings of that vast system of provincial government by which for several centuries a large part of the world was held in subjection to the Senate and people of Rome.

Having thus obtained control of the principal Mediterranean islands, and having no longer cause to fear the loss of their supremacy at sea, the Romans began to look abroad for a further extension of their dominions. An excellent occasion of war was soon found with the people of Illyria. The tribes of this country had made the useful but not very proper discovery that piracy yields a readier revenue than vulgar industry in the field and shop. The Illyrian coast was peculiarly favorable, from its innumerable inlets and hiding-places, for the work of buccaneers, and the craft of these marauders swarmed in all the upper Adriatic. Many times they ravaged the eastern coast of Italy, always taking care to escape before the legions could be brought against them. Rome now found time to square the account with the pirates, and at the same time to advance her territorial interests beyond the Adriatic.

In this work she proceeded with her usual circumspection. At the time referred to Illyria was ruled by QUEEN TEUTA, who was engaged in a broil with Demetrius of Coreyra, who was her subject. To him the Romans offered their assistance on condition that the island should be added to the Republic. The offer was accepted, and not only Coreyra, but Epidamnus and Apollonia, following her example, were added to the dominions of Rome.

It was at this time that inter-state relations began to be established between the Romans and the Greeks. The Grecian states, especially in the western parts of the country, sympathized with the Italian Republic because she suppressed violence and established order in all her borders, but more particularly because the Romans were of the same race with themselves, having like traditions and religions, and perhaps a common ancestry. It was, therefore, with delight that in B. C. 228 the Greeks sent an invitation to the Roman people to participate in the Isthmian games. The Athenians hailed the people of the West as kinsmen and heroes, and gave them the freedom of their city. By a special act, the Eleusinian mysteries, to which none but Greeks had ever before been admitted, were opened to candidates of the Roman race. Thus by degrees was the influence of the Republic extended over the dissolving fragments of Grecian greatness.

Until the present time no effort had been made to extend the dominion of Rome on the north. The upper boundary of Etruria and Umbria had continued to be the territorial limit of the Republic. The great valley of the Po and the ridges of the northern Apennines were still possessed by the Gauls. These people, especially the Boii and the Senones, were engaged in almost constant war with the tribes on the north and west. It was this circumstance, no doubt, which had prevented the Gauls, at those times when Rome seemed to be under the foot of the Carthaginians, from again pouring down and devastating the fruitful regions of Central Italy.

After a time, however, the Gauls became sufficiently consolidated to undertake again what had been so successfully accomplished in the days of Marcus Manlius. Nor was such a movement to be regarded with contempt, even by the Senate and people of Rome. It was believed that the Trans-alpine tribes would pour through the mountain passes and swell the deluge which was to roll over Italy. A great army of Boian and Senonian Gauls, augmented by large bodies of their brethren from beyond the Alps, was organized for the expedition, and Rome, whose iron jaws had

munched the bones of the Carthaginians, trembled at the name of the Gaul. Even the gods of the city were excited and sent forth omens and portents. The Capitol was struck with lightning, and the Sibylline books were found to contain the following prophecy: "Beware of the Gauls, when the lightning strikes the Capitol." Another tradition of the augurs said that the Roman Forum should one day be occupied by the Gauls and the Greeks. Then came the priests, and said that the prophecy might be averted if two Greeks and two Gauls should be buried alive in the Forum. So Superstition lifted her horrid spade, and Rome, who had conquered Italy and faced Hamilcar's elephants, felt relieved when four innocent human beings were entombed alive in her public square.

Nevertheless the Republic—so wise does human reason grow, even in the presence of the priest—failed not to prepare what human agencies soever she could, to meet and repel the northern invaders. New legions were enrolled and sent to the front. Every city was required to accumulate supplies and put itself in a position of defense. And then, when all her preparations were complete, crafty Rome sent emissaries among the Cenomani and Veneti, advising those nations, as soon as the Gauls should begin the invasion of Italy, to fall upon their rear and despoil their country.

The Roman army of defense was stationed at Ariminum, from which direction it was expected that the attack of the Gauls would be made. The allied states joined their contingents, and made common cause for the protection of their homes. The Gauls, however, disappointed the expectation of the Roman consul, and, moving to the west, advanced on Rome by an undefended highway. While making the advance, they fell in with the reserves, who were on their way to join the army at Ariminum, and inflicted on them a severe defeat. The surrounding districts were then pillaged; but the barbarians, now laden with spoils, concluded to make good what was already gained by carrying away their plunder into Cisalpine Gaul. By this time, however, the consul ATILIUS REGULUS, commanding at the north, was hard on their track; and the

other consul, having landed at Pisa, with his army recently from Sardinia, intercepted the enemy's retreat. The Gauls were thus hemmed between the two consular armies, and in a decisive battle at TELAMON, were utterly routed and dispersed.

Meanwhile, in B. C. 232, the question of the distribution of public lands was again agitated, and led to the adoption of a new agrarian law. After the previous victory gained over the Gauls at the Vadimonian lake, a large portion of the *ager publicus* in Northern Italy had remained unoccupied. To preserve the quiet of these regions the Romans had planted on the frontier the two important colonies of Sena and Ariminum. In the year above mentioned, the tribune CAIUS FLAMINIUS secured the passage of a law by which these public lands of the North were distributed among the veterans of the army and the poorer classes of citizens. The Senate, although that body had not for a long time claimed the right of annulling an act of the people, violently opposed the adoption of the statute proposed by Flaminius; but the measure was carried, and the public domain opened to the occupation of colonists. The same tribune then signalized his administration by the construction, as far as Ariminum, of the great military road known as the FLAMINIAN WAY.

It was not to be expected that the Romans, after the overthrow of the Gauls, would forbear to press their advantage by extending the dominions of the Republic in the direction of the Alps. In B. C. 222, a successful campaign, conducted by the consul MARCUS CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, was made against the Insubres, and their capital, Mediolanum, was taken. Expeditions were then made in different directions, until the whole valley of the Po was overrun, and the territorial limit of Rome carried completely around the vast region of Cisalpine Gaul. To secure these great conquests the two additional colonies of Placentia and Cremona were established, and occupied by settlers from the capital.

While these movements were taking place in Italy, Demetrius, by whose instrumentality the Romans had secured their foothold on the Illyrian coast, renounced his alliance with

them, and went over to ANTIGONUS of Macedonia. Believing that the struggle between Rome and Carthage must soon be renewed, he sought to secure his own interests by entering into friendship with a new master. To signalize his defection, he organized a fleet, put to sea, and began in the character of a pirate to prey upon the commerce of Rome and her allies; but he had mistaken the men with whom he had to deal. The consul LUCIUS ÆMILIUS PAULLUS was sent against him, and Demetrius was glad to escape with his life. Fleeing into Macedonia, he endeavored to persuade the young king PHILIP to declare war against the Romans; but that discreet monarch was wary of such an antagonist, and Demetrius found opportunity to repent in exile.

The time was now at hand when the smouldering enmity between Carthage and Rome was destined again to break forth in the flames of war. The Carthaginians had in the mean time succeeded in reducing their mercenaries to obedience, and in restoring order in the dependencies. The civil condition of the state, however, was by no means happy. There had been a division of parties, which had destroyed the political unity and disturbed the peace of the commonwealth. The old Carthaginian aristocracy, claiming, as such bodies always do, the exclusive privileges which they had inherited, refusing to recognize the principles of progress and the natural growth of the state, had arrayed themselves, under the leadership of HANNO, against the party of the people led by the great soldier, Hamilcar Barcas. The baleful influence of this division was manifested in the factious opposition of the Senate to the war measures of the generals in the field. The latter were frequently thwarted in their movements and plans by the refusal of the aristocratic party to support them with men and means. This opposition of the civil authorities of Carthage to the proceedings of the party of war had been felt disastrously during the progress of the first struggle of Carthage with Rome, and was now destined to distract the state in a still more alarming degree.

It was under the influence of these disturbing political conditions that the veteran Hamilcar, after the suppression of the mutineers'

rebellion, gladly retired from Carthage, and undertook the conquest of Spain. This country now offered the finest possible field for military adventure. The possession of Hispania indeed had become almost essential to the Western nations. The gold mines of the East—notably those of Asia Minor—as well as the silver mines of Greece and of other countries, were well-nigh exhausted. In both of these great resources of wealth, the Spanish peninsula was especially rich. Her stores of gold and silver surpassed those of all of the rest of Europe combined. The country, moreover, was beautiful and varied in climate and product, and the people were among the most brave and hardy of the West.

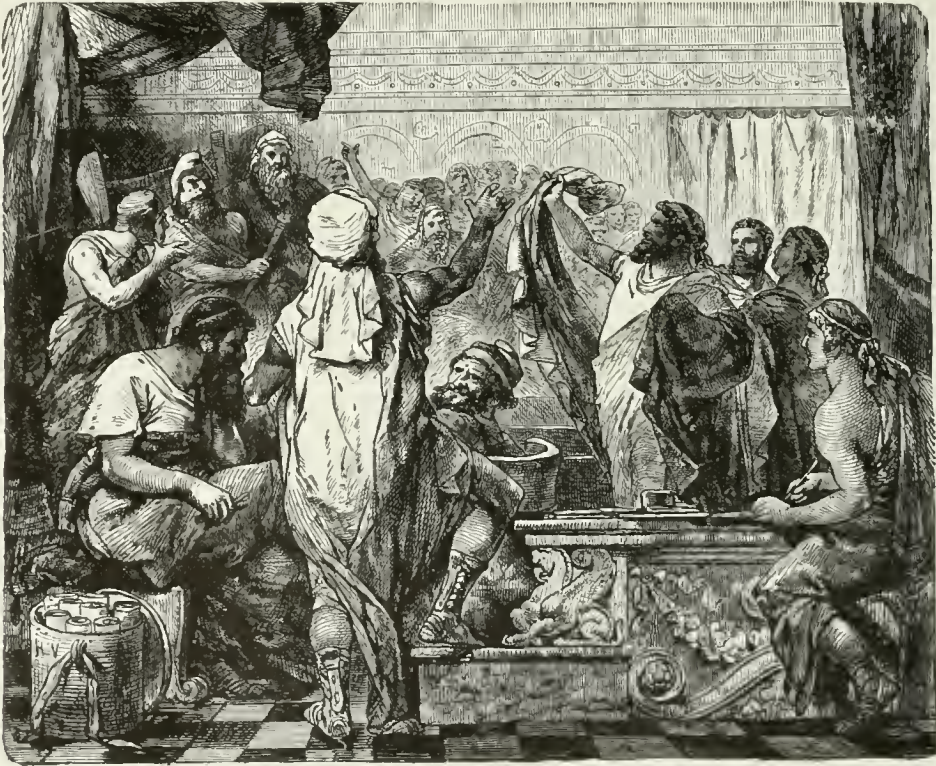
For nine years (B. C. 236–228) Hamilcar waged successful war in the southern part of the peninsula. In that portion of the country between the Ebro and the strait the authority of Carthage was thoroughly established. But in the midst of these successes Hamilcar was killed in battle, and the command was devolved upon his son-in-law, HASDRUBAL. The latter was also an able and prudent general, who maintained and promoted the cause of his country, both at home and in Spain.

The Romans now became alarmed at the progress of the Carthaginian arms to the north, and in order to prevent the further extension of the power of her rival declared themselves to be the protectors of the Greek cities in the Spanish peninsula, as well as those of the Mediterranean islands. An alliance was made with the towns of Saguntum and Emporise, and Carthage was notified that any aggression on the countries north of the river Ebro would be resented as an act of hostility done to the allies of the Roman people. Hasdrubal was obliged to assent to this declaration of policy.

Hamilcar Barcas left to his country and the world a son greater than himself. This was HANNIBAL, to whom any historians other than his enemies would have conceded the title of *Great*. From his youth he had been schooled in the discipline of the camp. At the age of nine he was taken by his father—then about to depart for Spain—to an altar in Carthage, and there made to swear eternal enmity to the Romans. He afterwards accompanied his father

in the Spanish wars; and when, in B. C. 221, Hasdrubal was assassinated, he was called to the chief command of the Carthaginian army. He was now in his twenty-ninth year, and was the idol of the soldiers. It was his preference to begin at once a war with Rome, while that power was still engaged with the Gauls and Illyrians; but the still unsettled condition of Spain and Africa forbade, and two years elapsed before a sufficient degree of security had been reached to permit him to pursue his

to send an embassy to Carthage. The authorities of that city were required to disavow the work of Hannibal, and to give him up as a pledge that there should be no further aggression either in Spain or elsewhere. A long debate ensued. The Carthaginian Senate, although the party of Hanno was still powerful in that body, was little disposed to surrender the son of Hamilcar to the tender mercies of a Roman prison-keeper. At last *Quintus Fabius*, who was the chief oracle of the embassy,



QUINTUS FABIUS DECLARING WAR TO THE CARTHAGINIAN SENATE.

purpose. In the spring of B. C. 219, however, he proceeded to Saguntum, which, under the rather flimsy pretext of being originally a Greek town, had claimed the protection of Rome. The Roman Senate sent a warning to Hannibal to stand off and leave the Saguntines in peace; but the young general was by no means to be deterred. He proceeded against the town, began a siege, pressed it with great vigor for eight months, and compelled the place to surrender.

Rome, now thoroughly aroused, made haste

gathered up his cloak, and said: "Ye men of Carthage, here in this toga I carry peace and war; which do you choose?" "Whichever you will," was the answer. "Then," said Fabius, dropping the folds of his toga, "we pour out war upon you." "And we accept it," was the reply.—And thus began one of the most memorable conflicts recorded in the annals of the ancient world.

In the mean time the city of New Carthage¹ had been founded as the capital of the Cartha-

¹ The modern Cartagena.

ginian dominions in Europe. Thither repaired Hannibal, as soon as he had brought the siege of Saguntum to a successful conclusion, and there began to prepare for the now imminent struggle with Rome. It was his purpose to adopt no half-way measures, but to make his enemy at once feel the blow by carrying the war into Italy.

All things considered, the general advantages were in favor of the Romans. Throughout Italy there was peace. Liberal concessions to the commons in the way of agrarian laws and many extensions of popular rights had removed the causes of discontent, and the system of mutual checks established in the government prevented a recurrence of the ancient disorders. The Roman army was composed largely of citizens in whom the old instincts of patriotism still prevailed over mercenary motives; and of those who had been recruited from the allied states, the most were loyal subjects of the Republic. The Roman treasury was well filled, and the revenues were managed with economy and prudence. In Carthage the condition of affairs was less auspicious. The popular or war party was now in the ascendant, but the conservatives, under the lead of Hanno, were still a powerful faction in the state. The Carthaginian army was composed mostly of mercenaries, whose patriotism extended no further than pay and booty. The treasury had been bankrupted by the first war with Rome and the waste and ruin attendant upon the mutineers' rebellion. Of late, however, the resources of the government had been greatly improved by the yield of the Spanish mines, so that in resources wherewith to conduct a long war the two powers were not unequally matched.

The impetuous Hannibal was not disposed to leave every thing to the naked contest of armies. He zealously sought to strengthen himself by friendly alliances. Negotiations were opened with young Philip of Macedon, and with the Cisalpine Gauls, and both were urged to make common cause against her who had either been or would be a common enemy. The Roman colonies recently established among the Gauls furnished good ground for discontent, and Hannibal was not without hopes that all the nations of the North could be won

over to his cause, and their country made a base of operations against Italy. Nor was it beyond his expectations that the Latin towns and several of the Italian states, reviving the antagonisms of the past, might be induced to revolt against the power which had so long controlled them.

By the beginning of the year B. C. 218, the Carthaginian was ready to begin his Italian campaign. His army consisted of ninety thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and thirty-seven elephants. The leader chose to make his way into Europe by way of the Spanish peninsula. He accordingly crossed the river Ebro, and entered upon his invasion. In the country below the Pyrenees he met with serious opposition, and nearly a fourth of his forces were wasted in battle before he reached the mountain passes. Before leaving Spain he left his brother, Hasdrubal, with ten thousand men, to hold the conquered territory, and with the remainder pressed on to the Rhone. Here the Gauls had mustered an army to prevent his passage; but he performed a flank movement, crossed the river at another point, and easily routed the barbarians.

In the mean time there was at Rome no spirit commensurate with the occasion. The peril was not regarded as imminent. The consuls were apparently ignorant of Hannibal's plans, and the preparations made were altogether inadequate, as well as misdirected. One of the consular armies, commanded by TIBERIUS SEMPRONIUS LONGUS, was sent into Sicily, with the ulterior object of crossing into Africa. The other force, led by PUBLIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO, was dispatched to Spain under the belief that Hannibal was still in that country. On arriving at his destination Scipio learned that his antagonist was already beyond the Pyrenees. Following in his track the consul reached the Rhone, and there learned that Hannibal was on his way to Rome! Scipio then sent the larger part of his army back to Spain under his brother CNEIUS, and with the remainder embarked for Rome. On reaching home he proceeded into Northern Italy, where, at the head of the troops to be gathered *en route*, and in Cisalpine Gaul, he proposed to meet the enemy.

While these preparations were making on the side of the Romans, Hannibal was steadily though not without great difficulty, advancing to his purpose. After the passage of the Rhone, he proceeded to the Isere, and ascended this stream to the foot of the Little St. Bernard. From this point he commenced the passage of the Alps. The native tribes of this region attacked him with great audacity, and many of his troops were cut off. Many more perished amid the solitudes of the mountain passes. Most of the elephants pitched from the precipices, and went down roaring into fathomless chasms—a scene without a parallel in history. At last the survivors emerged in the valley of the Duria, and soon found themselves on the sunny plains of Cisalpine Gaul. The Carthaginians were reduced one-half in numbers, and the rest were chilled and exhausted. A few days' rest, however, brought the veterans again into condition for battle, and Hannibal signalized his first week in Italy by the capture of the capital of the Taurinians—the modern Turin. So decisive and energetic were his blows that the other Gaulish tribes took counsel of discretion and sent in their submission to the invader.

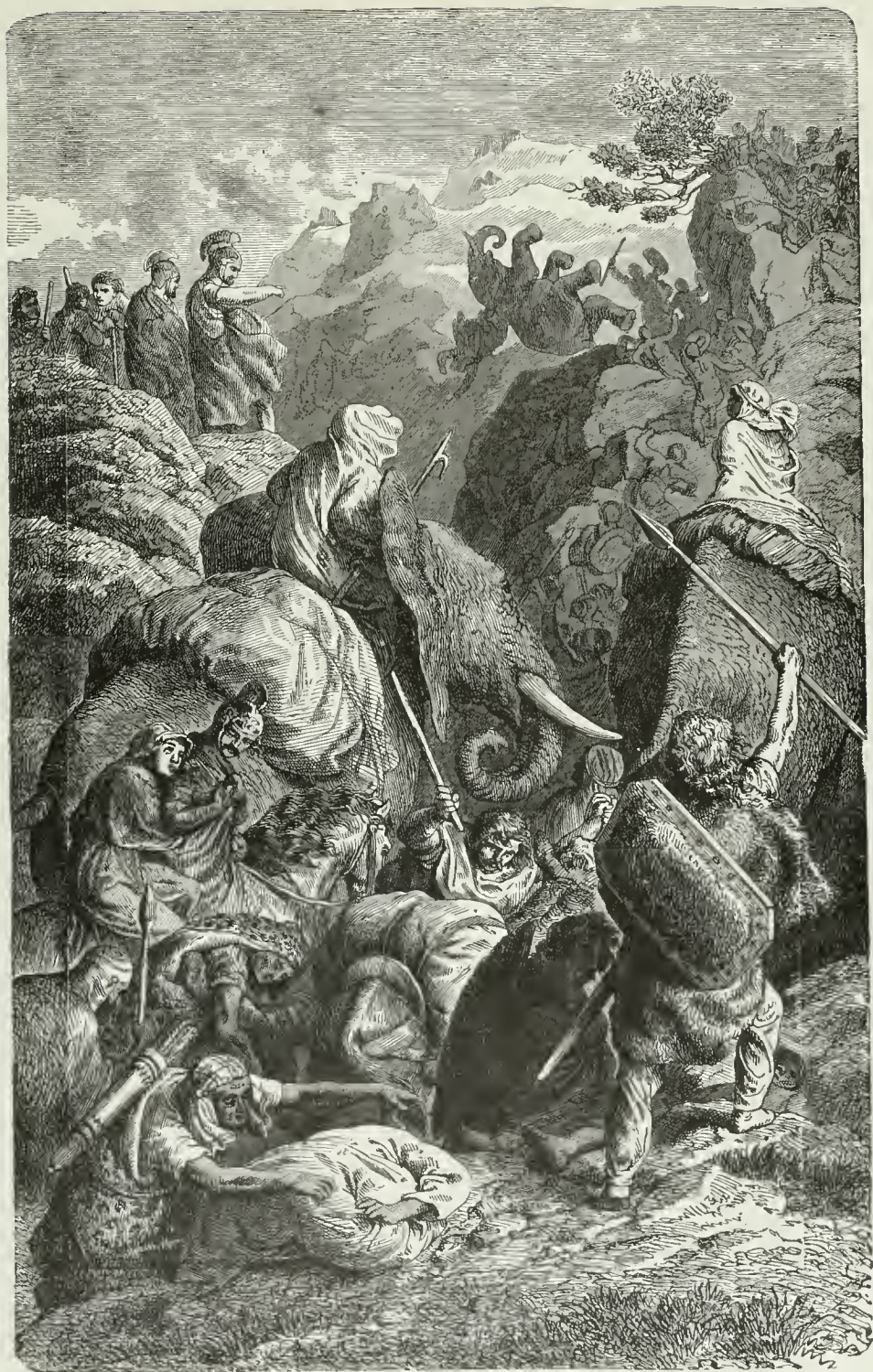
Meanwhile the consul Scipio gathered what forces he could from the colonies of Placentia and Cremona, and with no adequate idea of the character of his antagonist, advanced to meet him. The Roman march was up the left bank of the Po as far as the Ticinus, where the consul encountered a part of the Carthaginian array, and was severely handled. He was himself badly wounded and compelled to save his army by a retreat to Placentia. Here on the banks of the TREBIA he made a stand, and awaited the arrival of Sempronius from Sicily. The latter had already been ordered to return to Italy, and his troops had been embarked for Ariminum. From this point the army marched rapidly to Placentia, and formed a junction with Scipio.

The Romans were now superior in numbers to the Carthaginians, and the consuls no longer avoided battle. It was already midwinter, B. C. 218. The December rains had filled the Trebia bank full. The weather was cold and gloomy, the air thick with sleet and snow.

Hannibal succeeded by maneuvering in drawing the Romans from their position on the other side of the river and joining battle on a field of his own choosing. The consuls proved no match in generalship for the Carthaginian. The contest was hotly waged for a brief time, but the Romans were presently thrown into confusion by a charge of the Numidian cavalry, and driven back to the river. The slaughter became excessive. Those who were not slain or drowned escaped across the Trebia and took refuge within the fortifications of Placentia. The defeat was decisive. The Gaulish populations of Cisalpina rose in a mass and joined themselves to Hannibal's standard. To the barbaric imagination of the North as well as to the sun-born imagination of Africa the spoils of all Italy seemed waiting to be devoured.

Rome was now thoroughly aroused from her apathy. She came suddenly to understand that there was a herd of African lions loose within her borders. After the battle of Trebia she began to prepare resistance with her old-time energy. In the spring of B. C. 217 four new legions were levied and equipped. Two of these were sent forward, under command of the recently elected consul, CNEIUS SERVILIUS, to Ariminum, and the other two, commanded by CAIUS FLAMINIUS, were dispatched to Arretium. The latter general was the favorite of the Roman people, being the same who as tribune had secured the passage of that agrarian law by which the northern lands had been recently distributed to the poor; but he was by no means possessed of such military talents as to make him a match for Hannibal.

The latter now crossed the Apennines, and reached the valley of the Arno, whence he proceeded towards Perusia, leaving the consular army under Flaminius in Arretium. The Roman consul followed in his track as far as LAKE TRASIMENUS, where the Carthaginian had posted himself for battle. The latter took possession of the heights commanding a narrow defile, through which the Roman army must pass. On the day of the battle the region about the lake was surrounded with a thick fog, and the Romans, uninformed of the position of their enemy, advanced into the defile,



HANNIBAL CROSSING THE ALPS.

Drawn by H. Leutemann.

much as the army of old Postumius had done at the Caudine Forks. The trap had been successfully set. As soon as the rearguard had entered the pass the Romans were assailed on every side—in front, from the cliffs above, and in the rear—by an invisible enemy, magnified into terrible proportions by the phantom of the mist. Unprepared for battle, weighed down by their baggage, impeded in the attempted execution of any maneuvers by the sides of the narrow pass, the soldiers fell into inextricable confusion, and were slaughtered by thousands. Very few succeeded in escaping; the remainder were killed or captured.

In the use which he made of his victory, Hannibal exhibited the keenest penetration into the political condition of Italy. In disposing of his prisoners he carefully discriminated between the Romans and their allies. Hoping to wean the latter from their allegiance, he dismissed them without ransom, assuring them that his purpose in invading Italy was to make war on Rome and liberate the Italians. In the results of this policy, however, the Carthaginian was completely disappointed. Not a single state was shaken from her allegiance. All remained steadfast in their loyalty to the great power which, though it oppressed, had hitherto shown itself able to protect.

The effect of the battle of Lake Trasimenus was to wrest all Etruria from the Romans, and to open the way for the invader to the capital. It was confidently expected that Hannibal would immediately follow up his success by marching on Rome. The Senate accordingly, in anticipation of such a step, ordered the bridges over the Tiber to be broken down, and took such other measures of defense as seemed best calculated to keep the African lion at bay. Meanwhile Servilius was ordered to lead his legions to the defense of the capital, and **QUIRUS FABIVS MAXIMVS** was appointed dictator without the constitutional prerequisite of a nomination by the consuls.

Hannibal, however, again disappointed expectation by turning aside, crossing the Apennines, and invading Umbria and Picenum. This movement was doubtless dictated by the hope which he still entertained, that the Ital-

ian states would renounce their allegiance to Rome and join his standard. He accordingly continued his march from town to town, as far south as Apulia and as far east as the Adriatic; but the loyalty of these old cities of Magna Græcia remained sound to the core, and Hannibal received such comfort only as he could extort by the uplifted sword.

In the mean time the Roman Senate was by no means idle. A levy was made of four new legions, and, Fabius being now in supreme command, there was no further lack of military unity in the measures which were adopted for Hannibal's expulsion. The dictator exerted himself to the utmost to inspire the army and the people, and at the same time adopted a new plan of strategy, so different from that to which the Romans had been accustomed as to receive the name of "Fabian," which it has ever since borne. The new policy embraced the avoidance of battle and every other critical hazard with the enemy, and the gradual reduction of his resources by cautious and indecisive movements.

Fabius advanced into Apulia to a position within easy distance of Hannibal's camp. In vain did the latter strive to bring on a general engagement. The dictator was proof against all provocations. He held steadily to his policy of risking nothing, in order that he might gain every thing. At length Hannibal broke up his encampment, marched past his antagonist, crossed the mountains, and entered Campania. This rich district, the most populous and fertile in all Italy, was ravaged by the African army, more in the hope of bringing on a battle than of gathering spoils. Some of the leading knights of Capua had given Hannibal cause to believe that they would deliver the city into his hands and join his standard. But their promise was without fulfillment. Capua remained faithful until taken by force. The Carthaginian then gathered up his enormous booty, and again retired into Apulia.

In these movements Fabius followed close after his enemy. While Hannibal was recrossing the mountains the dictator took possession of one of the passes, as if to dispute the progress of the Carthaginians; but the

latter in their turn avoided battle in this unfavorable locality, and made their way into Apulia through another pass. In effecting this movement Hannibal outwitted his antagonist by tying torches to the horns of oxen and driving them to the hill-tops by night, thus deceiving the Romans in regard to the course which he was taking. Hannibal pro-

Fabian party arose, both in Rome and in the army. A certain Minucius, who was master of the horse, gained a small success over the enemy, and was immediately proclaimed the champion of a new policy by which Hannibal was to be overthrown. The assembly of the tribes at Rome voted to divide the command between this parvenu officer and the experi-



THE STRATAGEM OF HANNIBAL.

ceeded without molestation into Apulia, and, having pitched his camp at Geronium, sent out a part of his forces to gather supplies from the surrounding country, and with the remainder continued to confront Fabius.

With the apparently overdone caution of the latter the Senate and people now became greatly dissatisfied. The belief gained ground that in the case of the dictator strategy and inefficiency meant the same thing. An anti-

enced Fabius. The latter bore the interference with equanimity, and when Minucius at the earliest opportunity rushed rashly into battle, and was about to be destroyed, the old general came promptly to his aid, and the disaster was avoided. It was the end of the fiasco. Minucius returned to his command, and the former policy was resumed.¹ The title of

¹How often in the history of the world has this bit of military experience been repeated!

Cunctator, or the Delayer, which the Romans had conferred in mockery upon Fabius, became his badge of distinction.

The winter of B. C. 217–216 was passed by Hannibal at Geronium. His hopes of an Italian uprising had proved completely abortive. No material aid had been given him from any quarter, and the astute genius of the Carthaginian perceived that he must beat or be beaten by the Romans single-handed. The latter, meanwhile, divided into parties, though both were agreed on the main issue of prosecuting the war. After the defeat of Flaminius, who was the popular leader, the nobility gained the ascendancy. Fabius himself was of this party, and it was hoped that under his auspices the old aristocratic principles would in some measure be revived. But in the new consular election of B. C. 216 the people's party was again triumphant, and CAIUS TERENTIUS VARRO was elected over Lucius Æmilius Paullus.

The season was already well advanced when Hannibal broke up his camp at Geronium, and posted himself at CANNÆ, on the south side of the river Aufidus, in Apulia. Thither he was followed in midsummer by the Romans, who took up a position on both sides of the river within striking distance of the Carthaginians. Varro was now in command. It was his determination not any longer to avoid battle. Choosing his own field he arranged the legions with great care, the cavalry guarding the wings, his right resting against the Aufidus. The legionaries of the center were commanded by Servilius and Minucius; the right wing, by Paullus; the left, by Varro in person. Hannibal's arrangement was in the same manner; the infantry occupying the center; Hasdrubal, with the Spanish and Gaulish cavalry, holding the left, and Hanno, commanding the Numidian horse, the right. The battle was begun on both sides at the same time. The conflict was the fiercest which had ever been witnessed in Italy; but from the first it was evident that

the Romans had staked every thing only to lose. Nothing could stay the terrific charges of the Carthaginian cavalry. The Roman legions were crowded together against the river, and the carnage became dreadful. The Carthaginians gave no quarter. Escape there was none. Seventy thousand Roman soldiers—so Livy records the butchery—were heaped in piles of dead on that fearful field of slaughter. Of the general officers only Varro escaped. All the rest, including eighty members of the Senate and many knights, were slain. Never was the annihilation of an army more complete. The loss of Hannibal was six thousand men.

Any people less resolute than the Romans would have been overwhelmed with such a disaster. Since the days of the Gauls no such a calamity had fallen upon the city of Romulus. Great was the alarm in the capital, for it was confidently expected that the knock of the Carthaginian would soon be heard at the gates. The nerves of the Senate, however, were unshaken. A tone of confidence, born of native energy and fearlessness, was assumed, and the people were reassured. In such times of peril the factions in Roman politics generally made common cause. So in the present danger the feuds of the commons and the aristocracy were laid aside to the end that the state might be rescued from the clutches of her assailant.

The course pursued by Hannibal after his great victory of Cannæ has been the subject of much discussion. By some it has been thought that he became the victim of a strange fatuity which prevented him from pressing home his advantage and destroying Rome. Certain it is that he failed to reap what appeared to be the natural fruits of his triumph. Why did he not at once march on Rome and fulfill on her the oath made to his father? Many and diverse answers have been given. Maharbal, the able commander of the Numidian cavalry, besought him to press forward and consummate the work. "Give me the horse," said he, "and in five days you shall dine in the Capitol." But the general had his own purposes. Perhaps he still hugged the delusion of an uprising among the states. Perhaps

Instance the career of the braggart Gates, who for the time supplanted Washington in public confidence. Instance the fate of the reckless Hood, who for a day blazed meteor-like, and then went out in the presence of the cautious Johnston.

he had, after all, a profounder penetration into the spirit and reserved forces of the people with whom he had to deal. Perhaps, like many other great heroes, the victory, the rout, and slaughter of the enemy in battle, were to Hannibal an end rather than a means unto an end. Perhaps the *after that* was a question beyond the scope of his genius. At any rate, instead of marching upon Rome, he sent thither an embassy to seek an exchange of prisoners and to make proposals for peace!

Never did the character of the Romans appear in stronger light than in their conduct towards the Carthaginian envoys. *The latter were forbidden to enter the city!* The attitude of the Senate was that of a body in a position and with the purpose to dictate rather than receive dictation. Hannibal contented himself with returning into Campania, where he established his winter-quarters in Capua.

Meanwhile a few of the less important peoples of Southern Italy went over to the Carthaginians, but there was no general defection. Hannibal took advantage of the season to send his brother Mago to Carthage with accounts of his great victory, and to ask for supplies and reinforcements. These were tardily voted, for the party of Hanno still opposed the war measures of the Carthaginian Senate, and the support of Hannibal had to be carried against their factious resistance.

The winter spent at Capua has been represented as fatal to the discipline of the African army. The climate was conducive of ease and indulgence. It is said that the veteran Carthaginians, under the stimulus of high living, broke over the necessary restraints of the camp, and that Hannibal himself gave way to excess. Be these things as they may, certain it is that with the opening of the next season Rome was renewed in courage and the African less able to cope with her reviving energies.

The second Punic War now assumed wider proportions. Other countries became involved in the contest. Indeed, during the progress of Hannibal's invasion of Italy, there was no time when interesting, though perhaps not critical, movements were not on foot in foreign parts. It will be remembered that when, in B. C. 218, Publius Scipio was called into

Northern Italy to resist the advance of the Carthaginians, he dispatched a part of his army, under command of his brother Cneius, to continue the war in the Spanish peninsula.

The diversion was in the course of the following year attended with considerable success. Nearly all of the country between the Pyrenees and the river Ebro was recovered by the Roman arms. In the latter part of the year Publius was himself ordered to return to Spain with an army of eight thousand men and a fleet of thirty sail. The campaign was vigorously carried forward by the two brothers, for the double purpose of regaining the territories which had been lost and of preventing the passage of reinforcements to Hannibal. Many of the native tribes threw off their temporary and enforced alliance with Carthage, and made common cause with the Romans.

Among the chief measures adopted by the Carthaginian Senate for the maintenance of the war in Italy was the levying of twenty-thousand troops *in Spain*—this in accordance with the immemorial usage of the state of recruiting her armies from among the provincials. In order to prevent the success of this levy, the two Scipios advanced into the country south of the Ebro, and in the battle of IBERA defeated Hasdrubal so severely that his attention was limited to the security of Spain rather than the support of his brother in Italy. The effect of the victory was to encourage the Spanish tribes in their disposition to go over to Rome, and to prevent that succor which the principal actor in the great drama was expecting from the African government.

Hannibal ceased not to seek and to incite the enemies of Rome wherever they might be found. Remembering the career of Pyrrhus, he sought to instigate Philip of Macedonia to join him the conquest of Italy. Between him and the Carthaginian embassies passed back and forth, and the Macedonian king was about to yield to the temptation of a war with Rome when his messengers were seized by the consular authorities, and the whole scheme exposed. Philip soon found enough to do to defend his own dominions from the menace of the power which he had provoked.

The summer following the battle of Cannæ was passed without any important military movements in Italy. The Romans busied themselves as never before with preparations for the expulsion of the invader. All the men of military age in the Republic were called into service. Prisoners were freed and slaves were armed for the great emergency. A fleet of a hundred and fifty vessels was built, and twenty-one legions were organized and equipped. Meanwhile Hannibal gained no accession of strength. His brother, Hasdrubal, now in Spain, was obliged to act on the defensive, and the Greek cities of Southern Italy, with few exceptions, were held in subjection by force rather than affection. The year B. C. 215 passed with the greatest augmentation of resources on the side of the Romans, and no material gain on the side of Hannibal.

The first revival of the Carthaginian's prospects came from the quarter of Sicily. So long as Hiero reigned in Syracuse—and the whole island was under the influence of Syracuse—the insular state remained faithful to the Romans. For the Senate had made Hiero a *socius* of the Republic. With his death, however, a new state of circumstances supervened. Hieronymus, son of the late king, came to the throne at the age of fifteen, and being at that ripe epoch of his life wiser in his own esteem than his father, he turned to the Carthaginian party. Hearing of this, Hannibal sent to Syracuse as his agents two of his officers, Hippocrates and Epicydes, with instructions to strengthen the young king's purposes and aid in the overthrow of Roman authority.

For a brief season every thing looked favorable for a restoration of Carthaginian supremacy in the island; but Hieronymus was presently assassinated and his party driven from the city. The latter took refuge in Leontini, and persuaded the people to renounce the Syracusan government and expel the Roman garrison. This act brought upon them the vengeance of the prætor Marcellus, who laid siege to Leontini, and soon carried the place by storm. In the use which he made of his victory he behaved with so much harshness

towards the Roman deserters who were found in the town that the Syracusan soldiers put themselves under Hippocrates and Epicydes, and the Roman party in Syracuse was again suppressed.

The Carthaginian interest was thus completely triumphant, and Marcellus was obliged to begin a siege in the hope of regaining by force what he had lost by folly. The investment continued with varying successes for the space of two years. A Roman fleet of sixty vessels was added to the land forces of the prætor, but these were rendered of little avail by the wonderful contrivances invented by Archimedes, who—if the tradition is to be credited—constructed huge grappling hooks or cranes, which, hanging out over the bay, reached down their insensate arms from above, clutched the Roman ships, lifted them from the water, and dashed them to pieces by dropping them as an eagle would a tortoise on the rocks! Still more apocryphal is the story of his great concave mirrors, which he is said to have set up as burning glasses on the beach, in the light of whose concentric eyes of flame the ships in the harbor took fire like tinder! So the siege was delayed.

Meanwhile a Carthaginian army landed in Sicily and marched to the relief of the city. Agrigentum was taken and Marcellus was brought into a strait place, when he suddenly improved his fortunes by the carelessness of the enemy. By an oversight a certain part of the ramparts was left unguarded, and the Romans, taking advantage of a festival, which had absorbed the attention of the besieged, made a dash, and gained the heights of Epipolæ, which in part commanded the city. At this juncture the Carthaginian army arrived before Syracuse, but the Romans were now able to retain their position. In a short time a violent epidemic broke out among the African soldiery, and they were obliged to decamp in order to save their lives. Soon afterwards a Spanish officer, having charge of the walls next Ortygia, opened the gates to the Romans, who on the following day gained possession of the entire city. The lives of the people were spared, but Syracuse was sacked by the soldiers, whose appetites were whetted by the delays and hardships of a two-

DEATH OF ARCHIMEDES.



years' siege.¹ The art treasures of the city were preserved by Marcellus and transported to Rome—the first of many such stupendous robberies. In the course of the following two years the reconquest of the island was completed. Agrigentum withstood a protracted siege, at the conclusion of which the leading defenders of the place were put to death, and the rest of the inhabitants sold as slaves. The dominion of Rome over Sicily was completely reestablished.

While these events were taking place in the vicinity of Italy, the war was continued by the Scipios in Spain. The power of Carthage in the peninsula was rapidly broken down. In B. C. 215 Saguntum was retaken, and the African coast began to be threatened by the Romans. The Carthaginian allies dropped away. Syphax, a leader of the Numidian clans, deserted the cause of Africa for that of Europe. Finally, Hasdrubal was obliged to relinquish the Spanish possessions, the hard-earned fruits of Hamilcar's victories, and return to Carthage to defend the home kingdom from the dangers with which it was menaced. He was soon enabled to secure the alliance of the Numidian chief Gula, with whom he made a joint attack on Syphax, who was overthrown. The success was so marked that Hasdrubal recruited his forces, and, returning to Spain, was enabled to assume the offensive against the Scipios. The latter had indiscreetly divided their army, and thus exposed themselves to the blows of an antagonist of whom previous experience ought to have taught them to be wary. Taking advantage of the separation of his enemy's forces, Hasdrubal attacked each division in turn and gained an overwhelming victory. The Romans were utterly discomfited. The whole army was either dispersed or killed. Both the Scipios were found among the slain. The greater part of Spain was recovered by a single blow, and

Italy again lay open to invasion by way of the Pyrenees.

But the Roman Senate proved equal to the emergency. It was immediately resolved to recover the Spanish peninsula, at whatever cost. To this end a new expedition was organized, and intrusted to the command of PUBLIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO, son of the consul recently killed in Spain, a young man of but twenty-seven, who until now had never held any office higher than that of ædile. The enterprise was one of the most hazardous and daring upon which any general of Rome had ever entered. In the fall of B. C. 210 he set out on his campaign, and, arriving in Spain, took up his head-quarters in Tarraco. Here he devised his plans, a knowledge of his purposes being shared by a single person. Nearly two years were spent in developing and disciplining his army, and obtaining information of the position and movements of his enemies. Early in B. C. 207 he broke up his camp, and advancing rapidly upon New Carthage, succeeded in effecting its capture before the Carthaginians could come to the rescue. Shortly afterwards a battle was fought with the army of Hasdrubal, at Bæcula, in Andalusia.

The result was not decisive, but was so far favorable to the Carthaginians that Hasdrubal was enabled to make his way to the north and carry out the long-cherished plan of reinforcing his brother in Italy. His departure from Spain enfeebled the opposition to Scipio, who in B. C. 206 fought a second battle, on the field of Bæcula, with a second Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco. The result was a complete rout of the Carthaginians, whose recently wide-extended possessions in the Spanish peninsula were suddenly reduced to the single city of Gades.

The effects of this defeat were exceedingly disastrous to Carthage. The loyalty of the Spanish nations—never to be depended on—was now completely broken down. In Africa a defection occurred which was still more serious. MASINISSA, the son of the Numidian chief Gula, who with his father had aided in the overthrow of Syphax, having conceived a sudden admiration for Scipio, abandoned the Carthaginian cause and went over

¹ It was during the sack of Syracuse that Archimedes lost his life. The philosopher sat intently gazing upon some geometric figures which he had drawn in the sand, when he was rudely approached by a Roman soldier, who asked him a question. Archimedes, heeding not, simply said, "Do n't disturb my circles." Thereupon the ruffian slew him on the spot.

to the Romans. In the course of the negotiations between the young Numidian and Scipio, the latter crossed over into Africa, and was entertained for some days at the court of Syphax. It is related that he here also met that Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, who had suffered the recent defeat in Spain.

While Scipio was absent a serious trouble occurred in the Spanish army. A large division of the troops, having been neglected in the matter of pay, mutinied, and at the same time several of the vacillating native tribes rose in rebellion against the Roman authority. But on the return of the general the mutineers were reduced to obedience and the insurgent natives quickly subdued. The city of Gades was presently (B. C. 206) invested and taken, and thus the last foothold of Carthage in Spain was obliterated.

The circumstances just narrated will explain in part the inefficiency of the support given by the home government to Hannibal in Italy. The continuance of the struggle in Italy, the broken allegiance of the Numidians, the natural difficulties of transporting troops and supplies to such a distance, and the jar of an opposing faction in Carthage, all conspired to hinder any movements for the relief of the great leader, whose hold on the throat of Rome was weakening from year to year.

The interval of B. C. 216–214 was passed without any material successes in Italy. Neither could Hannibal again reduce the Romans to the desperate straits in which he had once held them, nor could they succeed in his expulsion from the peninsula. The war had thus far developed no general who was his equal, unless Cornelius Scipio should be so regarded—and he was still in Spain. The attention of the Carthaginian was now directed to the capture of Tarentum, and of the Romans to the recovery of Capua. Both of these purposes lagged in the execution. In B. C. 212, however, Hannibal succeeded in securing his prize. Tarentum was taken—though not without an act of treachery on the part of its defenders. His attempt upon Cumæ failed; for the place was defended by SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS, the first great Roman of that illustrious name. Hannibal was also defeated, with a loss of five thou-

sand men, in a battle before Nola—a disaster to his cause not easily repaired. About the same time Fabius crossed the Volturnus, and gained some advantages in the neighborhood of Capua. Hanno was defeated by SEMPRONIUS LONGUS in an engagement at Grumentum; and Marcellus, sallying forth from Nola, overran nearly all of Samnium. A defection of the Numidian cavalry and a body of Spanish infantry still further reduced the now slender army of Hannibal, who, with each succeeding loss, was less likely to receive needed succor from home.

After the capture of Tarentum, however, he turned his course to the north, and with the greatest audacity undertook the capture of Rome. The consuls were now engaged in an effort to reconquer Capua, and the Carthaginian imagined that he might be able to force his way into the capital. In this enterprise he was completely foiled. Rome, no longer alarmed at his approach, shut her gates and bade him defiance. The army before Capua was divided, and one-half sent to the relief of the capital. At the approach of this force Hannibal was obliged to retire. He had *seen* Rome!

The year B. C. 211 was marked by the siege of Capua. The Roman armies, now swollen to great proportions, began a regular investment. Hannibal, realizing the importance to his waning cause of holding the city, made a great effort against the besiegers. He made an attack upon their lines from Mount Tifata, but was repulsed. He then attempted by ravaging the surrounding country to divert the efforts of the Romans from the siege; but all to no purpose. Capua was taken, and was punished with almost unparalleled severity. The city, one of the most refined and cultured in Italy, was given up to pillage. Nothing was spared. The art treasures were either destroyed or carried away to Rome. Seventy Capuan senators were beheaded for their adherence to the cause of Hannibal. Three hundred nobles and officers were thrown into prison. The rest of the people were sold as slaves. The town—so much as remained of the ruin—and the adjacent territory were confiscated to Rome, and colonies were sent out

to repeople the devastated region. The old Capua, founded and cultivated by the Greeks, was no more.

The same year was signalized by still further successes of the Romans. The prætor VALERIUS LÆVINUS secured a treaty with the Ætolian leader Scopas, by which the country of the latter was interposed as a barrier between Macedonia and Rome. Another compact of similar import was made with Ptolemy, of Egypt, who was induced to cultivate the friendship of the Romans in preference to the Carthaginians. Thus by vigilance and diplomacy the horizon of Rome was widened at the very time when she was engaged in a desperate struggle to free herself from an army of African invaders.

After the fall of Capua and the consequent loss of Campania, Hannibal was obliged to retire from Central Italy. He still strove to maintain himself in the South, but dangers menaced him on every hand. Roman legions rose as if by magic from the ground. Those cities of Italy that had been induced, after the battle of Cannæ, to espouse his cause became suspicious and began to take counsel for their own safety. Silapia and other Samnian towns were put into the hands of the Romans. But even in this condition of affairs the consuls did not dare to badger Hannibal too closely. In one instance the general, FULVIUS, to whom the recovery of Apulia had been intrusted, made an attempt to capture the town of Herdonea. While engaged, without due caution, in the prosecution of this enterprise Hannibal suddenly burst upon him out of Bruttium, and gained a signal victory.

In the year B. C. 209 the Romans achieved several successes in the South. The Lucanian and Bruttian towns were mostly recovered. Fabius Maximus added another to his long list of triumphs by the recapture of Tarentum. The city and its people, who, according to the Roman standard of loyalty, had been altogether too well satisfied with Carthaginian rule, were treated as in the case of Capua: the town was sacked and the inhabitants sold into slavery. In B. C. 208 the veteran Marcellus, believing perhaps that the time had at last come when the Roman legionaries could meet

the Numidians in the field, ventured on a general engagement at Venusia. The action resulted in a defeat for his army and death for himself. His body fell into the hands of Hannibal, who honored the memory of his dead antagonist with a proper funeral. Rome was thus obliged from time to time to relearn the lesson of experience and to fall back on the policy of Fabius.

Notwithstanding the great present preponderance of the Roman armies—in spite of their successes and the isolation of Hannibal from his own country and even the sympathies of his countrymen—the contest was not yet decided. In B. C. 209 an event occurred which showed that Rome as well as her assailant had as much of the contest as she could well desire. In making the demands for that year upon the Latin towns for the annual contributions of money and men twelve out of the thirty cities responded with the declaration that their resources were exhausted—they could give no more. The response of the other eighteen members of the old league was more favorable, but the ominous echo of “exhaustion” had been heard in the land, and the shadow of overthrow was still seen walking specter-like on the horizon.

At length came the news that the long-delayed movement of Hasdrubal from Spain into Italy had been accomplished. That leader had succeeded in eluding his opponents in the peninsula, made his way—by what route is not certain—across the Alps, and had debouched into the valley of the Po. At first the intelligence was hardly accredited, but when it was known that the movement had actually been accomplished Rome responded with her usual vigor. Two new legions were added to the army, and every nerve strained for the great contest which was now imminent. Hannibal also learned of his brother's approach, and made the most unwearied efforts to favor his progress. To this end he broke up his own camp in Bruttium, marched to the north, and met the newly elected consul NERO on the field of Grumentum. Here a battle was fought, hotly contested, but without decisive results. Hannibal, however, was enabled to continue his progress to Canusium, where he

posted himself to await his brother's arrival, or, at any rate, news of his approach.

Meanwhile the other consul, MARCUS LIVIUS SALINATOR, had marched to the north to confront Hasdrubal and prevent his progress. The two consular armies were thus interposed between the two of the Carthaginians. In this situation of affairs Nero, as it appears, grasped the solution of the problem. He conceived the plan of retiring unnoticed from before Hannibal, marching quickly to the north, joining his colleague, and crushing Hasdrubal by a combined attack of both arms. The latter general had in the mean time laid his plan to advance into Umbria, join his brother, and then march on Rome.

Nero's scheme was successfully carried out. Selecting his best soldiers he escaped from his camp without exciting the suspicions of Hannibal. Marching rapidly northward he joined his colleague at Sena, taking care by a night entrance into the camp of Livius not to give the enemy notice of his approach. Nevertheless, Hasdrubal detected by the sound of the trumpets and the increased numbers in his front that the other consular army, or a portion of it, was in his front. From this he drew the inference that his brother had been defeated, perhaps destroyed, and that the whole issue now depended on himself. He therefore determined to seek a stronger position on the other side of the river Metaurus, which was just in his rear. But in attempting to retire across this stream he was pursued by the Romans, and missing the fords was obliged to give battle on the south side of the river. The struggle that ensued was one of the most desperate of the war. Though the Carthaginians were exhausted as well as foiled in their attempt to retreat to a more defensible position, they fought with almost savage heroism; but the legionaries gradually drove them back and crowded them against the river. The slaughter and rout became general. Hasdrubal, despairing at last of the battle, threw himself upon the Romans and was slain. His army was well-nigh annihilated; only a few escaped in broken detachments.

As soon as the victory was complete, Nero began his march to Canusium. He was the

herald of his own triumph. Hannibal had learned nothing of what was done. On arriving safely in camp, Nero sent to the Carthaginian *his brother's head* as an earnest of the news. Two prisoners were also sent to Hannibal's quarters to tell him in their own way the story of the Metaurus. "I foresee the doom of Carthage," was the melancholy comment of Hannibal when his brother's head was thrown over the rampart into the camp.

It is the quality of the greatest not to despair. So did not Hannibal. He saw that Italy was lost—but perhaps not hopelessly. As for himself, the Romans had never yet beaten him in an open battle of the field. He would remember his oath of eternal enmity. Looking around the horizon, he saw that the best course for him to pursue was to retire into the hill-country of Southern Italy, and there continue the struggle according to the suggestions of destiny. He accordingly retired from Canusium, and fell back into the Bruttian peninsula. Here, on account of the nature of the country rather than from the now slender forces at his command, he was enabled to take such positions as to give him comparative immunity from attack.

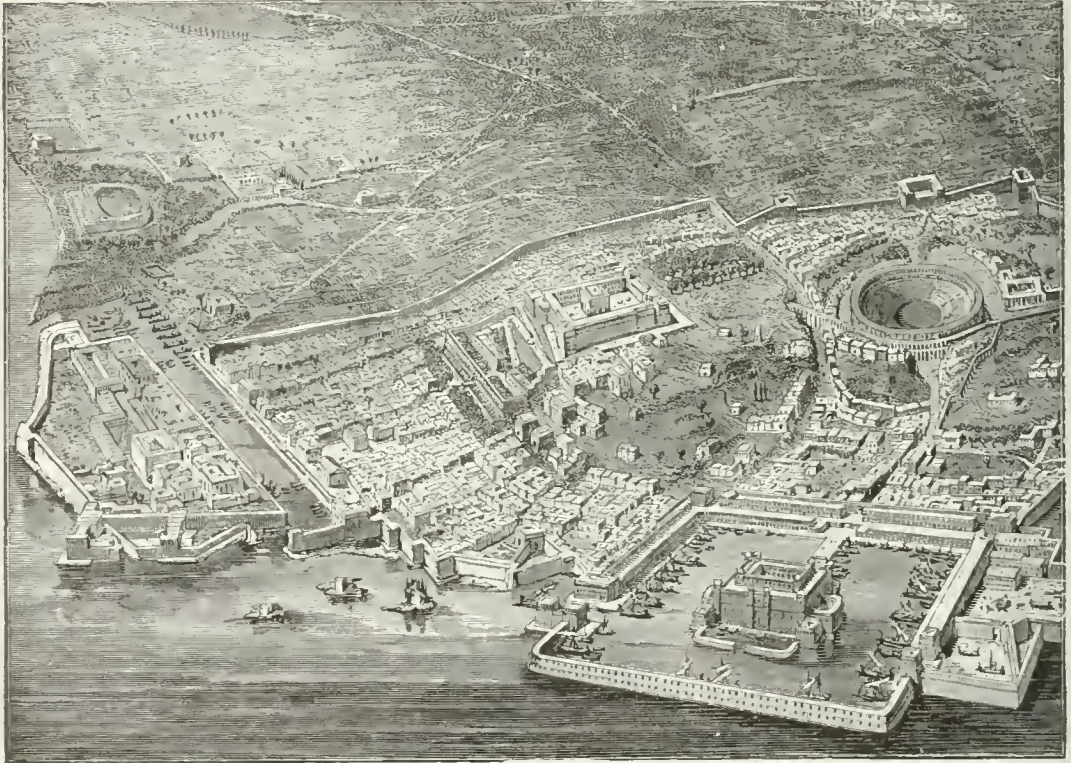
Meanwhile Publius Cornelius Scipio, having completed the conquest and pacification of Spain, returned to Italy, and was elected to the consulship.¹ To him the people now began to look with confidence for the completion of the war. For himself, he had long entertained the design of invading Africa, and repaying Carthage in her own dominions for the devastation of Italy. The conservative and unenthusiastic Senate was little disposed to favor his plan—indeed, opposed it; but the popular party were heartily for the daring Scipio. The vote of the popular assemblies was unanimous for his measures. The Senate, having assigned him Sicily as his province, gave a reluctant consent to the African invasion, but crippled the enterprise by voting no adequate support to the proposed expedition. Scipio was left to the expedient of raising an army by volunteering, and the first year (B. C. 205) of his au-

¹ It will be remembered that this remarkable man had never yet held a higher office than that of ædile.

thority was consumed in developing and supplying such a force as could be relied on in so hazardous an enterprise.

Carthage, with her political wrangles, still looked on across the Mediterranean—a not disinterested spectator of the fates of Italy. In one instance, after the defeat and death of Hasdrubal, the home government made an attempt to succor Hannibal. MAGO, his youngest brother, was sent out with a reinforcement of fourteen thousand men to create, if possible, in Northern Italy a diversion which should

offensive. With a well disciplined army of about twenty-five thousand men, he embarked from Lilybæum in the spring of B. C. 204, and passed over to Africa. He marched directly against Utica, and began a siege which continued during the summer. The city, however, was so vigorously defended that at one time the besiegers were driven back and obliged to entrench themselves at Fair Promontory, where the expedition had landed. Scipio was joined by his admirer, Masinissa, but opposed by Syphax who made common



ANCIENT UTICA.

liberate the great leader from the hills of Bruttium. Mago made his way into Liguria, and his effort to rouse the transapennine populations to rebellion was attended with some success. Many of the Ligurians and Gauls were won over to his standard, but he was presently encountered by a Roman army under QUINTILIUS VARUS, and defeated in battle. His army routed and himself wounded, the diversion was of no practical benefit to Hannibal.

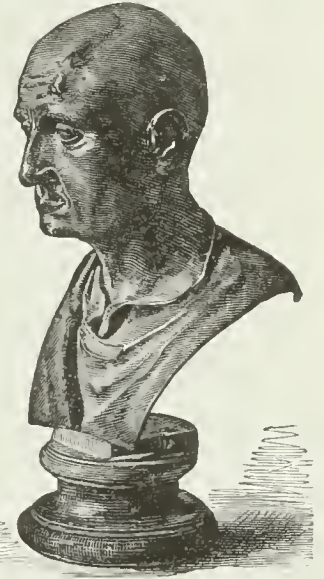
By the beginning of the second year of his command Scipio was ready to assume the

cause with Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, to whom the defense of Utica had been intrusted. Acting on the advice of Masinissa, Scipio made an attack by night upon the camp of the enemy before the city. The movement was a surprise, and the Carthaginians were routed from their position. A second attack was also successful, and Syphax fled into Numidia. Thither he was followed by Masinissa with a division of the Roman army, and was presently overtaken and captured. All of Numidia was thus secured to the cause of Rome.

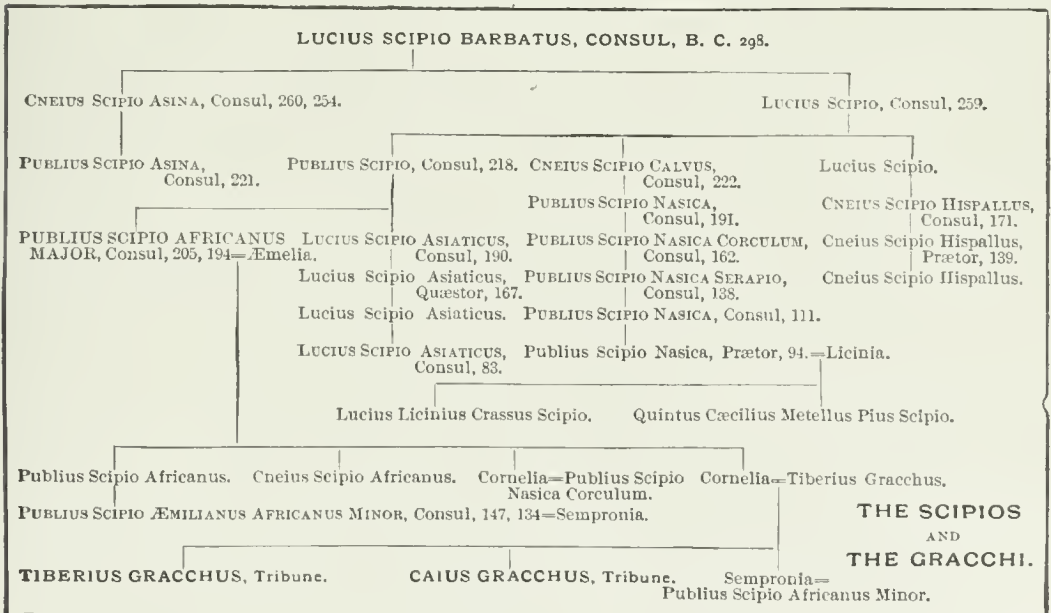
The general effect of these continued successes of the Romans was to strengthen the anti-war party in Carthage. The adherents of Hannibal were discouraged and put under. It was, moreover, evident to the most patriotic of the Carthaginians that the prospects, immediate and remote, were exceedingly gloomy as it respected the fate of their country. Negotiations were accordingly opened for peace. Scipio himself was not adverse to a settlement, provided the same could be made on conditions sufficiently advantageous to Rome. The approaching exhaustion of Roman resources, as it respected both means and men, was a powerful general reason, and the desire of *éclat* in bringing the war to a successful conclusion, a strong personal motive for his wishing to end hostilities. The general, therefore, submitted an outline of the terms which would be satisfactory to himself, subject, however, to the approval of the Senate. The conditions embraced the surrender of all prisoners and deserters held by the Carthaginians, a renunciation of territorial claims in Spain and the islands of the western Mediterranean, the calling home of Hannibal and Mago from Italy, the

thousand talents as a war indemnity to Rome. These preliminaries being accepted by the Senate of Carthage, an armistice was declared, and the Roman prisoners were set at liberty in anticipation of a like acceptance by the Romans. Hannibal and Mago were recalled to Carthage, and it was confidently believed that the war was at an end.

These opening buds of peace were quickly nipped in the severe air of the Roman Senate. That body had rightly divined that the condition of Hannibal in Italy, the progress of Scipio



SCIPIO AFRICANUS (BRONZE), NAPLES.



recognition of Masinissa as king of Numidia, the reduction of the Carthaginian navy to twenty ships-of-war, and the payment of five

on the other side of the Mediterranean, and especially the overthrow of Syphax in Numidia, were the inevitable precursors of the

ruin of Carthage; and when did Rome's iron purpose ever relent in the presence of a foe tottering to his fall? The ambassadors sent to Italy by the Carthaginians were dismissed with ill-disguised contempt, and the thought of ratifying the preliminaries proposed by Scipio was not entertained for a moment. It is said that the news of the treatment accorded to her ambassadors preceded their own arrival at Carthage, and that the indignation created by the perfidious course of the Romans was so great as to restore the war party to power; for who could oppose the war when he himself was obliged to fight by the merciless intolerance of his enemies?

Meanwhile Hannibal, after having for four years beaten back his foes, like a baited lion, in the hills of Bruttium, being now called home, landed at Hadrumetum, and became the herald of an additional uprising. The presence of their great leader re-inspired the Carthaginians, who now felt that they had in their own country a general whom they could match against the victorious Scipio. The clamor of the peace-party was suddenly hushed, and the spirit of war revived throughout the remaining dominions of Carthage. The negotiations opened by Scipio having failed of practical results, the general at once renewed the conflict. He now had a different antagonist to contend with, and proceeded with great caution.

The latter part of B. C. 203 and the summer of 202 were consumed in preparations for the final struggle. Nor were the Carthaginians slow in gathering together their last resources for the closing conflict. The battle was fought at ZAMA, on the river Bagradas, in October, B. C. 202. Hannibal's generalship was as conspicuous as ever, and his inferior forces were managed with the greatest skill. But the tactics of Scipio were even superior to his own. In order to prevent the elephants, which, notwithstanding many years of experience, still continued to be the *bêtes noires* of the Roman soldiery, from breaking his lines, Scipio arranged his troops after a new method, so that the columns could be opened for the passage and repassage of the huge beasts, whose progress could not be

otherwise opposed. The battle was joined with great fury on both sides; but the Romans gradually pressed their adversaries from the field, and gained an overwhelming victory. The ghost of vanquished Africa was seen for a moment hovering on the outskirts of the conflict, and then fled into the shadows.

It was now evident that no further successful resistance could be offered to the progress of Rome. The resources of Carthage were utterly exhausted. It only remained for the conqueror to dictate what terms of peace soever she might be pleased to concede to her fallen foe. Hannibal frankly advised his countrymen not to attempt a continuance of the struggle, but to limit their exertions to securing the best possible terms of peace. The Senate announcing the conditions of a settlement was as inexorable as ever. The general outline of the treaty, which was now forced upon the Carthaginians, was the same as that proposed by Scipio in the previous year; but the conditions were made more onerous by a change in the war indemnity from the sum in gross of five thousand talents to an annual tribute of two hundred talents to be continued for fifty years, and by exacting a pledge that Carthage henceforth would never, either in Africa or elsewhere, undertake a war without the approval of Rome.

Thus after a continuance of more than seventeen years, the Second Punic War was ended. The iron resolution of the Roman people had again won the victory over her rival, led, as the latter was, by the greatest military genius of the age. The chief glory of the result fell to Scipio. On his return to Rome he was received with wide-open arms. The triumph which was voted him by the Senate was one of the most splendid ever witnessed in the Eternal City. In honor of his great achievements he was given the title of *AFRICANUS*; nor were any of those marks of pride and confidence which nations fond of glory are accustomed to bestow on their heroes withheld from him who, though still in his youth, was now the first man in Rome.

As for Hannibal, whose career seemed now at an end, he still gave himself with untiring zeal to the interests of his country. His influ-

ence at Carthage was perhaps greater in the day of her humiliation than ever before. He undertook and carried through successfully a reform in the constitution of the state. The effete oligarchy which, under the influence of tradition and prejudice, had still retained its influence in the state, was now suppressed, and more popular forms of political society organized on the ruins of the old order. A better system of finances was instituted, and many measures proposed well calculated to revive the drooping energies of the kingdom.

Hearing of these reforms and recognizing their restorative influence in the city to whom she had so recently given the cup of bitterness to drink, Rome, in B. C. 196, sent an embassy to Carthage to inquire into the business which was fostered by Hannibal, and to uphold the waning aristocracy. Hannibal perceived in the counter revolution thus effected the end of his usefulness, and perhaps the close of his career. He accordingly made his escape from the city of his birth and took refuge at Ephesus, with Antiochus, king of Syria. By him the Carthaginian was received with many marks of favor, and him the exile, by every means in his power, endeavored to persuade to take up arms against the Romans. Thus would he still remember the oath of his youth, and keep ever uppermost eternal enmity to Rome.

But when the war which thus ensued was ended by the overthrow of Antiochus the latter was compelled, as a condition of peace, to agree to the surrender of Hannibal; but the fugitive escaped from the country and sought refuge with Prusias, king of Bithynia. But no retreat in the world's extreme could hide him longer from the deadly hate of the Romans. Prusias was commanded to deliver him up, and fearing to refuse, he agreed to the requisition. Hannibal, however, now sought the final remedy. For years he had carried with him a phial of poison ready for the last emergency. He stood a moment like a tall shadow on the farthest horizon of his greatness, then drank the subtle potion, and lay down to that oblivious sleep which could never again be disturbed by the blare of a Roman trumpet.

The political condition of the Mediterranean countries was considerably changed at the close of the Second Punic War. Carthage was reduced to the rank of a dependent state. The Spanish peninsula acquired by the campaigns of the Scipios was organized into two Roman provinces. The small territory surrounding the city of Syracuse, which had hitherto maintained her independence, was absorbed in the province of Sicily. The annihilation of the Carthaginian navy left Rome without a rival in the Mediterranean, and the pathways of the sea, whose farther termini lay in the ports of distant nations, were opened to the aggressive descent of her galleys whenever caprice or interest should lead her to engage in foreign conquests.

For the present, however, she devoted her energies to the pacification of Italy, and the reorganization of the enlarged Republic. As it respected those cities and states—especially the provinces in Southern Italy—which had broken their allegiance and espoused the cause of Hannibal, their domains were confiscated and repopled with Romans from the capital. Large districts of Cisalpine Gaul were treated in a similar manner; nor was any effort spared—so far as artificial agencies could accomplish such a result—to unify and *Romanize* the whole of Italy. The outposts of the Republic were strengthened by the establishment of frontier towns and fortresses. Thus in B. C. 183 was founded in the Istrian peninsula the colony of Aquileia as a protection to the state in the direction of Illyria and Macedonia. The Transalpine Gauls were driven back to their own place and the passes of the Alps henceforth guarded against the recurrence of an invasion. The last of the races on the hither side of the Alps to be subdued were the Ligurians, who among the fastnesses of the northern Apennines maintained a semi-independence for nearly half a century after the downfall of Carthage.

The first half of the second century B. C. was marked by the extension of Roman influence in the East. The general condition of the oriental kingdoms in the times succeeding the death of Alexander the Great has already been narrated at some length in the preceding

Book.¹ It will be remembered that the countries dominated by the Conqueror had finally, after many struggles among his generals and their successors, been reduced to four separate kingdoms. These were, first, EGYPT, embracing, besides the valley of the Nile, the countries of Palestine, Phœnicia, and Coele-Syria in Asia, Cyrenaica in Africa, Cyprus in the Mediterranean, several of the Ægean islands and not a few of the towns and settlements on the coast of Thrace. The second of the Macedonian kingdoms was SYRIA, with its capital at Antioch. The territory of this state was vastly extended, including—though in many instances nominally—most of the Asiatic dominions of Alexander. The third fragment of the great Empire was the kingdom of THRACE, extending on both sides of the Bosphorus, and including several of the provinces of Asia Minor. The fourth power was MACEDONIA, embracing the major part of Greece.

At the time of which we speak, B. C. 205, Egypt was ruled by Ptolemy V., surnamed Epiphanes, who coming to the throne at the ripe age of four years fell under the influence of a regent, who, as a safeguard against the menaces of Syria and Macedonia, put the kingdom under the protection of Rome. Syria was, at the beginning of this century, ruled by Antiochus III., surnamed the Great, whose reign extended from B. C. 238 to his death in 187. Thrace, it will be remembered, had in the division of the Empire fallen to Lysimachus, under whom and his successors the kingdom gradually declined until it was finally absorbed in Macedonia, to be carried over with the conquest of that power to the dominions of the Romans. The Macedonian kingdom fell in B. C. 220 to Philip V., who in that year succeeded his uncle, Antigonus Doson, and became immediately embroiled in the war then raging between the Ætolians and the Achæan League.

Besides the great states here enumerated, there were in the East, especially on the shores of the Propontis and in other parts where Greek civilization still clung in fragments, many petty principalities, which in the vicissitudes of the times had still succeeded in maintaining their independence. To this class of small powers

belonged several of the Ægean islands, and more particularly the two great cities of Byzantium and Cyzicus, the first on the Bosphorus, and the second on the Propontis. In the same category should be mentioned the Republic of Rhodes, which, owing to its favorable position, its liberal institutions, its policy of free trade, and its artistic and literary renown, had, in the beginning of the second century B. C., achieved a great reputation among the states of the eastern Mediterranean. Such was the general condition of the East at the time when Rome, disengaged by victory from her struggle with Northern Africa, found herself free to mark out new highways of conquest.

The condition of Greece at this epoch may be briefly referred to. After the death of Alexander the Great, the Greek states were ultimately divided in their political sympathies into two parties, the one being headed by the Ætolian, and the other by the Achæan League. The latter was by far the more powerful, embracing among its members Arcadia and Corinth, as well as a majority of the Peloponnesian states. Around the banners of this confederacy were ranged the better elements of what remained of the civilization of the Greeks. The policy of the League was generally directed in an enlightened way to the end of Grecian independence; nor can it be doubted but that for the inauspicious condition of the times and the remains of old factions still working distress and bitterness among the members of the confederation, the final eclipse of Hellas might have been postponed. The Ætolian League was less patriotic in its origin and less salutary in its influence. The Ætolians were themselves the least cultured of the races of Central Greece, and the confederacy of which they became the leaders was selfish and narrow in its principles and methods. It will be remembered that during the progress of the Second Punic War the Romans had made use of the Ætolians to neutralize the sympathy of Philip of Macedon, about to be actively expressed for Hannibal in Italy. As for Athens and Sparta, who had for so many generations shared the glory of Greece between them, they had now sunk into comparative insignificance, and were of less importance in the politics of Hellas than were

¹ See Book Ninth, pp. 664-680.

several of those states which they had formerly despised as barbarous.

When, after the battle of Cannæ, the tide of success swelled high in Hannibal's favor, Philip V., instigated to such a course by Demetrius of Pharos, sent ambassadors into Italy to conclude a Carthaginian alliance against Rome; but the envoys were captured and delivered over to the consuls. Philip then stood aloof for a season, and the league was not concluded until B. C. 215. A Macedonian fleet was then sent into the Adriatic. The town of Oricum was captured, and Apollonia invested by Philip's squadron; but MARCUS VALERIUS LÆVINUS, one of the consuls for the year, came suddenly to the scene of these aggressions, and quickly recaptured all the places which had been taken by the Macedonians. Philip was obliged to burn his fleet and fly to his own dominions for safety. For three years he was glad to act on the defensive against the power which his rashness had provoked. It was this episode in the great war with Carthage that enabled the Romans through the agency of Lævinus to stir up the Ætolians to make war against Philip. The monarch was so severely beaten by these adverse winds that he had more occasion to seek aid from Carthage than the latter had need of him. The Græco-Macedonian war (B. C. 211-206) continued for five years, and was then concluded with a treaty between the Ætolians and Philip, to the terms of which the Romans themselves assented.

The half-decade succeeding these events was employed by the Macedonian king in extending his power throughout Greece, and in accumulating the requisite resources for another war. In the furtherance of his plans, he entered into an alliance with Antiochus III. to divide between them the dominions of the boy Epiphanes of Egypt, while the latter, as already narrated, applied to the Roman Senate for aid. Philip struck right and left all around the horizon. He made a double war on Rhodes and Attalus, king of Pergamus. He sent a division of four thousand soldiers to join Hannibal in the battle of Zama. He pressed every enterprise which seemed likely to conduce to the strength of his kingdom or hinder the further progress of Rome.

Meanwhile the latter power, after the downfall of Hannibal, sent an embassy to the East, to prevent the contemplated partition of Egypt. Philip was plainly told that he must surrender to Ptolemy those dependencies which he had taken away. He was also forbidden to make any further aggressions on the cities of Greece. It seemed, however, quite impossible for the latter to keep his claws from the delicious chestnuts which lay in the smouldering ashes of Hellenic civilization. The first pretext was eagerly seized for violating the interdict of Rome, and war was the immediate result.

Two young men of Acarnania, while visiting at Athens, betrayed their vulgar boorishness by intruding upon a celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries. For this they were seized and put to death by the pious Athenians. Acarnania, not appreciating the delicate issues involved in the sacrilege, resented the death of her citizens, and sent an embassy to King Philip to implore at his hand a proper punishment of Athens. He told them in answer to make war on their enemies, and that he would join them in ravaging the Attic territory. Hereupon the Athenians sent an embassy to Rome, and the Senate sent immediately a menace of war should he not desist in annoying the states of Greece and Egypt. The latter, however, was now thoroughly aroused. A defiant answer was returned, and declaration of war (B. C. 199) followed hard after.

For the first two years of the conflict hostilities were carried on in a desultory and feeble manner. In the third campaign the command of the Roman forces was intrusted to TITUS QUINCTIUS FLAMINIUS, who at once passed over into Greece and began the war in earnest. By liberal proclamations he speedily won over to the Roman cause nearly all the Grecian states. He then pressed on with his united forces, and, in B. C. 197, brought Philip to a stand on the field of CYNOCEPHALÆ. Here he inflicted upon the Macedonians a defeat so signal and decisive as to end the war with a blow. Philip eagerly sued for peace. His temerity cost him dearly. All the terms of the previous treaty were reimposed by the victorious consul, and to these were added the

payment of a war indemnity of a thousand talents, the reduction of the Macedonian navy to five ships and of the army to five thousand men. Hereupon—so complete was the destruction of the power of Macedonia—the Roman garrisons were withdrawn from the towns and fortresses of the Hellenic peninsula, and at the following celebration of the Isthmian games the consul Flaminius, in the midst of the applause of the assembled states, made by the mouth of a herald the paradoxical proclamation of the independence of the cities of Greece under the protectorate of Rome.¹

While the Macedonian campaign of Flaminius was progressing Antiochus III. availed himself of the opportunity to promote his own interests in the East. Acting with bad faith toward Philip, and leaving that monarch to his fate, the Syrian king overran Phœnicia, Palestine, and Cœle-Syria, adding by conquest these countries to his own dominions. He then made an expedition through Asia Minor into Thrace, but was met in the latter country by an embassy from the Romans, and was warned to desist from his aggressions. At this juncture, however, a rumor came that Ptolemy Epiphanes had died, and Antiochus was recalled by this supposed event rather than by the menace of the Romans.

The settlement of the affairs of Greece was, for the most part, well received by the states of that long-distracted country. The Ætolians, however, were dissatisfied, not so much on account of the conditions which were imposed, as from the fact that their own part in bringing about the result had been ignored in the Roman proclamation. Acting under the influence of the jealousy thus excited, they instigated the king of Sparta to break the peace, and at the same time invited Antiochus to become the arbiter of the affairs of Greece. Him they induced to believe that the Greek states were disaffected towards the Roman protectorate, and would gladly join his standard. The Syrian king accepted without hesitation the tempting offer thus held out to him, and proceeded into Greece with a large army. Scarcely, however, had he reached that country when he was met with a declaration of

war by the Roman Senate, and by the consul MARCUS ACILIUS GLABRIO at the head of the legions. Surprised at this sudden display of force Antiochus hastily retired to Thermopylæ, where he took a strong position and acted on the defensive. Learning soon afterwards that the Ætolians had been put to rout by a division of the Roman army under MARCUS PORCIUS CATO, the king of Syria discovered that discretion was the better part of valor, and hastily left the country. The Ætolians were thus left unsupported to reap the fruits of their own folly. After a brief resistance they were in B. C. 192, overpowered at Naupactus, but were surprised at the liberal terms granted to them by Flaminius, who permitted them to capitulate and return to their allegiance.

It remained to punish Antiochus. In B. C. 190, the consular army, led by Scipio, crossed into Asia Minor, and met the king on the field of MAGNESIA. Here was fought a decisive battle, in which the power of Antiochus was broken at a single blow. He was obliged to pay the forfeit by accepting the usual conditions which Rome was accustomed to impose on those who had offended her. Antiochus was compelled to make a cession to the king of Pergamus as the friend of the Roman people of all his dominion west of the Taurus, and to reduce his navy to ten ships, which were to be restricted henceforth to the waters east of the Calycadnus, in Cilicia. The payment of a war indemnity of fifteen thousand talents was also exacted as the price of peace, and to this was added a requisition for the surrender of Hannibal. So marked had been the success of Scipio that he was honored by the Roman people with the title of ASIATICUS, after the manner of the surname AFRICANUS, which had been given to his brother.

After three years of quiet, the Ætolians were again found in insurrection. In B. C. 189, a Roman army, led by MARCUS FLAVIUS MOBILTOR, was landed at Apollonia, which place was subjected to a siege. After holding out for a season, the town was taken, as was also Ambracia, the capital of the province. The Ætolians, finding their country ruined by war and themselves deserted by their allies, made

¹ See Book Ninth, p. 680.

a humble suit for peace; and this was granted by the Romans, but with a loss of independence to the insurgent state. The Ætolian League was at an end. Each of the confederate states sought the best terms that could be made with the conqueror, and the country was absorbed as a Roman province.

The overthrow of the Ætolian confederacy was specially favorable to the associated states of Southern Greece. The Achæan League had for a long time been the dominant political influence in the affairs of Greece. Its leadership dated back to B. C. 251, when the Sicyonian Aratus was elected chief of the confederacy. Soon afterwards Corinth was admitted as a member of the league, and in B. C. 208 the celebrated Philipœmen, called the "last of the Greeks," succeeded Aratus as general of the allied states. Sparta joined the League in B. C. 191, which then included nearly all the commonwealth of Peloponnesus, besides Athens in Central and several towns in Northern Greece. For nearly fifty years the decaying institutions of Hellas were preserved from further decline by the interposition of this Achæan confederacy; and the wisdom of its management during this long period was such that not even the punctilious Senate of Rome could find any reasonable ground of complaint.

In the recent war with Antiochus, which, as just narrated, was ended with the battle of Magnesia, the Romans had been materially aided by their *friend*, Philip V., of Macedon. This monarch was encouraged to believe that when the conflict should be brought to a successful conclusion he might recompense himself for his trouble by annexing the territory of his friends, the Ætolians. Not so, however, the result; for no sooner was the war ended than the Romans instigated the Ætolian towns to appeal to them against the encroachments of Philip. By this ill-disguised duplicity the king was prevented from gathering his share of the spoils. Vain were his complaints. He was told that he must confine himself within the limits of Macedonia, and not interfere with the independence of the friends of Rome. This perfidy rankled in the heart of Philip during the rest of his life, and he died with the unfulfilled purpose of revenge.

The successor of the Macedonian king was the celebrated PERSEUS, who inherited his father's plans and more than his father's genius. By carefully husbanding the resources of his kingdom, by opening new mines, by a judicious system of taxation and customs, and by encouraging agriculture and commerce, he collected a large treasury and brought into existence an efficient army. He carefully cultivated the sympathies of the Greeks, and was rewarded by securing a transfer of the allegiance of that fickle people from the Romans to himself. The Greek states had—not without cause—come to consider the Romans as oppressors rather than as the guardians of liberty. The social condition of the country had become deplorable, and predatory bands preyed upon the spoils of cities, once the repositories of art and learning.

Perseus having availed himself of this condition of affairs, easily put himself at the head of the Greek principalities, and for the moment bade a passing defiance to Rome. His conduct, however, speedily estranged those who had accepted his protection; nor were his movements marked with the expected prudence and vigor. Meanwhile the Roman Senate looked on, well satisfied with this precipitation of a state of affairs which would give them a good excuse for a measure long contemplated, namely, the obliteration of the nominal independence of the Greeks. In pursuance of this end an army was sent over into Epirus, in B. C. 171, for the purpose of breaking the alliance between Perseus and his confederates. In an engagement between him and the Romans the Macedonian was victorious, but he does not appear to have reaped any decided advantage from his success. The consular army retained its foothold in the country, and was presently transferred to the command of LUCIUS ÆMILIUS PAULLUS, who in B. C. 168 gained a great triumph in the battle of PYDNA. The army of Perseus was completely routed and himself soon afterwards made prisoner.

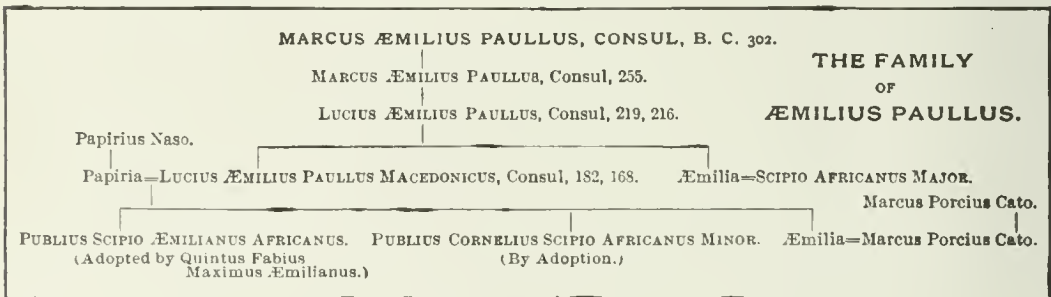
This conflict put a virtual end to the Macedonian monarchy. The country was divided into four provinces, and an annual tribute was imposed on the people. The Senate did not, however, for the present, assume the govern-

ment of the districts, but left them to themselves. They were made independent of one another, but all dependent on Rome. The leading men of the kingdom, especially those who had taken a prominent part in upholding the policy of Philip and Perseus, were, together with their adult sons, transported to Italy, where they could no more disturb the peace.

Returning to Rome, Paullus was honored with a magnificent triumph. He had stretched the tremendous arm of the city to the Ægean and the borders of Thrace, and had overthrown the successor of Alexander the Great. The festival which was celebrated in his honor far surpassed any spectacle ever previously witnessed in Rome. Three days were required for the completion of the procession. During the first, two hundred and fifty vehicles, laden with the magnificent art treasures of Greece—

at various times sent as evidences of their subservient loyalty to the Macedonian court. Then came Lucius Æmilius himself, seated in his chariot of war, dressed in the garb of the Capitoline Jove, carrying the laurel branch of triumph. Finally, the rear of the procession was occupied by the army, bearing the emblems of victory, singing battle songs, and indulging, after the manner of the triumph, in jests and satire at the expense of the general. The festival was then concluded with a sacrifice of animals on the hill of the Capitol.

Rome was politic, as well as strong. In assessing the tribute upon the people of the Macedonian provinces, the sum was fixed at only one-half the amount previously paid to the king. Albeit, the new master must appear a better one than the old. So also in making the levy upon the Greek states care was taken



paintings, sculptures, bronzes—passed along the Sacred Way, and were exhibited to the thousands. On the second day, the splendid arms and other military trophies of which the Macedonians had been despoiled headed the procession. After these came three thousand men, carrying the silver coin and vessels which had been captured from the enemy. On the third morning, the procession was preceded by the animals intended for the sacrifice, and then were borne along the treasures of gold which ages of war had heaped together at the court of Macedon. After this display came the royal chariot of Perseus, his armor, and his crown. Then followed *on foot* the king himself, and his children and servants—a pitiable spectacle of wretchedness and despair. Close after the monarch were four hundred footmen, bearing an equal number of golden crowns, which the Greek cities had

that the burden should be less onerous than before. This measure, when coupled with the transportation of the leading men of the various cities to Italy, tended powerfully to produce in the conquered states a condition of quiet, a docile acceptance of the situation not to have been expected, especially of such a people as the Greeks.

When it came to removing those who had given her trouble, Rome found that the leaders of the Achæan League were a host. No fewer than a thousand persons were selected as proper characters for banishment. These were sent into Etruria and imprisoned. There they remained for seventeen years, without ever having the privilege of defending themselves by trial. Rome thus shut up in her jails a large part of the remaining genius of Greece. There many of the wisest men of the times lay languishing. Their countrymen at home heeded

A ROMAN TRIUMPH.



not, or turned away in despair of bringing relief. Others of the Roman party in Greece rejoiced at the forced emigration of their rivals in politics. Such was Callicrates, an adherent of Rome, who after the banishment of the Achæan leaders obtained the mastery of the League. Among the exiles in Italy was the historian Polybius, to whom the world is so much indebted for one of the truest accounts which have been preserved of the best period of Roman greatness. Not until B. C. 151 were these unfortunate victims of the heartless policy of Rome liberated and permitted to return to Greece. Their numbers were reduced to three hundred, and these were in rags and prematurely gray from the hardships of their long confinement. Their arrival at home produced a profound indignation and desire for vengeance.

Meanwhile other powers in the East were in like manner humbled and degraded. The Republic of Rhodes was robbed of its dependencies. Eumenes, king of Pergamus, another friend of the Roman people, was brought into subjection; and the king of Syria—for better reasons—was driven out of Egypt, and compelled to keep the peace under the dictation of the Senate.

The year B. C. 146 was marked by the last act in the drama of Grecian civilization. The temper of the people of Central and Southern Greece was greatly aroused by the return of their countrymen from Italy. The poor wretches who came tottering into the streets of the cities were fine examples of what the *freedom* of Hellas under the *protection* of Rome was able to accomplish. A trivial contingency fired the train of rebellion. A certain Andriscus, claiming to be a son of Perseus, advanced his claim to the kingdom of Macedonia and called to his aid the Greeks. The members of the League were in the humor to go to war with any power for any provocation. They accordingly took up arms only to lay them down again. They were defeated in two battles by the consul Metellus, whose term of office, however, expired before the Achæans yielded. He was succeeded in the consulship by MUMMIUS, who drove the insurgents into Corinth, and having taken the

city by storm, burned it to the ground. The devastation was completed by selling the inhabitants into slavery, and transporting the vast art treasures there accumulated to adorn the public buildings and private villas of Rome.

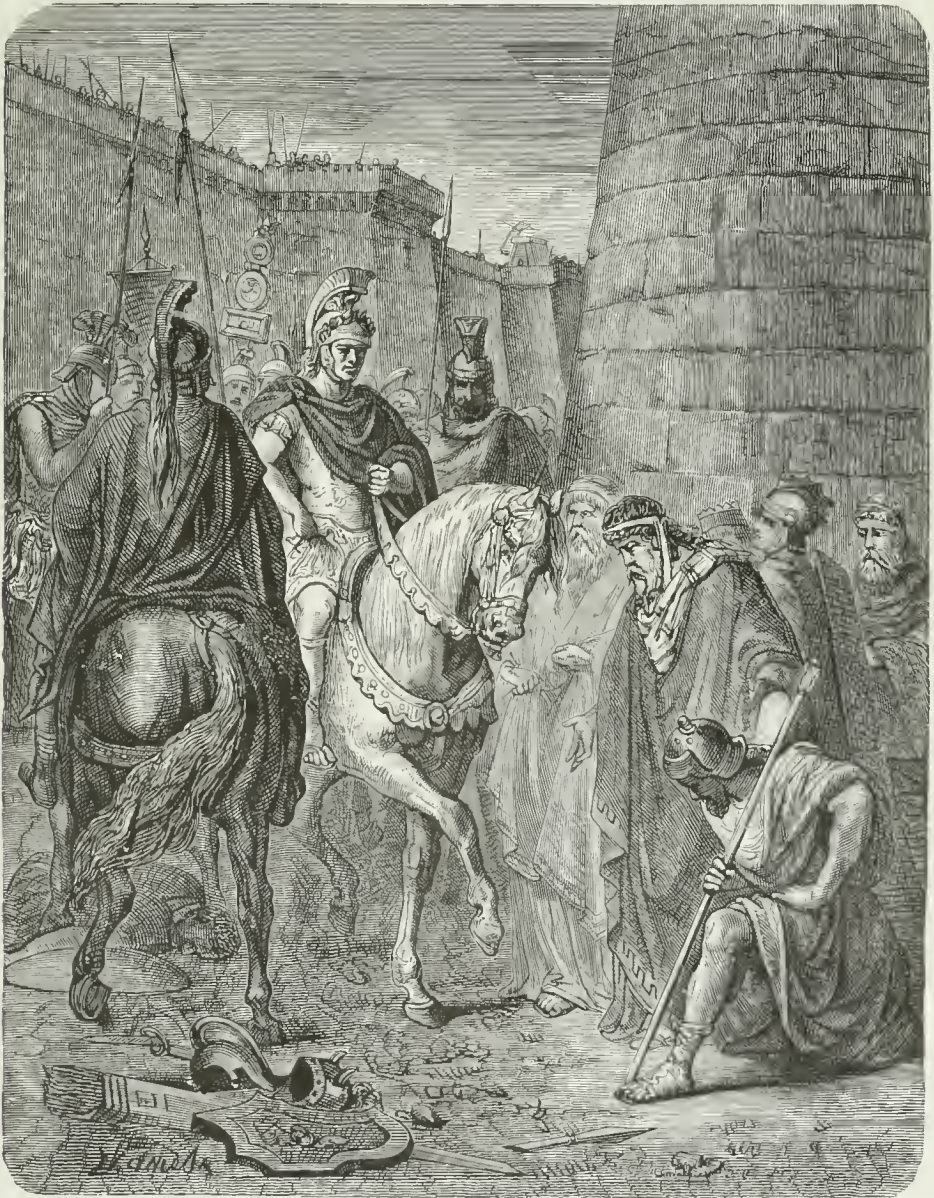
In the same year that witnessed the destruction of Corinth, the *coup de grace* was given to Macedonia. The four provinces which had, since the capture of Perseus, been allowed to retain a shadow of independence, were now consolidated, and together with Dyrrhacium and Apollonia constituted the province of Macedonia, over which a proconsul was appointed, as in the case of Sicily and Spain. To this officer was intrusted also the management of the fragmentary principalities which were once glorified under the name of Greece. It was a century and a quarter before these fragments were gathered together and honored as a distinct provincial government under the name of ACHAIA.

The policy pursued by Rome in thus widening her borders is worthy of special note. The system was as methodical as it was merciless. The cold-blooded purpose to build upon the ruins of others was never better illustrated. The aggrandizement of the Republic at whatever cost of principle, was the sole criterion of conduct in this aggression upon the liberties of the nations. The particular method employed by the Senate was to send envoys—spies—into foreign states to learn the political condition and the internal broils with which the neighbors of Rome might chance to be afflicted. Acting upon the basis of this information, the envoys were instructed to foment existing difficulties, and engender new ones to the end that one or the other of the parties might appeal to the Romans, either to interfere directly, or to act as arbiters in the various controversies.

It thus happened that real or factitious issues in surrounding countries were more and more referred to Rome for decision—a circumstance which she never failed to turn to her own account. This policy was often carried out with a cynical diabolism which would have done credit to the Italian diplomacy of the Middle Ages. It had the merit of being easier and less

expensive than the method of Alexander, who conquered by the sword and held as he had won. The Roman envoy was generally like Cæsar's Gaul, "divided into three parts," of which the first was lion, the second fox, and

close of the Second Punic War she stood aloof from the entanglements on the other shores of the Mediterranean, and endeavored to regain by commerce what she had lost by the sword. This course led inevitably to the restoration



METELLUS IN GREECE.

the third, jackal. In his relations with foreign states he was expected to be lion and fox by turns, and jackal always.

It will now be of interest to revert to Carthage. In the half century succeeding the

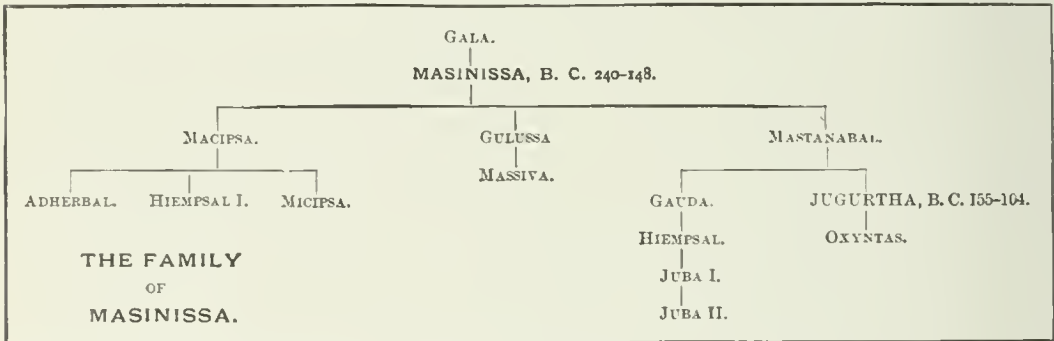
of the prosperity of the city. Rome saw with a jealous eye the Carthaginian ship traversing the sea and laden with a foreign cargo. Meanwhile Masinissa made the most of his position, as king of Numidia, by attacking the territo-

ries of Carthage; and he being a friend of the Roman people, the Carthaginians durst not repel him by force without first obtaining the permission of Rome. Such were the terms of the treaty of B. C. 201. When, however, the appeal of Carthage was carried by ambassadors to the Senate, that body made answer by assigning the disputed territory to Masinissa. This intolerable course was pursued until Masinissa was enriched by the towns and districts taken from the Carthaginians by a process in no wise differing from robbery. Time and again the appeal was made to Rome for justice, but in each case the ambassadors asked for a fish and received a serpent.

Finally, in B. C. 157, MARCUS PORCIUS CATO was sent to Africa to adjudicate one of these ever-recurring disputes between Masinissa and the Carthaginians, in which the latter pro-

Carthage—so nigh to us is a city so strong and prosperous. I think that Carthage must be destroyed." For several years this distinguished Roman reiterated at every opportunity the closing sentiment of this speech. Whatever might be his theme, he would, when his argument was finished, add the ominous words,¹ *Ceterum censeo Carthaginem est delendam.*

His hearers were scarcely less willing than himself to see the birthplace of Hannibal, now reviving from the ruin of war, utterly blotted from existence. Nor was it long until a cause of quarrel was either found or made. As on so many previous occasions, the ever-froward Masinissa was the fruitful source of the new conflict which was destined to end the existence of Carthage. In that city the popular party was now in the ascendancy—a party which embraced the fragments which



tested in the name of the existing treaty and the former in the name of self-interest. The controversy was decided as usual, but not until the Roman ambassadors, particularly Cato, were struck with amazement at the prosperous condition of the city which only thirty-four years previously had been sacked and ruined by the army of Scipio. The region round about was a mosaic of cornfields, orchards, and gardens. The harbor was white with ships and the streets thronged with busy multitudes.

On his return to Rome Cato loosed the floods of old enmity by reciting to the Senate the things which he had seen. Finally, in a dramatic way, he thrust his hand into a fold of his toga and drew out a bunch of luscious figs, saying as he held them before the senators: "This fruit has been brought from

had once been the magnificent following of Hannibal. The opponents of this party included all those who stood for the Roman and Numidian interest. Some of the latter—about forty in number—having made themselves especially offensive to the Carthaginians were banished from the city. Masinissa thereupon espoused the cause of his friends and demanded their recall. Upon the refusal of the Carthaginian authorities to receive them, Masinissa took up arms, marched against the city, and inflicted upon the popular party a severe defeat. The captured soldiers of Carthage were driven under the yoke and then massacred. It was this action of the Carthaginians in taking up arms to resist the invasion of their inveterate enemy without first asking permis-

¹ For the rest I think that Carthage must be destroyed.



THE ATTACK ON CARTHAGE.

sion of Rome that furnished to the latter the long-sought pretext for a war of extermination upon her ancient rival.

In the struggle that ensued neither Cato, its great instigator, nor Masinissa, its occasion, lived to see the issue. The former at the age of eighty-five and the latter at ninety, both died in the first year of the conflict.

Carthage now exerted herself to the utmost to avert the storm which her simple action of self-defense had raised. Ambassadors were sent to the Roman Senate to explain the situation, and to offer such apology as might be necessary for the conduct of the state in resisting Masinissa. The messengers were received with little respect, and in answer the Senate demanded that three hundred Carthaginians should be given up as hostages. It was thought that this concession would placate the factitious anger of Rome, but nothing could allay her hate. A fleet under command of PUBLIUS SCIPIO ÆMILIANUS was at once dispatched to the African coast, and landed at Utica. The Carthaginians hastened to inquire the occasion of this further menace, and were informed that their city and state, being now under the protectorate of Rome, and having no further necessity to engage in hostile enterprises, should deliver up all her arms and munitions of war. Astounding as was this demand, it was complied with by the Carthaginians, who knew too well the temper of the race with whom they had to deal. When this business was accomplished, the Romans threw off all disguise and made known the real purpose of the expedition, which was: "That Carthage must be destroyed, and the inhabitants colonized in a new settlement ten miles from the sea." Among the doings of the civilized nations of antiquity, there is not perhaps another instance of open and formal treachery so revolting and perfidious as that of the Romans in their course toward Carthage.

As soon as the people of that fated city heard of the cruel and insolent demand now made upon them, they broke out under the inspiration of despair into universal insurrection. The spirit of faction was heard no more, and every man, woman, and child rose as one to fight to the last the heartless foe whose fell

purpose was no longer concealed. The whole city was suddenly metamorphosed into a camp. The public buildings—even the temples—were converted into shops and factories. On every hand was heard the din of preparation—the noise and tumult of that despairing energy which had lost all sense of fear. A new supply of arms was produced as rapidly as possible. The women were everywhere present with their husbands and brothers, encouraging and aiding the work. They cut off their long hair, and gave it to the manufacturers to make strings for the bows and catapults. Hasdrubal was recalled from banishment, and was intrusted with the defense of the city. So energetic and thorough was the preparation, that when the Roman army arrived from Utica the city was found impregnable to assault. Having made one effort to carry the place by storm Scipio, who commanded only as military tribune, was obliged to content himself with the slow processes of a siege. The Roman army, however, was badly equipped for such an enterprise, and little progress was made towards the reduction of the city.

In B. C. 147, Scipio, then but thirty-seven years of age, and thus legally disqualified for the office, was invested with the consulship. Returning to Africa he renewed the siege with great vigor. The ramparts were broken through. Square after square was carried in the face of the most stubborn resistance. Every house was burned as soon as taken. The narrowing line of destruction closed around the old citadel of Byrsa, where the remnant of the people and soldiery had taken their last stand for the defense of their altars. At last this stronghold was also carried, and with it were captured the remaining fifty thousand inhabitants of the doomed city. These were carried away into slavery. Scipio, glancing over the ruin of what had so recently been the proudest emporium of Northern Africa, is said to have had a presentiment of a similar doom for Rome, and to have repeated in sadness a prophetic couplet of the *Iliad*:

"The day shall surely come when sacred Troy shall fall,
And Priam and the people of the ash-speared
Priam fall."

On his return to Rome, Scipio was honored with a magnificent triumph, and the surname of Africanus, which he had already received from his adoptive father, was renewed in his own right by the voice of his countrymen.

When Carthage was no more, the Roman Senate proceeded to reorganize Africa. The recently conquered territory was annexed to the other dominions of Rome on the African coast, and Utica was made the capital. The districts



STORMING OF THE BYRSA, CARTHAGE.

Drawn by H. Leutemann.

and towns which had adhered to the Roman cause were left with little disturbance, but those which had given offense were captured and punished. Tributes were assessed and the political condition fixed on a basis analogous to that already existing in Spain and Sicily. Roman customs and institutions were rapidly introduced. The Latin language took the place of the harsh tongue of Syria and the guttural dialects of the native tribes. The commerce of Carthage was transferred to Utica, and was thenceforth conducted by Roman merchantmen. The plains of Northern Africa were found to be of as great fertility as those of Campania and Sicily. An agricultural interest—well in keep-

ing with the primitive tastes of the Romans—sprang up along the whole coast; and to this source, more even than to her Mediterranean dependencies, the capital city began to look for the ultimate means of support. The spite of Rome, meanwhile, like that of a savage who mutilates the body of his dead enemy, was pleased to plow up and sow with salt the site of Carthage, and to pronounce a curse on him who should attempt to rebuild the city. The queen of the Seven Hills was victorious from sea to sea. She made herself glorious out of the spoils of the nations, and feasted without compunction on dainties prepared by the weary hands of slaves.

CHAPTER LXI.—THE IMPERIAL REPUBLIC.



THE final subjugation of Greece and the destruction of Carthage—both of which events occurred in B. C. 146—may be cited as marking the limit of formidable opposition to the domination of Rome over the states of the Mediterranean. Henceforth she was mistress, and did as she would. Not that there were no more wars. Not that Rome was not obliged to defend with the sword what she had acquired by violence. Not that a spirit was wanting among the subject nations to rise in revolt against the colossal despotism under which they were pressed in servitude. But the power of further successful resistance was gone. To go to war with the Imperial City became an act of rashness which only the most reckless and foolhardy dared to indulge, even in dreams. It will be of interest to glance for a moment at the number and character of those countries now held in subordination by the great Republic.

The provincial system of the Romans began, as already said, with the establishment of proconsular governments in Sicily and Sardinia. The kingdom of NUMIDIA, in the western part of Northern Africa, though not absolutely re-

duced to a province, was ruled by Masinissa in the interest of Rome. GALLIA CISALPINA was overrun at the close of the Second Punic War, and the limits of the Republic were thus extended on the north to the barrier of the Alps. The reduction of MACEDONIA in the times of Philip V. and Perseus has been but recently narrated. When the paternal dominions of these kings were stripped of independence, and soon afterwards organized as a proconsular government, GREECE was added as a kind of subject of a subject. The authority of Rome was thus extended from the river Strymon to Cape Matapan. Meanwhile, to the east of the PROVINCE OF AFRICA, the ancient kingdom of the Pharaohs, now ruled by the successors of Ptolemy Soter, had sought the protection of Rome on more than one occasion, thus paving the way for an easy assumption of right on the part of the Senate. In the East the Roman arms had been felt and the voice of Roman dictation heard as far as Ephesus, and the whole of ASIA MINOR but awaited the cataclysm by which all things were to be broken up and handed over to the Republic.

Thus were established by the middle of the second century B. C.—from which date Rome may be said to have become Imperial—the great provinces of Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, Cis-

alpine Gaul, the Two Spains, the Two Africas (Numidia and Carthage), and Macedonia, including Greece. And to these already vast dominions must be added many minor dependencies in the eastern parts of the Mediterranean, while all the remaining fragments of the Empire of Alexander the Great but awaited the inevitable absorption. As yet the influence of Rome was but slightly felt among the barbarian nations of Northern and Central Europe.

In the epoch of which we speak the most threatening foreign relations of the Republic arose from difficulties in Spain. At the beginning of the second century B. C. that country had been subjugated by Marcus Porcius Cato. The authority of Rome was established, but rested mainly on the eastern borders of the peninsula. The native tribes of the interior and the north were still unsubdued; but the towns in those regions offered few inducements to the cupidity of the Roman general, and not many efforts were made towards the further conquest of the country.

In the year B. C. 154, while Cato was in his usual vein insisting that Carthage must be destroyed, war broke out among the Celtiberians. The town of Segeda, a Roman dependency, undertook the extension of its walls, but was ordered to desist. It was said that such a course was contrary to the existing treaty. The authorities replied that the treaty stipulated only the building of new towns, and not the improvement of old ones. The demand for tribute and a contingent of soldiers was also refused, and the people armed themselves for resistance. When the consul FULVIUS NOBILIOR proceeded against the insurgents, they marched out and defeated him in battle. They then retired to Numantia, and were received by the people of that city. In a second engagement the Romans were again worsted, insomuch that the Lusitanians, encouraged by the example of a successful revolt, also took up arms and added a third defeat to the list of consular backsets.

In the year 152, a treaty was concluded with the insurrectionary tribes, who consented, on condition of Roman protection, to pay tribute and give hostages for good conduct. In

the following year, when Lucullus assumed the government—having taken the same with the hope of gathering much booty from the Spanish towns—he was disgusted to find that peace had already been established. It only remained for him to stir up a war with other tribes whose offense consisted in doing nothing to offend. In the mean time an event had occurred in Lusitania which illustrated the worst phase of Roman official character.

SULPICIOUS GALBA had been sent to that country to adjust the difficulties growing out of the recent revolt. By him the Lusitanian ambassadors were received with the greatest apparent good will. He entered into friendly conferences with them, and it was agreed that the people should be removed to a more fertile district, and that Rome should protect them in the removal. A great multitude of the tribe was accordingly gathered together preparatory to the removal, but when their arms had been given up, the Roman soldiers fell upon them and slaughtered the whole band, with the exception of a few who made their escape. So black was the perfidious cruelty of the transaction that for once the Senate disavowed the deed of its subordinate. Galba was impeached by Cato, but the wealth and eloquence of the criminal enabled him to escape the punishment which he had so richly merited.

In the breasts of the survivors of the massacre all the slumbering fury of their nature was aroused. What good thing—what show of justice—could they ever expect at the hands of their tormentors? So reasoned old VARIANUS, the chief man of the nation, who, swearing eternal vengeance against the oppressors of his people, began a war of extermination. With consummate ability he raised an army, and planted himself in the hills. He became a veteran in every species of war-craft. With superior knowledge of the country, he beat back his foes at every approach. His blows fell like thunderbolts in the faces of his assailants, and they recoiled like wounded bears.

For ten successive years one consular army after another was defeated by this untaught general of the mountains. Even Quintus Fabius Æmilianus was hurled back like the rest;

nor did it appear that there was any likelihood of success against the illustrious rebel. Treachery came to the rescue. In B. C. 141 Variathus was induced by fair promises to make peace. He was for the time declared to be a "friend" of the Senate and Roman people; but the whole transaction was for no other purpose than to put the great insurgent off his guard. In the following year the consul suddenly renewed the war, and Variathus, at last defeated in battle, was compelled to seek peace. While the conditions were yet undecided he was assassinated by his own ambassadors, who had been hired by the Roman consul CÆPIO to perform this finishing piece of supreme villainy. Thus, in B. C. 139, was Rome set free from the terror which the Lusitanian chieftain had so long inspired. Then she breathed more freely.

Before the overthrow of Variathus the Celtiberians had again (B. C. 143) revolted and renewed the struggle for the overthrow of the Roman power in Numantia. The consul, Metellus, was sent against them, and during the first two campaigns gained several successes over the rebels. Afterwards the tide turned, and the Romans were brought to great straits in a series of defeats. CAIUS HOSTILIUS MANCINUS was compelled, in order to save himself and his army, to sign a treaty recognizing the independence of Numantia. The Roman Senate was enraged at this act, and repudiated the compact. Hostilius was taken by an officer and redelivered in chains to the Numantians, but they refused to take personal vengeance on their recent foe, and permitted him to return to Rome. It was thus that alleged barbarism set an example of humanity to be wasted on her who had none.

After the Numantine war had continued for nine years Scipio Africanus was sent out to bring it to an end. He found the Roman army in Spain demoralized and set himself at once to the restoration of discipline. The horde of hangers-on, who for profit or license had infested the camp, were expelled and every thing speedily brought to a military standard. He then advanced to Numantia and undertook the reduction of the place by siege. Never was the heroism of a people

better illustrated in defense of their country than in the conduct of the Arevaci fighting for their last stronghold. They held out until famine came to the aid of war. Then they ate the bodies of the dead and then yielded.

The whole population, with the exception of fifty of the principal citizens, who were reserved for Scipio's triumph, were sold as slaves. What remained of Numantia was leveled to the earth. Resistance to the will and purpose of Rome ceased throughout the peninsula. Colonies of Romans—adventurers, merchants, land-speculators—came in like a flood. Latin was heard at first in the sea-coast communities, and then in the towns of the far interior. Spain was Romanized, and the new order was accepted from the Pyrenees to the pillars of Hercules. As to Scipio, to whose military genius must be attributed the final conquest of the country, he returned to Rome to be honored with the title of *Numantinus*, in addition to *Africanus*, by which he was already distinguished for his triumph over Carthage.¹

In the same year (B. C. 129) which witnessed the final pacification of Spain, the first Roman province was organized in Asia Minor. The circumstances attending this event were anomalous. Attalus III., king of Pergamus, who for a long time had been entitled a friend by the Senate, died in B. C. 133, leaving no heir to his throne. In his will he bequeathed his dominions to the people of Rome. In the mean time a certain Aristonicus, a natural son of Eumenes, father of the late king, advanced his claim to the Pergamine crown, and endeavored to maintain his right by arms. The movement, however, ended in a fiasco. Aristonicus was defeated and captured, and the will of Attalus was carried into effect. Pergamus was organized into a proconsular government under the title of the PROVINCE OF ASIA.

One of the most marked results of the great

¹ In the army which Scipio led against Numantia were three young officers who were destined in a short time—though in different fields of action—to play an important part in the great drama of Rome. These were Caius Marius, one of the great leaders in the Civil War; Jugurtha, grandson of Masinissa and present ruler of Numidia, and Tiberius Gracchus, the great commoner of his times.

conquests made by the generals and armies of the Republic was to fill Rome and all Italy with multitudes of slaves. The policy of selling into servitude not only the soldier population, but all the inhabitants of conquered countries was universally adopted. The slave-sale was looked for as a matter of course after every victory won by the Roman arms. Among the upper classes of society free labor was almost unknown. The vast landed estates of the nobles were cultivated by a servile race, driven mercilessly to their tasks, punished, whipped, starved, killed, with impunity. Nor was there any badge of nationality, color, or natural inferiority to distinguish the slaves from the other classes of population. They were not by any means the refuse peoples of other states, but were a heterogeneous aggregation of human beings swept together by the surging tides of war from all quarters of the world, and embracing every grade and rank and tribe from the blackest son of the Libyan desert to the most refined philosopher of Athens. In intelligence and the possession of those arts and refinements which tend to humanize mankind, the slaves were frequently the superiors of the coarse and brutal masters into whose power they had been flung by the vicissitudes of war. It was in the nature of things to be expected that this immense throng of creatures, made wretched by exile and callous by the miseries of servitude, would in some moment of passion, aroused perhaps by unusual barbarity and injustice, make a clutch at their masters' throats and repay in an hour of fury the wrongs of a generation.

The first revolt of the slaves occurred in Sicily. A certain serf, named ENNUS, became the leader of the insurrection. The circumstances of the revolt were illustrative of the condition of society and the spirit of the times. Ennus was a prophet. He claimed to be in possession of the lore of Syria. He predicted events, which, as fortune would have it, chanced to come true. Among other things he foretold his own royalty that was to be.

Great was the reputation which this servile seer acquired, especially among the desperate class to which he belonged. He had communion with the gods, and could blow flames of

fire out of his mouth. To him the slaves of the island began to look as a divinely appointed leader. Presently the serfs on the estate of a cruel tyrant, named Damophilus, driven to desperation by abuse, rose against their master, murdering him and his whole household, except a daughter who had previously treated them with kindness.

The outbreak was the spark in a magazine. The insurrection spread like a flame, and in a short time Ennus found himself at the head of a host of two hundred thousand slaves. For the time Sicily was at their mercy. Four consular armies were sent against them, and were as many times defeated. The town of Enna was captured and plundered. The years B. C. 134-132 were consumed by the Romans in futile efforts to suppress the insurrection. The rebels gained possession of the town of Tauromenium, and made it their stronghold. Against this place in B. C. 132 was sent the consul PUBLIUS RUPILIUS with a fifth army. The town was besieged and finally taken, as was also the fortress of Enna, but not until the desperate wretches within the works were reduced to the extremity of eating the bodies of their comrades in order to preserve life. Those who survived were seized by Rupilius and hurled down a precipice. Ennus, the king of the slaves, made his escape and took refuge in a cavern, where he was presently caught and destroyed. Rupilius, acting as proconsul, and assisted by ten commissioners sent out from Rome, then proceeded to restore order in the island; but the repressive measures which were adopted by him and his colleagues were so atrocious and cruel as to be a disgrace alike to the home government and the officers who devised them.

It will be of interest in this connection to note some of the features of the government established by Rome in her principal provinces. When a new country was conquered and organized, it was assigned to a praetor, who, acting as proconsul or governor, assumed the management of the province. He conducted the affairs of his district as he would. He received no salary for his services, but was permitted to enrich himself by wringing from the provincials the very blood and marrow of their

lives. To this end a system of extortion was adopted by the prætors unparalleled in rapacity and barbarity. The only check upon the absolute despotism of the provincial governors lay in the fact, that at the expiration of their terms of office they might be summoned before a senatorial court to answer for the acts of their administrations. But by this time they had generally so enriched themselves with the spoils of their provinces as to be easily able to purchase immunity for any crimes they might have committed. As society became more luxurious, the abuses attendant upon the provincial governorship grew greater and greater until the nobles of Rome contended for the office as vultures for the prey.

Among the dispositions which were developed by the politics of Rome may be mentioned—in addition to the lust of office already referred to—the greed for titles and other artificial distinctions. In order to secure these, it became customary with the generals in charge of expeditions to falsify reports and exaggerate their successes. To gain the applause of the people and the rewards bestowed by the Senate, trivial encounters were reported as great battles, and even defeat made to read as victory. As a check against this factitious method of winning fame, the Senate was obliged to enact a law that no general of Rome should be allowed to triumph unless he had slain five thousand of the enemy in a general battle. When, however, such a distinction had really been won, it was expected that the commander would be duly honored for his achievement. To this end, it was customary for the Senate to vote statues and monuments to her victorious generals. When these marks of public esteem became common by their frequency, the usage prevailed of distinguishing the conqueror by some surname significant of his success in war. So one general was called *Africanus*; another, *Macedonicus*; a third, *Asiaticus*, etc. Perhaps no people were ever more delighted with such artificial honors than were the Romans, with whom neither toil nor sacrifice nor the shedding of blood was permitted to interpose as an obstacle to the applause of their countrymen.

The accumulation of wealth, honors, and

distinctions in the hands of the nobles and senators, gave them a monopoly of those influences by which such things were attained. Thus the lust for power was whetted by the general tendencies of society. The slow accumulations of industry, commerce, and even of usury, were neglected by the public men of Rome, who saw in the fertile and populous provinces the gold-paved way to sudden opulence. The maintenance of privilege at home was also secured by the spoliation of the provincial districts. Rome was a great center of gravity towards which were drawn all ranks and classes. There the senators had their homes. There the commons abounded. There the freedmen swarmed the streets and sought the small and narrow ways of fortune. There the slaves, twisted together in desperate knots of toil and despair, drew from the barren breasts of the world the diseased milk of famine. These vast under-masses of humanity looked up and saw princes and princesses fanning themselves in the colonnades of villas.

It was a dangerous situation. The multitude adopted the motto of "*Bread and the Circus*." The demand had to be met. Even a tiger when stuffed is gentle. So the prætors, proconsuls, nobles, grandees, adopted the plan of gratuitous distributions of food to the hungry horde. The supplies had to be drawn from the provinces. The cornfields of Sicily, Africa, and Asia were laid under contribution to keep the peace in Rome. Extortion furnished the means not only to support the voluptuary in his villa, but to appease a savage maw which would otherwise have broken through the gates and filled itself with viands.

As to legal remedy there was little or none. Against the gross abuses of the provincial monopolies, the knights, being themselves debarred from participating in the plunder of the world, set themselves in jealous hostility. Many of the worst features of the system were thus prevented from displaying their hideousness in the full light of gratification. Such crimes as were practiced by the provincial governor might be properly brought before the assembly of the tribes, and in that popular body it was not likely that robbers and murderers would receive much quarter. But the

Senate, from whose ranks the prætors and proconsuls were generally chosen, and whose members looked forward to the day when each in his turn should try his hand in the spoliation of a province, soon neutralized the antagonism of the knights by contriving a new court from the senatorial rank before which nobles and monopolists accused of malfeasance in office should be tried. The opulent robber found it not difficult to "influence" the decisions of such a tribunal.

The system of making public distributions of corn—though it subserved the temporary purpose of placating the temper of the multitude—became a premium on idleness, a discount on industry. Why should the Samnite peasant continue to toil in the fields when he could go to Rome and be fed? Erelong the effects of the system were felt throughout Italy. The under-classes opened their mouths and flew to the center. Large and fruitful districts were virtually abandoned. The call of the laborer was heard less frequently in the field, and the mechanic's hammer lay idle in the workshop. Meanwhile Rome roared like a deluge of waters.

There were not wanting a few thoughtful men—Romans of the old Republican stamp—who perceived the perilous condition of the state, and exerted themselves to ward off the danger. To this class belonged Marcus Porcius Cato, the Censor. After distinguished services in the Hannibalic wars, he rose from one position to another until in B. C. 195 he was elected consul. He at once set himself like flint against the abuses of the times. Incorruptible himself, he scorned corruption in others. In the time of his ascendancy the nobility were chiefly concerned with measures calculated to prevent the admission to high places of those who were designated as *novi homines*, or "new men"—those who had no aristocratic lineage. By his profound knowledge of the law, his fruitfulness in expedients, and his powers as a speaker—no less than by his irreproachable character—he became a terror to the oligarchy. Himself a *novus homo*, he was none the less ardently attached to the Roman constitution, and was fain to purge the state of its dross and defilement.

The first public break of Cato with the existing order occurred between himself and the Scipios. The latter were now—for it was just after the battle of Zama—in the heyday of their renown. But the fearless Cato, believing Lucius Scipio to have been guilty of receiving bribes, induced the tribune to bring charges against him, and he was held to answer the accusation. His accounts were demanded; but when they were about to be read Africanus, the brother of the accused officer, snatched them from his hand and tore them to pieces, declaring that it was an outrage for one who had brought millions into the Roman treasury to be thus called on to account for a paltry sum. Nevertheless Lucius was condemned to pay a heavy fine; and when Africanus attempted to take him by force from the hands of the officers who were conducting him to prison, the attempt was defeated by the authorities, and the punishment enforced. Cato did not hesitate to follow up this prosecution with another directed against Africanus himself; but the day of the trial happened to fall on the anniversary of the battle of Zama, and a conviction was impossible. Scipio shortly afterwards removed from Rome, and passed the remainder of his life at his country-seat in Liternum. Here he died, and was buried with this inscription, composed by himself, to mark the spot: "You, ungrateful country, do not possess even my bones."

In B. C. 184 Cato was elected censor. While holding this office he steadily pursued the policy to which he had adhered during his consulship. No fewer than forty-four times did his enemies prefer charges of malfeasance and crime against him, but it was impossible to shake the confidence of the people in his integrity. He continued to prosecute those who abused the trusts of office, and retired from public life without the smell of fire on his garments. In extreme old age he gave up his hostility to foreign culture, and signalized his eightieth year by learning Greek.

Such was the general condition of Roman society in the last half of the second century B. C. The state was corrupted by luxury and conquest, and the old heroic virtues of Republican, agricultural Rome were well-nigh ex-

trinit. Troubled no longer by formidable foes abroad, it only remained for her to rule what she had acquired, and to give opportunity for the growth of the arts of peace. For this duty the character of her people and the political constitution of her society rendered her unfit. The habit of conquest had become fixed by centuries of indulgence; the disposition to take by plundering rather than create by industry was now a second nature, whose demands would not be hushed. The funda-

and enforce its provisions were resisted by the combined power of the aristocracy. When appeals for relief were made to the government the same power confronted the petition. It was evident that nothing less than a blow struck at the fundamental principle of land-ownership could bring about the needed equilibrium in Roman society.

At this juncture there arose the two brothers, TIBERIUS and CAIUS GRACCHUS. They came in the character of popular reformers to



CORNELIA AND THE GRACCHI.

Drawn by H. Vogel.

mental difficulty in the state arose from the question of landed property. The multitudes of small farms which had been the pride of the Republic were now absorbed in a few vast estates owned by the nobles. The former land-owners had become impoverished, and had gone to Rome. Their places were taken by slaves. The poor freemen became the clients of the rich. The old Licinian Law, which required that the lands of Italy should be cultivated—at least in part—by free labor, had become a dead letter. All attempts to revive

remedy the ills to which the state was subject. They were the sons of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio Africanus the Elder. The father of the Gracchi had been a governor in Spain, and had by his prudent administration acquired an enviable reputation for wisdom and patriotism. By his death the two boys were left at an early age to the care of their mother, famous in story. Tiberius Gracchus, the elder of the two, accompanied Scipio Æmilianus in the last expedition against Carthage, and tradition has

preserved a probably authentic story to the effect that when that ill-fated city was taken Tiberius was the first man to scale the rampart. While holding the office of augur he became intimate with Appius Claudius Pulcher, who, though a senator, was deeply anxious on account of the evils prevalent in the state. At a later date Tiberius served as quaestor in Spain, in which office he achieved distinction by saving the army of Mancinus from destruction. He aided in the conclusion of that treaty which was rejected by the Senate—an act which caused him to go over to the political party called the *Populares*—as opposed to the *Optimates* or the senatorial party.

In B. C. 134, Tiberius, after his return from Spain, was elected tribune of the people. Now it was that he began to agitate his measures for a general reform in the state. His aims were to relieve the poor and to restore the farming interest in Italy. He first secured the coöperation of his father-in-law, Appius Claudius, Publius Crassus, who was at that time pontifex maximus, and Publius Mucius Scaevola, one of the best lawyers of Rome.

With the counsel and assistance of these three influential citizens Tiberius matured his measures, which were really as conservative as any patriotic land-owner could have desired. The plans proposed contemplated, first of all, a reënactment of the Licinian Law, which, never having been repealed, was still nominally in force. To this statute certain clauses were appended with a view of adapting it more perfectly to the altered condition of society. Such was the sum and substance of the measure to the passage of which Tiberius now devoted his whole energies.

The arguments which were advanced in favor of the proposed measures of reform were unanswerable except in one particular. This point was that since the Licinian Law had become a dead letter a new state of circumstances had supervened, the undoing of which by the revival of the old statute would work great hardship to the present possessors of the lands. To this it could only be answered that the present possessors of land, that is, those who held more than five hundred jugera of the *ager publicus* did so contrary

to law and with a knowledge of the fact. "We have inherited the lands from our fathers and grandfathers," said the monopolists. "Your fathers and grandfathers did not own them," said the tribune.

When it became evident that the *Optimates* were going to be beaten in the struggle they became desperate.¹ They first suborned OCTAVIUS, one of the tribunes of the people, to interpose his veto against the measures proposed by his colleague. This temporary check, however, was quickly removed, for the people, now thoroughly aroused and acting on the suggestion of Tiberius, deposed Octavius from office, and the new statute was adopted. A board of commissioners was thereupon appointed to carry into effect the legislation which, though conservative in its own nature, was radical in its application.

Great were the real difficulties which now appeared in the way of the reform. The existing abuses had continued so long that it seemed impossible to determine what was at present or had been originally a part of the *ager publicus*, and what was truly private property. The condition of Rome, as it respected her real estate, had been for centuries chaotic. A cosmos had now to be established, and this, too, while the dispossessed spirits of the old chaos still hovered over the flood and refused to be quieted. Believing that if the decision of the question as to which was and which was not *ager publicus*, should be left to the consuls and senate—with whom such matters were lodged according to existing legislation—the whole scheme of reform would be defeated, Tiberius adopted the extra-legal expedient of a supplemental act empowering the commissioners to decide all questions of dispute arising under the recent statute. The effect of this measure was still further to embitter the aristocracy, who now denounced Tiberius

¹ The privileged classes of mankind have no conscience on the subject of their privilege. History does not adduce one instance in which a nobility or even a monopoly, entrenched in precedent and custom, has ever voluntarily made restitution to society of the rights of which she had been despoiled. The iron jaws which close on the marrowy bone of privilege never relax until they are broken.

as a breaker of the law. His popularity was somewhat shaken, and two Senators—*Scipio Nascia* and *Quintus Pompeius*—gave public notice of their intention to impeach the tribune as soon as the expiration of his official term should expose him to such a proceeding.

In this emergency *Tiberius* determined to offer himself for reelection; for by that means the tribunal office would secure him against arrest or molestation. In order to strengthen his cause with the people, he announced several measures of great importance as a part of his policy for the future. Among these were statutes limiting the term of military service, conferring upon the knights the right of sitting upon juries, extending the appeal to civil as well as criminal causes, and admitting the Italian allies to full citizenship. These were the issues involved in the election. The day for voting was set in the busy season of summer, in order to prevent a concourse of the people. But the public excitement ran high, and another expedient had to be adopted. On the day of election the nobles interdicted the voting with the legal objection that it was unlawful to elect a tribune as his own successor.

The partisans hereupon engaged in a violent dispute, and the assembly was adjourned to meet on the following day. Promptly on the next morning the people gathered in a great throng on the Capitoline Hill. The friends and the enemies of *Tiberius* again confronted each other, and a violent riot was threatened. It was whispered through the ranks of the popular party that the Optimates had made a plan to destroy the life of *Tiberius*; while the adherents of the aristocracy were told that the tribune, by raising his hand to his head, had signified his ambition to be crowned.

While this tumult was surging angrily in the open space before the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, the Senate was holding a session near by in the temple of *Fides*. In that body *Scipio Nascia* addressed the consul, and demanded that the ambitious *Tiberius* be at once put down by force. *Scevola* replied that he would not undertake the death of any citizen who had not been condemned according to law, but that if the tribune should obtain the passage of measures by the assembly contrary

to the constitution, he would refuse to sanction the act. On this conservative declaration, *Scipio* arose, denounced the consul as a traitor to the cause of the Senate, and demanded that all who would aid in saving the Republic should follow. A large company of senators thereupon rushed forth from the hall, armed themselves as they might, and fell upon the popular assembly. The latter gave way at their approach, and *Tiberius*, being left undefended, was beaten to death with staves. About three hundred others were likewise killed, and their bodies cast into the *Tiber*.

Thus by violence was destroyed the leader of the people. So great, however, was his influence that the senatorial body was obliged to stand back from the results of the bloody deed. The aristocracy did not dare to attempt the legal abrogation of the Agrarian law which had been revived by *Tiberius*. The Senate itself divided on the question at issue, and the party favorable to the recent legislation gained a majority even in that venerable conclave of the privileged order. *Scipio Nascia*, in order to save his life, was obliged to be sent on a mission to Asia, and never saw his country more.

In the mean time *Scipio Æmilianus* returned from Spain, and became involved in the political troubles of the state. At length he ventured, in the popular assembly, to justify the assassination of *Tiberius*, and thenceforth became an object of distrust and aversion of the people. Being a soldier, he braved the tumult, and, addressing the assembly, said: "Ye step-sons of Italy, cease your clamor! Do ye think by your noise to frighten me, accustomed to the terrors of battle?"

Those who had been deprived of their lands now found in *Scipio* a champion of their cause. A resolution was adopted by the Senate transferring the authority of the land commissioners to the consuls of the Republic; but the latter, fearing to assume such a trust, found opportunity to escape therefrom by going into foreign parts. The law was thus, for the time, left unexecuted, and no further distributions of land were made. The wrath of the *Populares* was now directed in full force against *Scipio*. The meetings in the Forum and

Senate were characterized by great violence. There were not wanting those who cried, "Down with the tyrant!" meaning Æmilianus. At length, after a day of great commotion, Scipio was found dead in his bed; nor was the suspicion absent that he had been assassinated. The great general was buried with such honors as his distinguished services to his country so well merited. His funeral oration was delivered by Caius Lælius; and even his political enemies, notably the censor Metellus, paid reverence to the departed shade of greatness.

The lull, however, was but temporary. The disappearance of Scipio from the stage was a signal liberation of all those forces which had been held in restraint by his influence. A new question of the enfranchisement of the Italian allies was added to the land agitation. The inhabitants of the Latin cities crowded into the assemblies at Rome, and became a powerful faction in alliance with the oligarchy; for the revival of the Licinian Law by Tiberius had worked a great hardship to the Latins by dispossessing them of their lands. It was not long, however, until the people of the Italian towns were won over to their natural affiliation with the popular party. The break between them and the nobility was hopeless, and an edict was passed by the Senate requiring all aliens to retire from Rome.

In B. C. 125 the people's party succeeded in carrying the election. FULVIUS FLACCUS was chosen to the consulship. Espousing the cause of the Italian allies, he brought forward a law conferring upon them the rights of citizenship, including the privilege of voting in the popular assemblies; but before the measure could be passed the Senate dispatched him on a foreign mission. That body had also taken the precaution to send away young CAIUS GRACCHUS, brother of Tiberius, to perform the duties of quaestor in Spain. By these means the popular party was deprived of its leaders, and the Optimates left free to pursue their own course without serious opposition. The Latin towns had the mortification of seeing the bill for their enfranchisement defeated, and themselves left naked to the mercy of existing laws. One of them, the colony of Fragelke, raised

the standard of revolt, but was quickly overpowered and ruined for its rashness. The town was destroyed, and the inhabitants scattered into other districts.

In B. C. 123 Caius Gracchus returned from Spain, and was elected tribune of the people. The aristocracy feared him, not less for the magic of his name than for his extraordinary natural abilities. The political views of the new tribune were more radical than those of his brother. In order to prepare the way for the reforms which he intended to champion, he first procured the passage of a measure rendering incapable of holding office any person who had been deposed by the people. The object was to prevent a recurrence of such backsets to his legislation as had been given to the work of his brother by the factious veto of Octavius. His next measure was a revival and extension of the Porcian Law, by which capital punishment in the case of Roman citizens was abolished. These preparatory steps cleared the way for the introduction by Gracchus of the six great statutes, henceforth known as the SEMPRONIAN LAWS.

The first of the new measures had respect to the distribution of grain. It provided that the tithes of corn hereafter to be collected from the provinces should be sold at a low price to the people of Rome. By this means it was hoped to prevent the further gratuitous distributions made by the nobility for the purpose of maintaining their own ascendancy over the proletarians. The second law was specifically directed to the administration of affairs in Asia. It embraced such modifications in existing laws as would enable the provincials of the East to collect their own revenues and pay their own taxes to the government without the interference of the Roman extortioners and tax-gatherers. The third statute stipulated that the provisions of the Licinian Law should be extended into the provinces as well as the Italian states, and that the distribution of lands should be restored to the commissioners appointed in the tribunate of Tiberius. The fourth act provided that soldiers should not be enlisted before reaching the age of seventeen, and that the military outfit should be furnished by the state. The fifth enactment

opened the judicial offices to the knights as well as the senators; and the sixth provided that the assignment of the provinces—hitherto made to favorites by the Senate—should be so restricted as to prevent the corruption previously attending the appointments. All of these laws were carried in the assembly, and Caius Gracchus himself undertook their enforcement.

In the following year the great tribune was reelected, and the radical measures of his administration were enlarged by further enactments. The movement for popular reform, however, now began to degenerate into fanaticism. MARCUS LIVIUS DRUSUS, one of Caius's colleagues, outstripped him in the race for popular favor, and new laws were proposed at once revolutionary and impractical. A reaction set in, and in the third year Caius failed of a reelection. At the same time his personal enemy, LUCIUS OPTIMIUS, was raised to the consulship. It was evident that the career of Gracchus was at an end. Optimus at once brought forward a resolution for the repeal of the Sempronian Laws, and the bill came before the assembly of the people. There was another great tumult similar to that in which Tiberius lost his life. Caius appeared in the Forum and attempted to address the people. This was declared to be an interruption of the assembly then in session elsewhere. Meanwhile, in that body, one of the friends of Gracchus was struck down, and the assembly was dissolved. The partisans withdrew to their own quarters, and civil war broke out in the city. Caius was pursued across the Tiber and was slain by one of his slaves, who then killed himself on his master's body. Fulvius was also killed, with three thousand of his adherents. Their property was confiscated, and out of the spoils was erected the temple of Concord, in commemoration of the forcible restoration of peace. The judgment of after times was divided respecting the character of the Gracchi, the nobles and magnates denouncing them as factious demagogues and destroyers of the Roman constitution, and the popular party praising them as the champions of liberty.

Whatever might be the merits of the respective parties to the recent contest, certain

it is that the oligarchy was now triumphant. How rapidly and to what extent they would proceed to undo the legislation of the popular party was only a question of time and political prudence. One by one the provisions of the Sempronian Laws were abrogated. One by one the annulled privileges of the senatorial order were restored. The same conditions of corruption and bad government which had more than once brought the state to the verge of ruin came back in full force, and Italy again lay weltering.

While the Roman oligarchy, thus restored to authority, was holding on its way, one of those events occurred which, rising above the wills of men and parties, accomplish the general ends of history. This was the rebellion of JUGURTHA in Africa. It will be readily called to mind that after the destruction of Carthage, a large part of the kingdom was assigned to Masinissa, the ally of the Romans. This prince on his death left three sons to inherit his dominions—Micipsa, Gulussa, and Mastanabal. Numidia was accordingly divided among the three. It was not long, however, until Gulussa and Mastanabal died, leaving Micipsa sole ruler of the kingdom. This monarch had two sons, Hiempsal and Adherbal, and with them he reared Jugurtha, a natural son of Mastanabal. Jugurtha had genius. He was sent by his uncle with the Numidian troops to aid the Romans in the Numantine war. There he made the acquaintance of the principal men in the consular army, and became familiar with Roman manners and principles. Before his return to Africa, he was instigated to destroy the reigning family and seize the crown for himself. Micipsa, meanwhile, died and left the kingdom to his two sons. Jugurtha soon procured the murder of Hiempsal and divided the realm between Adherbal and himself—taking the better portion for his own. Presently he made war on Adherbal, besieged him in Cirta, captured him, put him to death with torture. Among those who were executed were a number of Italian merchants. At this the Romans were incensed, and war was declared by the Senate against Jugurtha.

In the year B. C. 111, the consul LUCIUS

CALPURNIUS BESTIA was sent with an army to Africa to punish the crime of the Numidian prince. But Jugurtha had learned with what kind of weapons he should contend in a war with Rome. He bribed Calpurnius and the legates who accompanied them, and induced

bounds. The tribune **MEMMIUS** carried a resolution to the effect that Jugurtha should come to Rome and divulge the methods which he had used to procure the treaty. The king came, and was about to speak when he was prevented by the veto of the tribune **BÆVIUS**,



FLIGHT OF CAIUS GRACCHUS.

them to make a treaty of peace which by its own terms was to be final; that is, not dependent on ratification by the Senate and people. As for Numidia, it was granted to Jugurtha as the friend and ally of the Romans.

Of course, this astounding piece of business was straightway canceled by the Senate. The wrath of the popular assembly knew no

whom he had just bribed to do that very thing. Meanwhile Massivo, the son of Gulussa, arrived in the city, and preferred before the Senate his claim to be king of Numidia. Jugurtha hired some assassins to kill him. He then made his own escape from Rome, and looking back exclaimed, "O venal city, about to perish if it can find a buyer!"

In the following year (B. C. 110) the war was continued by the consul ALBINUS; but his campaign—whether serious or feigned—had no success. Nor did the consul AULUS, who succeeded him, attain any better results. Rather worse; for he and his army were ensnared by Jugurtha and miserably subjugated. The Roman people, unused for a long time to being baffled, much less defeated, were now thoroughly aroused. QUINTUS CÆCILIUS METELLUS was sent to Africa in B. C. 109, taking with him as *legati* CAIUS MARIUS and PUBLIUS RECTILIUS RUFUS. A new order of things was now introduced. The army was at once brought to discipline, and Jugurtha found that a different style of procedure would have to be adopted. The Roman army advanced from town to town, and the Numidians were everywhere defeated. Jugurtha was obliged to fly for his life and seek protection with Bocchus, king of Mauritania. Metellus, however, was superseded and returned to Rome, and the completion of the war was intrusted to his lieutenant, Caius Marius, who was destined henceforth to bear so conspicuous a part in the history of his country.

Marius was born in B. C. 157, at the Latin town of Arpinum. The district of country was rude and the people uncultured. Marius himself was illiterate and of savage manners. His tastes from boyhood led him to the bivouac and battle-field. His first public office was the tribunate, conferred in B. C. 119, though previous to that time he had distinguished himself as a soldier. His next distinction was his election to the prætorship, which occurred in B. C. 115. Soon afterwards he went with Metellus to Africa. Here his unconquerable will and dauntless courage found opportunity to display themselves in full force. His constitution was of so rugged a mould as to enable him to endure all manner of hardships. He was a commoner even in the camp. He shared the lot of the common soldiers, and sought no distinction except what arose from endurance and contempt of danger.

From an early age Marius aspired to the consulship. He even while serving as a subordinate made application to Metellus for the privilege of returning to Rome and offering

himself for the highest office in the gift of the Roman people. Metellus is said to have replied contemptuously: "You need not be in such a hurry; it will be time enough for you to apply for the consulship with my son"—the latter being a youth who still lacked twenty years of eligibility. But Marius was not to be put off with an insulting answer. He more assiduously than ever cultivated the good-will of the soldiers and bided the time that should bring him to the goal. A few days before the next election he obtained a reluctant leave of absence and sailed for Rome. On arriving there he was elected consul, and as such was intrusted with the conduct of the war in Africa. It was thus that a *novus homo* was assigned to the unfinished task of Metellus.

Marius at once renewed the war with Jugurtha. The cause of the latter had meanwhile been espoused by Bocchus, king of Mauritania. Their combined armies were defeated in two decisive engagements. In B. C. 106 Bocchus was detached from the alliance, and made his peace with the Romans. Jugurtha also surrendered, and the war was at an end. The captive king was taken to Rome to grace the triumph of the consul, and was then thrown into prison, where he died in a few days.¹ The western part of his dominions was detached and given to Bocchus, and the remainder was assigned to Gauda, a descendant of Masinissa.

Thus far in her history Rome had had few relations with the countries of the North. She had taken the precaution to establish Eporedia and Aquileia as outposts in Cisalpine Gaul, to keep the passage of the Alps. Meanwhile a great thoroughfare, called the DOMITIAN WAY, had been built from the Rhone to the Pyrenees, thus connecting the home government with the Spanish provinces. As for the rest of the peoples beyond the Alps, they were left unmolested.

It remained for the Cimbri, a Teutonic tribe, to force upon the attention of the Roman

¹ It is related that when Jugurtha was turned aside from the procession and led into the dungeon of the Mamertine he touched the cold damp walls, and exclaimed: "By Hercules! they have cold stoves in Rome!"

Republic the danger which might be apprehended from the Transalpine nations. This people came southward as far as Noricum, in the neighborhood of Aquileia, and there defeated the army of PAPIRIUS CARBO. The Cimbri, however, instead of following up their advantage and invading Italy, crossed the Jura Mountains to the west. In this region they persuaded other tribes to join them in their hostilities to the Romans. In B. C. 109 the consul JUNIUS SILANUS was defeated by the barbarians, and two years afterwards a second consular army, under command of LUCIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS, was almost annihilated by the same tribes. The town of Tolosa then rose in revolt, but was retaken by the consul and despoiled of its treasures. In B. C. 105 the Cimbri began to retrace their course, with the evident purpose of carrying the war into Italy. At the fords of the Rhone they were met by three Roman armies. These were, each in its turn, disastrously defeated. For the moment it appeared that Rome was once more at the mercy of the Gauls, as she had been in the days of Brennus. This peril of the country, as was believed, had been brought about by the incompetency of the oligarchy which now swayed the destinies of the state, and popular fury broke forth against the aristocrats and their adherents. A second time, however, the danger of invasion was averted by the action of the Cimbri themselves, who, instead of pouring into Italy, turned aside into Spain.

During his absence in settling affairs after the overthrow of Jugurtha, Marius was re-elected consul. Such an action was a double violation of the law; for the statute required the candidate for the consulship to be personally present in the city, and also forbade his reelection until after the lapse of ten years. On the very day of the celebration of his triumph over the king of Numidia he entered upon his second term of office, and began immediate preparations for repelling the invasion of the Gauls. To him the people now looked with entire confidence, as to one who had both the will and the ability to see that the Republic should receive no harm. The movement of the Cimbri into Spain removed the immediate danger of invasion, and Marius availed

himself of the respite to construct a canal from the Rhone to the sea, thus opening a better line of communication.

In the mean time the Cimbri, having satisfied themselves with predatory excursions into the northern districts of Spain, returned into Gaul, gathered other nations to their standard, and again bore down on Italy. In doing so, however, the barbarian army divided into two. One division crossed the Rhone with the purpose of reaching Italy through the Eastern Alps, while the other marched against Marius, who was then encamped on the Rhone, with a view of entering Etruria by the passes of the Maritime Alps. The consul had taken his position so as to command both of the western routes into Italy. On came the barbarians, under the lead of their great warrior Teutoboch, and made a fierce assault upon the entrenched camp of the Romans; but the place could not be carried by mere ferocity; and the Teutones were obliged to file past the consular army without bringing it to a general engagement. This movement occupied six days, so great was the host, and was not interrupted by Marius. The barbarians, believing that the Romans were afraid to give battle, taunted and derided them as they passed, inquiring if they had any messages which they wished to send to their wives!

As soon as the Germanic horde were well en route for Italy, Marius broke up his camp and pursued them. At AQUÆ SEXTILÆ he overtook the enemy and offered battle, which was eagerly accepted. A dreadful conflict ensued, in which the discipline and valor of the Roman legions finally gave them the victory over the brute force and personal prowess of the German warriors. They were completely routed and dispersed. The tremendous Teutoboch was taken, brought into the presence of Marius, and reserved for the triumph. While the consul was about to apply the torch to an immense pile of spoils and arms, which could not be appropriated, word was brought to him that in the election just held at the capital he had been, for the fifth time, chosen to the consulship.

In this same year (B. C. 101), the other division of the barbarian army had beaten

back QUINTUS LUTATIUS CATULUS from the Brenner pass of the Alps, and made its way into the valley of the Po. In the mean time Marius had proceeded to Rome, and was there offered a triumph; but he declined the honor on the ground that the Cimbri had not yet been subdued. As soon as practicable he proceeded to the north and joined his forces with those of Catulus. After crossing the Po, the consul made offer of battle to the enemy, but

gained his first victory after entering Italy. As in the previous engagement, the Romans were victorious; the barbarian host was overthrown and dispersed. Only a few of the vast horde escaped. Those who survived the carnage of the battle were reserved for the slave market of Rome.

Now it was that Marius accepted of a double triumph. His name was associated by the multitude with those of Romulus and Ca-



THE CAPTURE OF TEUTOBOCH.

Drawn by H. Leutemann.

the Cimbri, made cautious by the annihilation of their countrymen, seemed unwilling to stake all on the hazard of an engagement. They accordingly entered upon negotiations, and sent an embassy to Marius, requesting the privilege of settling on the lands of Cisalpine Gaul; but the consul sternly answered that the Teutones had their possessions on the other side of the Alps, and that there they should remain. A battle was then fought at VERCELLÆ, on the same field where Hannibal had

millus as the third founder of the city. *Novus homo* as he was, he overtopped the whole aristocracy as the burly oak looks down on the forest of saplings. Nor was his fame undeserved by great achievement. He had protected the Republic from foreign violence. The civil questions which now confronted his administration were not less serious than the craft of Jugurtha or the recent menace of barbarism. In the course of the late wars it had been found in making drafts upon the

provinces for contingents of troops that they had none to give. The reason was that the Roman publicans of the frontiers, in the character of kidnapers, had sold nearly the whole class eligible for service into slavery. The abuse had become so outrageous as to be no longer endured. A decree was accordingly passed that every native freeman of a country in alliance with Rome, who might now be held in servitude, should be liberated and permitted to return to his own country. Multitudes at once applied for manumission. Most of them were the property of the Roman knights. Of course, it was not to be expected that the masters would quietly surrender the means by which they cultivated their estates. So the law could not be enforced, and the servile race were doomed to the bitter disappointment of seeing a freedom which they could not taste. A slave insurrection broke out on every hand.

In Sicily the insurgents found two able leaders in SALVIUS and ATHENION. The former had commanded in the eastern, and the latter in the western part of the island. Both proved to be capable commanders. They drilled their troops according to the Roman tactics, and armed only those who were able to act as soldiers. The old mistake of Ennus in shutting himself in fortresses where he could be besieged and starved into submission was now avoided, the slave army keeping to the open country. During the progress of the war with the Cimbri, the Romans were three times defeated by the rebel serfs; but after the victory of Marius at Vercellæ, the consul MARIUS AQUILIUS was in B. C. 101, sent against them and they were finally subjugated. This result, however, was not reached until after two years of war and a vast deal of bloodshed. The slaves who were taken were either destroyed, resold into bondage, or sent to fight with wild beasts in the Roman amphitheaters. Those who were assigned to the latter fate defeated the purpose of them who thought to witness their struggles by taking one another's lives.

Such was the desperate condition of affairs in Roman society, precipitated as it had been by the selfishness of that oligarchy whom the gods, wishing to destroy, had first made mad.

To Marius, now in the full tide of his renown, the people looked as to a deliverer. Strongly imbued with respect for the constitution and the laws he avoided the short road to reform which would have been by way of a military despotism on the ruins of the aristocracy, and undertook by constitutional means to bring order out of chaos. For this work he was incompetent. He had neither learning nor experience in civil affairs, and was not even well versed in the history of his country. So the sincere, honest, savage old man fell into the hands of the politicians and demagogues of Rome.

Two of the latter—named LUCIUS APPULEIUS SATURNINUS and CAIUS SERVILIUS GLAUCIA—obtained a great ascendancy over the mind of Marius. They were both ambitious and unprincipled leaders who had their own ends to subserve at the expense of the state. Through their agency Marius—assisted by his own overwhelming popularity—was elected to the consulship for the sixth time, and at the same election the prætorship fell to Glaucia. Saturninus, who desired to be tribune, was defeated; but AULUS NONIUS, his successful opponent, was presently set upon and killed by a band of the veterans of Marius. The office was then assumed by Saturninus.

Two new laws were now brought forward by the tribune. The first provided for the revival of one of the statutes of Caius Gracchus, by which the public grain should be sold at a nominal price to the people; and the second, that the lands lately held by the Cimbri in Cisalpine Gaul should be parceled out to Italian and Roman citizens, thus providing a vent for the ever-accumulating forces of the capital. These measures were opposed to the bitterest extreme by the alarmed and angered oligarchy. There were several disgraceful riots, but the satellites of the nobility stood in dread of the old soldiers of Marius, who now thronged the city, and the proposed laws were adopted. The senators were thereupon summoned by the tribune Saturninus to take an oath to support the new statutes.

Now it was that Marius found himself embroiled between the conflicting parties. In order to extricate himself from his embarrassing

situation he adopted a course less sincere and open than that which had marked his previous career. He came to understand the essential unsoundness of those to whom he had committed himself, and yet as profoundly as ever distrusted the Senate and the whole aristocracy. He at first declined to take the oath required by the tribune, but afterwards did so with some reservations. The senator, Metellus, refused outright to subscribe the obligation, and his adherents took up arms to defend him, but he declined their services and went into exile. Marius kept away from the violent scenes of these days, and helplessly contemplated the disorders of the state. In the ensuing election Saturninus was again chosen tribune; but when Glaucia was about to be beaten for the consulship by Caius Memmius he hired some assassins to attack and kill his opponent in the streets. The crime was so notorious and outrageous that Glaucia found no defense. Marius took command of a body of soldiers, fell upon Saturninus and Glaucia, and they were both killed, the latter in a private house and the former in one of the chambers of the Senate, where he had taken refuge.

By this time the influence of Marius was well-nigh broken down. The senators hated him as of old, and the people turned from him for his refusal to support their unprincipled leaders. An African soothsayer had predicted that Marius should be seven times consul. He was now in his sixth term; but the seventh seemed at a great distance. The question of the return of Metellus was agitated, and Marius, foreseeing his own downfall, left the city on the pretext of performing vows in Asia Minor. It appears, however, that his real purpose in going to the East was to regain by some adventurous enterprise of war his waning ascendancy over the minds of the Roman people. The relations at present existing between the Senate and MITHRIDATES, king of Pontus, promised an early outbreak of hostilities, and Marius hoped to find therein a more congenial exercise for the baffled forces of his nature. With his retiracy from Rome the reaction gathered head and broke forth into all the channels of political life.

It is proper at this point in the narrative to

consider briefly the causes which led to the outbreak of the SOCIAL WAR. The Latins had never yet obtained the rights of citizenship. Measures to secure such an end had been frequently adopted, only to be defeated in their application and results. For thirty years the hope of full rights had been hung before the Latin subjects of Rome, only to be lifted like the mirage. The oppressions to which these people were subjected were intolerable. The Roman magistracy sat astride of their necks, booted and spurred, and the cruel whip of injustice was applied without mercy. Even the public officers of the Latin towns might be beaten like dogs at the dictation of the consul. A Roman citizen was carried on a litter through Venusia. A freeman not without wit said to those who bore it: "Are you carrying a *dead man* on that litter?" Thereupon the supposititious dead arose and made a real dead man out of the wit. The grandee had been insulted. And there was no punishment for the murder. Still the Latin allies hoped for citizenship. When, after the departure of Marius for the East, the senatorial party regained full sway, the two consuls, LICINIUS and MUCIUS SCÆVOLA, succeeded in carrying a law by which every person not a citizen who should advance a claim to be a citizen should be severely punished. The measure was leveled directly against the Italians, whose claims to the freedom and franchise of Romans were thus choked in the very utterance or suggestion of a right.

The measure was resisted by the allies. When the knights were disposed to espouse the cause of the Latins, the Senate undertook to deprive the Equites of the judicial offices to which they were entitled. It came to pass that neither could a knight obtain justice before a tribunal of senators, nor could a senator maintain his rights before a bar where the Equestrians were in a majority.

In its attack upon the judicial power of the knights the Senate committed the management of the cause to MARCUS LIVIUS DRUSUS. The propositions which he as tribune of the people brought before the assembly were that colonies should be established in Italy and Sicily to relieve the distress of the poor, that three

hundred new senators should be chosen from the Equites, and that jurymen or judges should henceforth be chosen from the body thus enlarged. The measures were met with plausible objections. It was said that there were no more lands in Italy and Sicily to be colonized. The Senators resented the proposal to dilute their dignity by the addition of three hundred new members, and the knights were too shrewd to be deceived by the bait which dangled before them. Nevertheless the measures of Drusus were supported by many of the best men of the state, who were willing, in the desperate condition of the Republic, to accept almost any plan which seemed to promise relief.

In the midst of great political agitation the laws proposed by the tribune were carried. Other clauses of more doubtful expediency—such as the one providing for a distribution of corn, or that legalizing the plating of copper coins in imitation of silver—were added before the vote was taken; but all the provisions were included in one statute, so that, however objectionable certain parts might be, the whole had to be accepted or rejected together. So repugnant to the capitalists and traders were those enactments relating to the coinage that the consul PHILIPPUS induced the Senate to declare the laws of Drusus unconstitutional. Thus by their own act did the senators annul the legislation which, at least in its initial stages, had been leveled against the exclusive rights of the Equestrian order.

A crisis was now at hand. In about two months more Drusus must retire from the tribunate. It was necessary, therefore, that his measure for the enfranchisement of the Latins must be immediately carried, or else fail. The spirit of partisanship ran so high that civil war seemed imminent. Nevertheless, Drusus attempted to secure the passage of his bill of citizenship; but on the day before the meeting of the assembly to vote on the proposed enactment he was assassinated in his own house. He fell a victim to the merciless lust of capital, which, blind to its own true interest, would sooner glut itself to satiety than to secure perpetuity to the Republic by the loss of a few denarii.

The fall of Drusus, though it disconcerted, did not wholly paralyze the work which he had undertaken. His colleagues in the tribunate still supported his measures, and the Italians were called to the capital to aid in securing the right of franchise. The Marsians rose to the number of ten thousand men, and marched towards Rome; but they were met *en route* by ambassadors of the alarmed Senate, and were promised their rights if they would return. In many of the towns there were unmistakable symptoms of revolt. The Roman prætor, CAIUS SERVILIUS, learning that an insurrection was brewing in the Picenian town of Asculum, menaced the discontented people with threats of punishment. Thereupon they rose and put him to death. The other Romans who lived in Asculum were also killed. Then the flame of revolt broke out everywhere.

The rebellion had been carefully planned. All the details had been discussed. Rome was to be destroyed. The town of Corfinium, on the river Aternus, was, under the new name of Italica, to become the capital of regenerated Italy. The forms of the government that was to be were all determined. The Samnite language was to be revived, but Latin was to remain the medium of official intercourse. The rebels were well armed and disciplined according to the Roman tactics. The day of the judgment of battle was at hand.

The peril of the state evoked a certain measure of the old spirit of the Romans. Marius offered his services to his country, as did also LUCIUS SULLA and PUBLIUS SULPICIUS. In a short time an army of one hundred thousand men was at the disposal of the consuls, while the forces of the Latins were fully equal in numbers and discipline. Hostilities began in the year B. C. 90, and continued with varying successes through several campaigns. The principal fields of operation were in the region between Picenum and Campania and in Samnium. At the first onset the results were rather favorable to the insurgents, but in the next two campaigns the Romans gained several victories. It appeared that the insurrection would soon be suppressed and peace restored by force; but Rome had at last discovered in the struggle the elements of a conflict

which was likely to be renewed to her own destruction, and was for this reason willing to bring about a settlement on a basis satisfactory to the Latin towns. As early as the close of the first year of the war, B. C. 90, a series of legislative acts were brought forward with a view of pacifying the insurgents and bringing about a peace. The measures were precipitated by a threatened insurrection in Umbria and Etruria, and at a time when it was evident that Rome must either effect a settlement or engage in a war with all Italy. The concessions now proposed embraced two clauses. The first, known as the JULIAN LAW, granted enfranchisement to all Latins who had remained loyal to Rome, or who should now, by surrendering, renew their allegiance. The new citizens now to be recognized as a factor in the state, were to be divided into eight tribes. The second, known as the PAPIRIAN LAW, extended the rights of citizenship to all Italians who, being now resident in Italy, should, within sixty days, register their names with the prætor of the Republic.

As soon as these concessions were made known to the insurgent states, the revolt began to crumble. Rome had virtually conceded the very thing for which the Latins and Italians were contending, and most of the rebels were willing to accept the present offer rather than contend for more. The town of Nola, in Samnium, however, still refused to surrender, and Southern Italy, remained, to a considerable extent, in the power of the insurgent armies.

In the mean time, however, events had occurred at Rome which changed the whole current of affairs, and influenced the subsequent history of the state. When Drusus was killed and his legislation overthrown, a demagogue named QUINTUS VARIUS, obtained a brief ascendancy, and incited the leaders of the aristocratic party to prosecute all those who had favored the laws of Drusus. Many of the best citizens of Rome were brought before the equestrian tribunals and condemned to exile. Æmilius Scaurus was arrested and tried, but his popularity was so great as to secure his acquittal. These persecutions soon brought about a reaction, which led to the adoption

of a statute, proposed by the tribune PLANTIUS SILVANUS, by which the appointment of the judicial officers was taken from the control of the knights, and intrusted to the assembly of the tribes. The convictions ceased or were turned against those who had been the authors of the late proceedings, several of whom, including Varius himself, were sent into banishment.

The concessions made to the Latins and Italians proved to be less salutary than was expected. The legislation had been contrived with the usual cunning which marked the acts of the Roman Senate. The eight new tribes were set last on the list, so that if twenty-two of the thirty-five old tribes should vote for a given measure, the recent citizens were not called at all. Moreover, the voting-place was still in Rome, and to the allies an election involved a trip to the capital. Some would thus be obliged to come from the valley of the Po, and others from the peninsula of Bruttium. These considerations led to much dissatisfaction among the allies, who perceived in the concessions another example of how the Roman Senate, appearing to concede, conceded not at all. In the third year of the war (B. C. 88) it became necessary to make a formal declaration against Mithridates, king of Pontus. Such a step was attended with unusual embarrassments. The treasury of Rome had been drained to meet the expenses of the servile and social wars, and it was found necessary to sell the land in front of the capital in order to raise funds for a new consular army.

A financial crisis was precipitated upon the country. The capitalists of the city, many of whom were themselves deeply in debt, were cut off from their revenues in the East, and became bankrupt. Meanwhile the debtors added to the general distress by reviving the Gennecian Law, by which they were empowered to collect from those who had charged them usurious rates of interest fourfold the amount which they had paid above the legal rate. This led to an insurrection of the creditors, who assembled in the forum and killed the prætor, AULUS SEMPRONIUS ASELLIO, through whose influence the old law had been revived.

As already said, it became necessary to

press with vigor the war against Mithridates. By a series of aggressions in Asia Minor, most of which were directed against the allies of Rome, this ambitious king had compelled the Senate to make a vigorous opposition against him, or else abandon Asia Minor to his sway. In B. C. 88, Mithridates expelled from their dominions the kings of Cappadocia and Bithynia, and in spite of the Roman armies in the country, overran nearly the whole of the province of Asia. In the course of these campaigns, he is said to have ordered the massacre of at least eighty thousand Roman subjects, and for a while it appeared doubtful whether a vestige of the authority of the Senate would be left in the country beyond the *Ægean*.

In the choice of a general to command in the Mithridatic war, the lot fell to LUCIUS CORNELIUS SULLA, now one of the consuls of the Republic. This remarkable character, whom Byron has designated as the "man-slayer," and described as "the most lucky among mortals anywhere," is one of the most unique figures in Roman history. He was born of an aristocratic lineage, in B. C. 138, and lived to the age of sixty. His first public service was in the Jugurthine war, in which he served as a *quæstor* in the army of Marius. He remained with that austere commander during the times of the Cimbric invasion, and in B. C. 103 was elected military tribune. From this time forth he became the rival of Marius, becoming the leader of the Optimate party, as Marius was of the old savage republicanism of uncultured Rome. The feud between the two chieftains was for awhile allayed by the common perils of the social war. With the outbreak of the troubles in the East, both desired the command against Mithridates; but the rising renown of Sulla, and the advanced age of Marius—which circumstances had already raised the former to the consulship—led to the choice of the Sulla to command in the hazardous enterprise of recovering Asia Minor.

Great was the chagrin of Marius. The slumbers of his old age were disturbed with fierce jealousy. He left his home at Misenum, and encamped with the young soldiers who were drilling in the *Campus Martius*. In or-

der to heighten his popularity, he exerted himself to secure, through the tribune PUBLIUS SULPICIUS, the introduction of a new statute in favor of the Italians. The measures so proposed were three in number: First, that the citizens recently enfranchised and assigned to the eight new tribes should now be redistributed among the tribes already existing; second, that all who had been condemned to exile in the time of the Varian prosecutions should be recalled; and third, that every senator who owned more than two thousand *denarii* should lose his seat in the Senate. In order to prevent the passage of these radical laws, Sulla, who was now preparing for his eastern campaign, hastened from Nola to Rome, and declared all the remaining days of the year to be holidays, for on a holiday no law could be legally adopted. Sulpicius, however, with the support of Marius, raised a force, and drove Sulla from the city. A resolution was then adopted by the assembly transferring to Marius the command of the Mithridatic expedition. But when two military tribunes were sent to the camp at Nola to assume command of the army, they were killed by Sulla's soldiers, who demanded to be led against the capital. Sulla was by no means loath to give a favorable answer to their clamor. With six legions he left the camp at Nola, marched to Rome, expelled Marius and Sulpicius, encamped his army in the city, and summoned the Senate.¹ A resolution was adopted by which Marius and his supporters were declared public enemies; but the old republican succeeded in making his escape. Sulpicius was captured and put to death.

In order to secure the ground thus gained, the laws passed during the tribunate of Sulpicius were revoked, and three new measures adopted, with a view to the restoration of the ancient prerogatives of the Senate. The first of these laws was a provision limiting the power of the tribunes of the people, and requiring every legislative proposition to be first submitted to the Senate, as was the usage before the passage of the Hortensian Law. The

¹ This was the first occasion in the history of Rome on which an army had been encamped within the city walls.

second provision revived the old Servian Law for voting in the *comitia centuriata*; while the third enactment provided for filling vacant seats in the Senate by the election of three hundred new members, all to be chosen from the Optimates. As a sop for the poor, some clauses were added for the establishment of colonies, and the reduction of the rate of interest. Having remained in Rome until after the election of B. C. 87, in which CNEIUS OCTAVIUS and CORNELIUS CINNA—both Optimates—were chosen consuls, Sulla extorted a promise from the new officers that the new law should be faithfully executed, and then left Italy to prosecute the war with Mithridates.

After a perilous escape from Rome the aged Marius made his way to Ostia and took ship for Africa; but the vessel was presently driven ashore near the Circeian headland. Here he was left to perish, but found a temporary refuge in a fisherman's hut. Afterwards he fled into the swamps of Minturnæ, and sank himself up to his throat in a quagmire. Here his pursuers overtook him, dragged him from the marsh, and before the magistrates, by whom he was condemned to death; for a great reward had been offered for his head. He was accordingly pitched into a dark dungeon, and a Cimbric slave was sent to dispatch him. But when he entered the prison and met the unquenchable gleam of the savage veteran's eyes glaring at him out of the darkness, he quailed before the apparition and could not perform his task. "Durst thou kill Caius Marius?" said a steady and solemn voice out of the gloom, and the slave fled, repeating to those who sent him, "I can not kill Caius Marius."

The magistrates were also seized with a spell, and said one to another, "Let him go and find his fate in some foreign land, lest the gods who preside over Roman hospitality should smite us for our crime." The exile then escaped to the island of Æniria, where he was joined by some friends, and thence made his way to Africa. On reaching the site of Carthage a messenger came to him from the prætor SEXTILIUS, bringing a warning not to land in the country under penalty of death. Then it was that he who had been six times consul of Rome made to the envoy the celebrated an-

swer: "Go and tell the prætor that you have seen Caius Marius sitting among the ruins of Carthage." He, however, obeyed the warning, and sailed away with his son to the island of Cercina.

Meanwhile in Rome there remained a strong party favorable to the Marian cause. Shortly after the departure of Sulla the tribunes of the people, led by the consul Cinna, brought forward a measure looking to the enrollment of the enfranchised Italians among the thirty-five tribes, and the recall of those who had been banished. The other consul, Cneius Octavius, at the head of the senatorial party opposed the measure with great violence, and civil war broke out in the city. The riot grew to such frightful proportions that ten thousand people were killed. The party of Octavius gained the day, and Cinna, with his following, fled from the city. Making his way into Campania he gained over a portion of the army posted there, and marched on Rome. Marius, who was watching from afar, returned in haste to Italy, captured Ostia, and effected a junction with Cinna. Meanwhile the Senate had summoned home Pompeius from Gaul and Metellus from Samnium. With the troops commanded by these generals, an effort was made to regain what was lost; but the larger part of the soldiers were in sympathy with the Marian party, and the Senate was obliged to recognize Cinna as consul. Marius himself refused to enter Rome until the sentence of outlawry should be revoked. When this was done the army marched through the gates, and a scene began such as Rome had never witnessed before. For five days massacre held a carnival in the streets. Distinguished men were cut down by hundreds. Octavius was murdered while sitting in his chair of office and wearing his consular robes. Generals and orators were slain in every quarter. When Cinna's vengeance was appeased that of Marius still demanded fresh butcheries. The truculent old man was now in the height of his glory. After he had glutted himself with blood he demanded and obtained the passage of an act by which Sulla was condemned and his property confiscated.

When in B. C. 87 the time for the election



MARIUS AMONG THE RUINS OF CARTHAGE.

Drawn by H. Vogel.

arrived, Cinna had himself and Marius proclaimed consuls without the formality of a ballot. Thus was fulfilled the prophecy of the African soothsayer, who had predicted that Marius should be seven times consul of Rome. The end, however, was at hand. He whom the sword of the Cimbric slave had spared now perished on the sword of his own passion. Tormented with constant apprehension of his enemies, haunted by superstition, and finding no further vent for his ferocity, he sought oblivion in drink. On the thirteenth day of his consulship he died, in the seventy-first year of his age. Cinna, however, continued to rule for two years longer. Without regard to the forms of law, he appointed LUCIUS VALERIUS FLACCUS to the consulship, and at the end of the term brought it about that himself and CNEIUS PAPIRIUS CARBO should be declared consuls for two years longer.

Let us now trace the career of Sulla. Early in B. C. 87 he landed with five legions in Epirus. On his way across the Hellenic peninsula he paused to capture Athens, which was sacked by his soldiers. Archelaüs, who had defended the city, made his escape and joined a second army sent by Mithridates into Greece, and now in Beotia. Sulla met his enemies on the field of CHERONEA, and inflicted on them a severe defeat. In the following year, B. C. 85, another battle was fought at ORCHOMENUS, in which the Romans were again victorious. In the mean time LUCIUS VALERIUS FLACCUS, who had been sent to the East to supersede Sulla in the command, landed in Greece with two legions, and used all his arts to induce a defection in the Roman army. But Sulla's soldiers adhered steadily to his cause, and Flaccus soon afterward lost his life in a mutiny of his own troops.

By this time the people of the provincial states of the East had had enough of Mithridates. They had found that Rome was the gentler master of the two. The Greeks openly expressed their preference for a restoration of Roman authority. The victories of Sulla conducted to the same result. The younger Mithridates was defeated near Pergamus by the Roman general Fimbria, who succeeded in capturing the city. The king became anxious

to save the wreck of his dominion by securing the best terms possible from his vanquisher. Sulla met Mithridates in B. C. 84, at the town of Dardanus, and there the terms of a settlement were dictated and accepted. The Pontic king was compelled to surrender all his conquests, to confine his claims to Pontus proper, to surrender his eighty ships of war, and to pay an indemnity of three thousand talents. Sulla then proceeded against Fimbria, who, being abandoned by his soldiers, fled to Pergamus and committed suicide. The conqueror then imposed a contribution of twenty talents upon the province of Asia, and the inhabitants of the country, in order to meet the requisition, were obliged to borrow the money from the Roman usurers at a ruinous rate of interest.

In B. C. 84 Sulla found himself in a situation to write a letter to the Senate, announcing the overthrow of Mithridates and the pacification of the East. The Marian party now held complete possession of Rome, and the news of Sulla's victory sounded a death-knell in their ears. The Senate sent ambassadors to Sulla, expressing their desire for peace; but the two consuls, Cinna and Carbo, knowing that a reconciliation was impossible, prepared for the worst. Cinna, at the head of a large force, set out for Greece, but on reaching Ancona a mutiny broke out among his soldiers, and he was killed. Nevertheless preparations continued, and before Sulla could reach Italy an army of two hundred thousand had been raised to resist him. His own forces numbered but forty thousand, but these were veterans who were devotedly attached to their leader. In the spring of B. C. 83 Sulla landed at Brundisium, and began his march on Rome. The consuls were armed with dictatorial powers, but nothing availed to stay his progress. Several of the leaders of the consular armies went over to his standard. He defeated the consul Norbanus at Mount Tifata, won over the troops of Scipio, blockaded Capua, and wintered in Campania.

Meanwhile NORBANUS and the younger CAIUS MARIUS—though the latter was not of legal age—were chosen consuls, and Sulla and his adherents were declared enemies of the Re-

public. In the spring of B. C. 82 the war was renewed, but Marius, in the first battle, fought at Sacriportus, was overwhelmingly defeated. At this the prætor, Damasippus, acting under the orders of Marius, put to death the leading Optimates in Rome and evacuated the city. Many eminent senators were murdered in their own seats in the chamber. Both of the ædiles and the pontifex maximus, Quintus Mucius Scævola, were murdered before the desperate Marians relaxed their grasp on Rome. Sulla soon entered the city without opposition, but presently set out to the North to join Metellus against the consul Carbo, who still commanded a large army in Etruria.

While these movements were taking place an unexpected turn was given to the tempestuous tides which were surging through Italy. The Samnites and Lucanians, still harboring the grudges of centuries, rose in revolt, and under their able leader, PONTIUS TELESINUS, marched first on Præneste and then on Rome. Pontius saw amid the distractions of the civil war a final opportunity of avenging the wrongs of centuries. To him the party of Marius and the party of Sulla were both alike, and he declared his purpose to avenge the wrongs of generations by destroying the lair "in which the Roman wolves had made their den"—meaning Rome.

The Samnite leader came near entering the city. Only the opportune arrival of Sulla, who, hearing of the peril, turned back from Etruria, prevented the catastrophe. As it was, Telesinus reached the Colline Gate, and was there confronted by the veterans. One of the fiercest battles ever fought in Italy ensued, and Sulla was on the point of suffering an overthrow; but he suddenly bethought him of the gods, and prayed to the Pythian Apollo. Then the tide turned, and the Samnites were utterly routed. Three thousand prisoners were taken into the Campus Martius and butchered. It was the end of the Samnite nation.

Then began the proscription. The scenes that ensued beggar description. Sulla, as the master of Rome, threw the reins to the Optimates and set them the example of destruction. The aim was to annihilate the Marian party. It was to be torn out root and branch.

To this end the relentless leader of Rome drew up a proscription list, which included not only those who had taken an active part in the recent struggle, but also the leading citizens and even prominent Italians at a distance from the city. A reward was offered for the heads of all the proscribed. Their estates were confiscated. None might offer them shelter. When the first list was exhausted another was prepared, and then another. All Italy was a scene of ever-recurring murder. Forty-seven thousand persons were butchered. The estates of those who were destroyed were put up at auction; but none dared to bid for the confiscated property except the known friends of Sulla. It became the order to kill men merely to secure their property. To have a villa was equivalent to a death-warrant. In many instances men were killed and their names added to the proscription list afterward. All these atrocities were sanctioned by the Senate, which body not only formally approved of all things done under Sulla's consulate, but proceeded to order an equestrian statue to be set up in the forum, inscribed to Lucius Cornelius Sulla, the *Happy* General.

The kindly consul next proceeded to revolutionize the government by a restoration of the ancient régime. All the old prerogatives of the Senate were restored to that body, and every popular feature which had been introduced into the political system of Rome was abrogated. It was one of those unreasoning, backward movements in the policy of states to which no amount of force or statecraft has ever been able to give permanency. Sulla was made dictator with unlimited powers to reorganize the Republic. He proceeded in the exercise of his authority to reduce the tribunes to a state of miserable dependency, and to close the office to all but members of the senatorial order. It was also enacted that the consulship, as of old, must follow the prætorship, and the prætorship succeed the quæstorship. The law forbidding the reelection of a consul was abrogated, and that requiring an interval of ten years between a first and second election was revived. The college of prætors was increased from six members to eight, and that of the quæstors from twelve to twenty.

Three hundred new members were elected to the Senate, all of them being from the equestrian order. The judges were now restricted to the senatorial rank, the college of the priests was made a close corporation with power to fill its own vacancies. The presidency of the criminal courts was assigned to the prætors, and a new order was established by which in the trial of civil causes a single judge should preside instead of a bench of jurymen. In addition to these measures, certain sumptuary laws were enacted by which the amount to be expended at banquets and funerals was limited.

In no part of this reactionary legislation were Sulla and his party doomed to greater disappointment than in his scheme of colonization. The confiscated lands of the Italians were for the most part bestowed on the veterans of the army, and the Optimates were so little skilled in the nature of man and the tendencies of the times as to suppose that these old soldiers whose lust of plunder and destruction had been gratified in so many campaigns, could now be converted into industrious citizens by the simple expedient of a colony. How dull and insipid to a centurion who had reveled in the excesses of the Mithridatic war, and afterward in the greater license of the civil conflict in Italy, must have appeared the apple trees and sheep on a farm in Picenum! The history of subsequent times soon reveals the fact that this old soldier element was the most inflammable and dangerous of all Italy.

Hitherto no one had held the office of dictator for a longer period than six months. Sulla kept his power for nearly three years, during which time the Roman Republic was absolutely at his disposal. Suddenly in B. C. 79, without previous notification of his intentions, he resigned his office and declared himself ready to render an account for his deeds. No one durst bring charges against him. He retired without molestation to his villa at Puteoli, and there began to take his rest. He zealously sought the pleasures of privacy, and allowed his mind to be distracted as little as possible with the affairs of the state. It was not in the nature of things, however, that his influence should at once cease to be felt either in Rome or the provinces. He was still em-

ployed as the arbiter of disputes, and was accustomed to render decisions in the same merciless way as when in public life. He busied himself in writing his autobiography, of which twenty-two books were completed. On the day before his death he had one of the quæstors strangled by his bedside for some act of official dishonesty. It was a fitting preliminary to his exit. He died at the age of sixty, and was honored with the most elaborate funeral which had ever been witnessed in Rome. His tomb was built in the Campus Martius, and bore the following inscription, composed by himself: "*No friend ever did me a kindness, no enemy a wrong, without receiving a full requital.*" For once the epitaph was in keeping with the character of the dead.

After the death of Sulla, the affairs of the Republic went rapidly from bad to worse. The extreme oligarchs had their fill of satisfaction, but all other classes of persons were gloomy and discontented. Under the new order—which was the old order with all of its worst conditions—the rich grew richer and the poor, poorer. It was an age of plunder under the sanction of law. The accumulated wealth of generations was squandered in debasing luxuries, and the brutal passions of the people excited by the bloody combats of the arena. The number of gladiatorial shows and funeral games was greatly multiplied. Costly banquets gave opportunity for the expenditure of whole fortunes in the attempted gratification of insatiable appetites. On one occasion Lucullus is said to have expended on a supper given to Cicero and Atticus the sum of one hundred and seventy thousand *sestercies* equivalent to seven thousand five hundred dollars.

Under the condition of affairs, the oligarchy soon became as weak as it was absolute. Though there were many who had Sulla's spirit, there was none who had his abilities. Soon after his death the rumbling of discontent began to be heard in the Republic. The consul LEPIDUS undertook to revolutionize the revolution, and was only prevented from success by the opposition of the other consul, CATULUS, the leader of the Optimates. It was found necessary, however, to calm the roaring multitude with a distribution of corn, and to send the

two consuls out of Italy. The rivals, however, soon raised armies, and went to war. Lepidus was defeated in a battle near the Campus Martius, and driven from the country.

At this epoch the hopes of the Marian party were revived by Sertorius in Spain. This able leader contemplated not only the overthrow of the aristocracy, but the establishment of independence for the Spanish provinces. He became equally influential with the Roman population and the native tribes of the peninsula. For eight years (B. C. 79-72) he maintained himself against the most strenuous efforts of the Senate for his suppression. The Roman armies which were sent to Spain were successively defeated, and at one time there was good ground for apprehending that Sertorius would carry the war into Italy. Finally the command of the Roman forces was transferred to CNEIUS POMPEIUS, afterwards known as Pompey the Great, who now appeared on the stage to begin his distinguished career. He was a member of the party of Sulla, but was more moderate than the extreme members of that faction. He won considerable reputation in the Civil War; and at the close of that struggle was appointed, in accordance with his own request, to suppress the Spanish rebellion. In B. C. 77 he made his way through the Alps and the Pyrenees, and encountered the forces of Sertorius at LAURO and SURO. In both battles Pompeius was worsted, and it appeared probable that his ambitions would end in complete disaster; but his colleague, Metellus, came to his assistance. The war then continued with varying successes for five years, until in B. C. 72 Sertorius was assassinated by a certain Paperna, who was presently thereafter defeated by Pompey, and the insurrection brought to an end.

During the Spanish war the Republic was disturbed in all her borders. Italy was infested with bands of robbers and outlaws. The Mediterranean swarmed with pirates, and the brigand tribes of Macedonia openly defied the Roman arms. Mithridates, too, had watched his opportunity, and lent his aid to Sertorius. Against him in B. C. 74 was sent an army under command of Lucullus. It thus happened that Rome, under the management of

the effete oligarchy, was left without an adequate defense: one army was in Spain, and the other in the East. The capital, however, took no thought for the morrow. She gave herself up to the passion of the hour, and went to the circus.

At this time one of the chief sources of entertainment to the Roman people was the gladiatorial shows. The training of gladiators had become a business—a profession. Schools were established, in which swordsmen were carefully trained for the bloody sports of the arena. One of the most flourishing of these institutions was at Capua. The men there trained for the combats were mostly Celts and Thracians. Among these, the most distinguished gladiator was SPARTACUS. Seizing an opportunity he headed an insurrection of his own class, burst out of the town, and made his headquarters in the crater of Vesuvius. The slaves of the neighborhood also rose in revolt, and joined his standard. He soon found himself at the head of a hundred thousand men—desperate savages, who fell upon the first Roman force which they could find, defeated it, and armed themselves with the spoils.

In B. C. 72 the consular armies were both routed by the insurgents, and for a while it appeared certain that Spartacus would accomplish his purpose of escaping from the country, crossing the Alps and dismissing his followers to their homes. The gladiators, however, could not be controlled by their leader. They preferred, even at the peril of destruction, to glut themselves for a season on the riches of Italy. In the following year MARCUS CRASSUS assumed the command of the Roman army, and succeeded after a brief campaign in driving the gladiators into Southern Italy. Here Spartacus made a league with the Cilician pirates, and paid them a large sum to transport his forces into Sicily. The treacherous buccaneers, however, as soon as they had received the money, sailed away and left Spartacus to his fate. He was now obliged to fight for his life. He was besieged by Crassus, but succeeded in breaking through the lines and escaping into Lucania. Thither he was followed and overtaken on the river Silarus. Here the decisive battle was fought, and the

gladiators after contesting the field with the courage of despair and having twelve thousand of their number slain, were routed.¹ A small remnant escaped into Cisalpine Gaul, and was there exterminated by Pompeius, who was then returning from his victories in Spain. Nor was the latter, who was jealous of the military reputation of Crassus, slow to claim the credit of the result for himself. "For,"

they joined their interests and proclaimed their sympathy with the popular party. They proposed in case of an election to restore the prerogatives of the tribunes. Pompeius by his brilliant military reputation, Crassus by his enormous wealth, and both by their lavish promises were chosen for the coveted office. The former was granted a triumph, and the latter an ovation, as the customary rewards



DEATH OF SPARTACUS.

Drawn by H. Vogel.

said he in a message to the Senate, "Crassus has defeated the enemy in battle, but I have plucked out the war by its roots."

The two generals, however, were not disposed to quarrel, but rather to make the most of the political situation. They both desired the consulship, and both were legally ineligible to the office. In order to cut the knot

¹It was just before this battle that the incident occurred so many times related of Spartacus. An attendant brought him a horse, but, instead of mounting, he thrust him through with his sword, saying, as the animal fell: "If I am victorious I shall have horses enough; if I am defeated I shall have no need of this one."

rendered for distinguished services to their country.

The new administration kept its pledge with the people. In B. C. 70 Pompeius secured the passage of an act restoring to the tribunes the power of which they had been stripped by the constitution of Sulla. The reform was next directed to the purification of the courts—a more difficult task than the restoration of the tribunate: nor is it likely that the monopoly of the judicial offices by the Senate could have been broken but for one of those circumstances which to the casual observer appearing accidental are by the historian,

with whom no event is an accident, known to be a part of that unvaried scheme in accordance with which the destinies of the world are fulfilled. It was at this juncture that VERRES, the provincial governor of Sicily, carried the abuses of his office to such a scandalous excess as to compel a decision of the question whether Rome were to be master or he. Of all the rapacious and plundering robbers into whose hands the Roman provinces had fallen, no other perhaps had ever equaled Verres in cruelty and greed. He systematically despoiled Sicily, not merely to enrich himself—to fill his already glutted coffers to overflowing with the treasures wrung from the blood and sweat of hundreds of thousands of peasants—but also to lay by an enormous overplus or corruption fund for the express purpose of buying up the Roman courts, before whose bar he was liable to be arraigned at the expiration of his official term. For three years he continued to rob and accumulate, until at last the outcry of the starving island reached even the dull ears of Rome. Articles of impeachment were declared against him, and his prosecution was undertaken by Marcus Tullius Cicero. Such was the appalling array of damning facts and such the vehemence, ability, and fiery eloquence of the prosecutor, and such the rising indignation of the Roman populace against the great provincial robber who had so unblushingly despoiled Sicily, that in order to escape the worst he fled from the city and went into exile.

The tides were now in. LUCIUS AURELIUS COTTA, the prætor, brought forward a law by which it was enacted that one-third of the judges should be chosen from the senatorial rank, another third from the equestrian order, and the remainder from citizens below the knights. The statute was speedily adopted, and received the approval of the consuls. The popularity of the latter had constantly increased during their term of office, and this, too, without their incurring a positive hostility from the Senate. The two leaders vied with each other in the competition for applause. The one made a lavish use of his means and the other of his military reputation—not scorning the arts of the demagogue—to make

themselves the centers of the admiration of Rome.¹

The next menace to the Republic was given by the Mediterranean pirates. The whole sea was infested with their craft. Twice in the previous history of the country—once in B. C. 103 and again in 78—their suppression had been attempted; but they swarmed all the more, until from Phœnicia to Spain there was not a square mile of safe water. Every coast



POMPEIUS MAGNUS.

was kept in terror by the pirate vessels hovering along the horizon. Italy herself was annoyed beyond measure by these brigands of

¹ An interesting incident is related of this bidding for popular favor on the part of Pompeius. Among the many customs prevalent in the city was that which required the Roman knight to appear on a certain occasion before the censors, to give an account of the exploits which he had performed in arms, the generals under whom he had served, and to deliver up his horse. Pompeius appeared, wearing his badges of office and leading his steed, and, advancing to the censor, gave in humble attitude an account of his own career as a soldier. The officer addressed him, saying: "Have you, O Pompeius Magnus, served all the campaigns which the law requires?" The general replied: "I have served them all—and under myself as general!" Then the people shouted.

the deep. They seized the coast towns, made their way inland, plundered and burned villas, and finally made a foray along the Appian Way, seizing and carrying away two Roman prætors.¹

The chief seat of the buccaneers—if seat that might be called which was only a lair—was in Cilicia, in Asia Minor. Here the malcontents of the East congregated, and sought by the hazardous profession of piracy to be avenged for the wrongs which the Roman governors had inflicted on their respective countries. They became the enemies of the human race, and regarded all the fruits of civilization as contraband of war. The life led by them was wild, free, contemptuous of danger. More and more they gained the ascendancy, and more and more Rome felt the distress occasioned by the destruction of her commerce. At last the tribune GABINIUS proposed a heroic remedy. He brought forward a bill in the Senate and assembly, providing that a general of consular rank should be chosen with full power to have command of the whole Mediterranean for three years. The surrounding coasts also, to the distance of fifty miles inland, were to be under his jurisdiction. He was to have twenty-four subordinate commanders, and a fleet of five hun-

dred ships. His military chest was to be supplied with six thousand talents; and the number of soldiers to be placed at his disposal was to be limited only by his own desires.

The name of Pompeius was not mentioned in the bill, but there could be no mistake as to whom Gabinus and the people had in mind. The measure was violently opposed in the Senate, but was enthusiastically adopted by the assembly. Among those through whose influence the law was finally passed was CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR, already a recognized leader of the democratic party, and just now returned from his questorship in Spain.

As soon as the bill was adopted, Pompeius was chosen to the responsible position of commander. For two years after the expiration of his consulship he had lived in retracy, and now in B. C. 67 he was called to the performance of one of the most onerous duties ever imposed on a Roman general. Early in the following year he entered upon his work with an energy fully equal to the high expectations of the people. The Mediterranean was divided into thirteen parts, and a certain contingent of ships, under command of a legate, was stationed in each to cruise against the pirates, while Pompeius himself, with the greater part of the fleet, beginning at the pillars of Hercules and making his way eastward, swept the sea clean of the buccaneers. In the space of forty days not a piratical vessel was left in the Mediterranean west of Italy. Commerce was resumed, and corn began to pour into the empty markets of Rome.

Pompeius then sailed to the east with a fleet of sixty ships, and attacked the pirates in the seat of their empire in Cilicia. He drove their craft before him, and finally compelled them to give battle at Carascesium. They were utterly defeated, and fled each ship to its own hiding-place. But Pompeius hunted them down in every bay, inlet, and creek, until the whole nest was broken up and destroyed. Twenty thousand of the sea-robbers were captured and were compelled to settle in the Cilician towns among the colonists of Achaia. The whole enterprise of clearing the ocean from end to end had occupied but eighty-nine days. In this brief space of time the

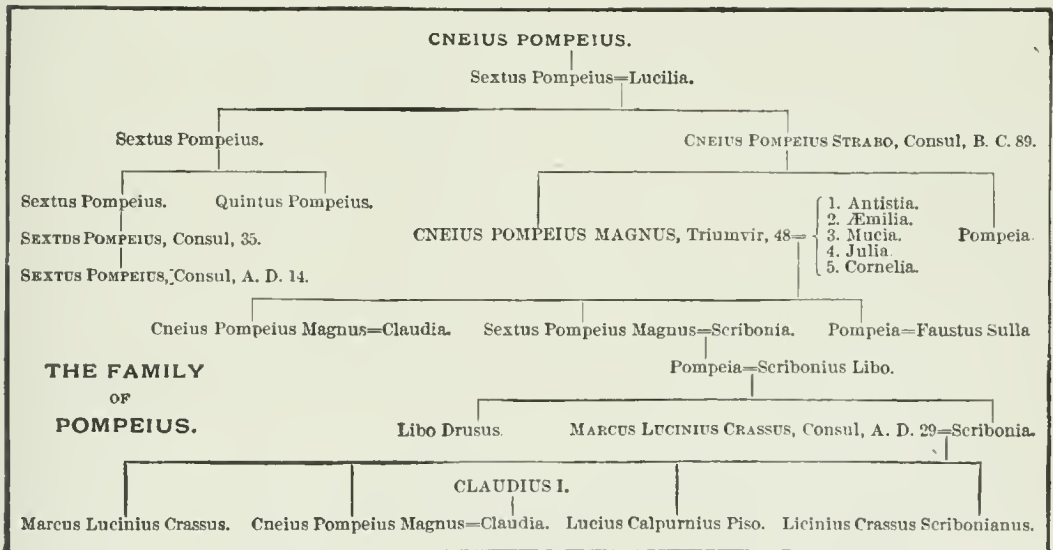
¹ Many amusing things are told of the conduct of the pirates in their war upon mankind. They were magnanimous rascals, full of jocularly. Of course their great enemy was Rome, but their booty was mostly derived from the commerce of other states. It was the custom of the times, when a Roman chanced to fall into the hands of an enemy, for him at once to declare his citizenship as a subject of the Imperial Republic. This was generally sufficient to secure for him immediate exemption from punishment or persecution. It appears, however, that the Cilician freebooters were not properly inspired with a sense of the overpowering majesty of Rome. Whenever they took one of the great race prisoner he would, after the manner, cry out, "I am a Roman citizen." Thereupon the pirates would gather around him in feigned admiration, get down on their knees, salute him as a superior being, ask his pardon for their rude violence to his sacred person. They would adjust his garments, being careful to arrange his toga *à la mode*. Then, when the farce had been carried out to their satisfaction, they would let down a ladder *into the sea*, and tell him to depart in peace. If he refused to descend, they would push him headlong into the brine!

navigation of the Mediterranean had been made as safe as in the days succeeding the overthrow of Carthage.

In the mean time hostilities had been renewed by Mithridates, king of Pontus. Even before the death of Sulla, that monarch had to be again subdued in a conflict called the Second Mithridatic War. In the consulship of LUCULLUS and COTTA, hostilities had been again renewed, and Mithridates had been defeated in a great battle near the Granicus, in which his army of nearly two hundred thousand men was scattered to the winds. From this time B. C. 73, the affairs of Asia Minor were in an extremely unsettled condition.

his most celebrated orations, and Manilius had the gratification of seeing the resolution adopted by which powers were conferred on Pompeius never before intrusted to a citizen of Rome.

It is related that the latter shrank from the assumption of so great responsibilities, declaring his preference for the privilege of retiring to the quiet of private life. But there is little doubt of the insincerity of such a declaration; for Pompeius showed both in his previous and subsequent career that he emulated the fame of Scipio rather than that of Cincinnatus. Among the first acts of the general was an edict annulling the laws of Lucullus, and reinstating the old tax-gathering provincial sys-



Again and again Mithridates raised armies and endeavored both by force and intrigue to overthrow the dominion of the Romans in the East. With a view to a permanent settlement of the affairs of the Asiatic province on a basis not to be further disturbed, the tribune Caius Manilius, in the year B. C. 66, brought forward a bill to intrust Pompeius with the sole charge of the affairs of the East, embracing in the commission discretionary authority as to both peace and war. The measure was violently opposed by the oligarchy, or as much as remained of the Sullan faction, but was advocated with equal zeal by the popular party, headed by Cæsar and Cicero. The latter delivered in defense of the proposition one of

tem, under which the province of Asia had groaned since the date of its establishment. He next stirred up Praätes, king of Parthia, to make war on Tigranes of Armenia. The attention of the latter was thus restricted to the defense of his own territory. Mithridates, thus left to his own resources, opened negotiations for peace; but Pompeius would accept of nothing less than absolute submission, and the conference ended without results. The king then retreated to the river Lycus, where he was overtaken by the Romans, and defeated in a great battle. Mithridates fled to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and Pompeius made his way into Armenia, where Tigranes at once made his submission, and became dependent

on Rome. A payment of six thousand talents was extorted as the price of peace; while Syria, Phœnicia, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Lower Cilicia were detached from his territorial dominions.

Pompeius now found time to pursue Mithridates. In the course of the autumn he made his way as far as the river Cyrus, where he established his army for the winter. In B. C. 65 he continued his way northward, subduing the mountain tribes of Albania until he reached the Phasis, which he followed to the sea. There he was joined by his fleet, and afterwards turned back into Pontus. In the years B. C. 64–63 he subdued Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine. He found the latter country engaged in a fierce civil broil under the two leaders, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. The latter held the city of Jerusalem, which Pompeius besieged and captured after a three months' investment. The dispute about the high-priesthood was decided in favor of Hyrcanus, who became tributary to the Romans.

The invincible Mithridates had availed himself of the opportunity afforded by Pompeius's absence to attempt to regain his kingdom. His ambition extended even to an imagined conquest of Italy, which was to be accomplished with an army of Scythians; but before the now aged king could make any progress in this undertaking, he was surprised by the rebellion of his son Pharnaces. Thus menaced on one side by foreign foes and on the other by filial ingratitude, he sought refuge in self-destruction. Foreseeing such an emergency he had, for many years, experimented with poisons, until, as is related, they lost their power upon him, leaving him invulnerable except to more brutal agents.¹ He accordingly induced a mercenary Gaul to run him through with his sword. He had been king of Pontus for fifty-seven years, and during the larger part of this period had been the terror of the Romans in the East.

The death of Mithridates left Pompeius

complete master of Asia Minor. It only remained to settle the affairs of the province on a basis satisfactory to the conqueror. To this end he appointed ÆMILIUS SCAURUS governor of Syria. Pharnaces, the rebel son of Mithridates, was recognized as a king tributary to the Romans. A general pacification ensued in which the whole country as far as the Euphrates was reorganized into convenient districts as dependencies of Rome. Pompeius then set out on his return to the capital, and proceeding by easy stages arrived there in the beginning of B. C. 61.

On returning to Rome he found the country in a ruinous condition. The old question of land ownership had again revived in its most dangerous aspect. The agricultural interest had once more been driven to the wall by the aggressions of the Optimates and capitalists. The veterans of Sulla, alike unable and indisposed to manage the lands which had been assigned them by the Republic, had squandered their farms, joined the Proletarians, and were strolling in bands through the country, ready to repeat the story of the proscription and confiscation. The Senate had sunk into a condition of imbecility, and the equestrian order, during the absence of Pompeius, had found no leader of commanding influence in the state. Meanwhile the tribunes continued their assaults upon the hereditary privileges of the nobility, while the latter, generally headed by the consuls, endeavored to maintain their time-honored prerogatives by impeaching the officers of the popular party. At no previous time in the history of Rome had the old aristocracy and the new power known as the *People* stood out in a more clearly defined antagonism to each other than at the present. Such was the condition of affairs while Pompeius was consummating his work in the East.

At this time occurred the great conspiracy of LUCIUS SERGIUS CATILINE. The insurrection found its pabulum in the fact of debt and inability to pay. The profligacy and recklessness which prevailed in all ranks of society had been especially ruinous to the young patricians. They had wasted their estates in excesses and riotings. No kind of revenues could support the extravagant expenditure

¹ Thus Lord Byron in *The Dream*:

“Until,
Like to the Pontic monarch of old days,
He fed on poisons, and they had no power,
But were a kind of nutriment.”

demanded by their appetites and passions. Once at the end of their resources, they became reckless borrowers of the means of others. Then, when their debts began to press them, they beat about for some means, fair or foul, wherewith to discharge their obligations. The memory of the great proscriptions and confiscations of the Civil War was still fresh in the minds of all, and the criminal imaginations of the young profligates who fed themselves on the vices of Rome constantly suggested the possibility of an escape from their debts by a repetition of the scenes of B. C. 82.

The large and desperate class of abandoned bankrupts found in Catiline a leader worthy of their cause. He was a man of patrician rank, trained in the school of Sulla, skillful in every vice. He was of commanding presence, reckless, courageous, subtle, unscrupulous to the last degree. He had begun life under favorable auspices as a member of the Optimate party. In B. C. 68 he was prætor, and in the following year obtained the province of Africa. In his official duties he was guilty of malfeasance, and on his return to Rome was defeated for the consulship.

Hereupon he determined to take by force what the suffrage had denied him. A conspiracy was organized, which readily drew into its meshes the larger part of the discontented elements of Rome. The dissolute nobleman, the bankrupt, the adventurer, the injured Italian—all who cherished the memory of wrong or the hope of plunder—joined the dark-visaged group in the midst of which rose the figure of Catiline. His chief confederates were ANTONIUS PÆTUS and CNEIUS CALPURNIUS PISO, the former a disappointed politician, and the latter a dissolute patrician. Their plan embraced the murder of the new consuls and the seizure of the government. The date was fixed for the first of January, B. C. 64, but the plot became known, or at least suspected, and the conspirators postponed the execution of their plans until the ides of February. When this day arrived Catiline gave the signal prematurely, and the business was again defeated. Meanwhile the Senate sat paralyzed in the presence of the danger.

After his first two fiascos Catiline became

more desperate than ever. He planned and plotted day and night. His demeanor was that of a man who had set all on the cast of a die. He is described by Sallust as going about with his gaze turned to the pavement or fixed on vacancy; striding rapidly along or stopping short in his walk, as one might do whose mind was engendering crime or driven by fierce passion.¹

At length the trial of the chief conspirator for extortion came on, and he was acquitted by means the most audacious and corrupt. Several senators now joined his standard—if standard that might be called which was set up in darkness—among whom the principal were CAIUS LENTULUS SURA and CAIUS CORNELIUS CETHEGUS. When the band was greatly increased in numbers a midnight conclave was held, in which a scheme of action was discussed and adopted. The plan included the election of Catiline to the consular office, the abolition of debts, the confiscation of the property of the wealthy, and a general license to plunder. To support this scheme and carry it into effect, the conspirators pledged their lives, and sealed the oath by drinking from a cup filled with a mixture of blood and wine.

In B. C. 63, Catiline and his friend Caius Antonius were openly put forward for the consulship. While the election was pending, a certain Fulvia, mistress of Quintus Curius, one of Catiline's confederates, gave the conspiracy away to the opposing party. So great a terror was diffused by the knowledge thus obtained that even the senators—many of whom had been already marked for destruction in case of Catiline's success—went over to the support of the popular party, whose candidate, MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO, though a *novus homo*, was triumphantly elected. Catiline had the double mortification of seeing himself defeated and his co-candidate Antonius elected. The latter, however, was quickly detached from his associates by Cicero, who succeeded in getting his dangerous colleague sent away as governor of

¹ "You may sometimes trace

A feeling in each footstep, as disclosed

By Sallust in his Catiline, who, chased

By all the demons of all passions, showed

Their work, e'en by the way in which he trode."

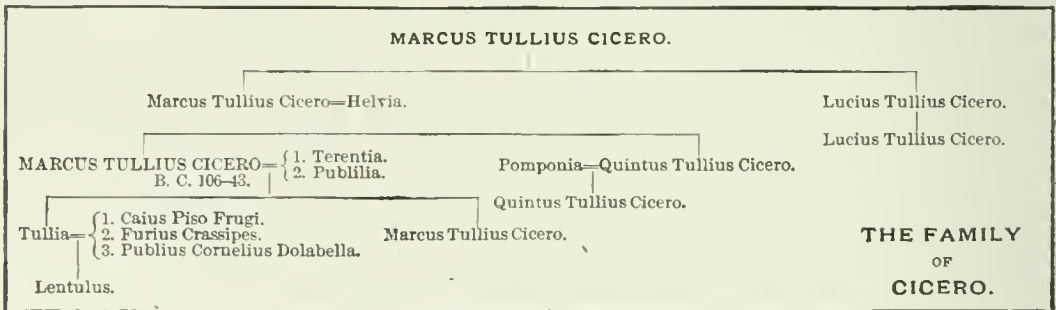
—BYRON.

Macedonia. Marcus Tullius was thus left with the whole care of the government at home, to which was added the imminent peril of a revolution, headed by his deadly enemy.

The man upon whom was thus, in a large measure, devolved the fate of Rome owed his preëminence to his unrivaled powers as an orator. He had none of the adventitious aids of fortune. By birth (B. C. 106) he was a plebeian, being the son of a farmer living at Arpinum, in the Volscian hills. At an early age he was sent by his father to Rome to be educated. Here, under the instructions of the poet ARCHIAS, he soon made a revelation of his wonderful powers of study and speech. From his youth he frequented the Forum, and there eagerly watched and emulated the great orators who directed public opinion and controlled the state. He chose the profession of

year 66, in which he was elected prætor. Now it was that he espoused the cause of Pompeius and aided in securing the passage of the Manilian Law. At this time an element of political vacillation appeared in his character and conduct. Beginning life under the banners of the senatorial party, he went over to the popular side. In B. C. 64, Cicero, being then forty-two years old, was elected consul. He was thus enabled to make the boast that he had been honored by his country with an election to all the higher offices of the Republic in the very year in which he became eligible to the respective trusts. To him was now committed the duty of confronting Catiline.

The great conspirator was busily engaged in preparations for civil war. So secret were his proceedings, and so powerful his support, that for the time the consul was obliged to



law, but found time while pursuing his studies to include the various philosophic systems of Greece in his curriculum. But his ideal was the orator—to excel in public address his great ambition.

In B. C. 80 Cicero made his appearance at the bar, and gained much applause by his fearless defense of SEXTUS ROSCIUS, a favorite of Sulla. Afterwards he continued his studies in Greece and Asia Minor, where he added greatly to his already large acquirements. In B. C. 77 he returned to Rome and began to participate actively in public affairs. Two years afterwards he conducted the prosecution of Verres with such signal ability as to force that distinguished criminal into exile before the close of the trial. The event raised Cicero to the position of the first orator of Rome.

The official life of Tullius began with the

content himself with a defensive policy. At length, however, definite proofs were obtained and laid before the Senate. Catiline participated in the debate, and made but little concealment of his purpose to overthrow the government. A resolution was now adopted that the consuls should “see that the Republic suffered no harm”—equivalent to arming them with dictatorial powers. Meanwhile, Catiline had secured the coöperation of Caius Manlius, commanding a division of the Roman army at Fæsulæ, in Etruria, and the states of Capua and Apulia were believed to be ripe for a revolution in favor of the conspiracy.

The leaders now had a meeting, and it was decided that Cicero should be assassinated, and that in the confusion following, the mutinous army, led by Catiline, should take Rome and proceed to the work of devastation. Cicero, however, was warned of the danger, and his

doors were closed on the day appointed for his murder. He then summoned the Senate to meet in the temple of Jupiter Stator. Catiline came with the rest, but his fellow senators left the bench where he sat and clustered around the consul. The latter then arose and delivered his famous First Oration against Catiline, in which the plans of the insurgents were fully divulged, and the exposure backed up with the blackest proofs of guilt. The chief conspirator attempted to reply, but was hissed from the hall. He hastily left the city and betook himself to the camp of Manlius, having first assured his followers in Rome that he would presently return with an army.

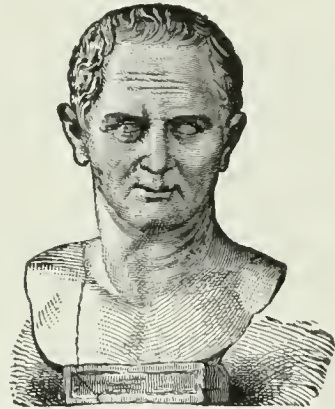
Cicero now went into the Forum and delivered to the people the Second Catilinarian Oration, explaining the nature of the conspiracy and the course pursued by the government. The Senate passed a resolution declaring Catiline and Manlius to be public enemies, and directed Antonius to put them down by force. The defense of the capital was intrusted to Cicero. The adherents of Catiline in the city were soon detected in the treasonable business of stirring up civil war in Gaul. The Allobroges had sent an embassy to Rome to protest against the exactions of the provincial governor. These envoys were tampered with by the Catilinarians, who gave them letters to be delivered to their chiefs at home. The treasonable missives were given up by the ambassadors to Cicero, and the writers of them, unaware of the disclosure, were summoned to the Senate House. There they were confronted with the letters. Out of their own mouths were they condemned. The prætor Lentulus was thus ginned in his own trap, and was obliged to resign his office. An effort was also made by some of the sanguine partisans of the times to implicate Crassus and Cæsar; but it was never established that either of these distinguished men had had participation in, or sympathy with, the cause of Catiline.

The conspirators were now arraigned for trial. It was the occasion of a stormy scene in the Senate. SILANUS, the consul-elect, favored the sentence of death. Cæsar spoke for life-imprisonment and confiscation of goods. Quintus Cicero took the same view; but Cato

advocated the extreme penalty, as did also the consul, who summed up the argument in the Fourth Catilinarian Oration. The vote of the senators was for the death penalty; and those who had spoken for moderation were menaced by the knights as they retired from the Senate House.

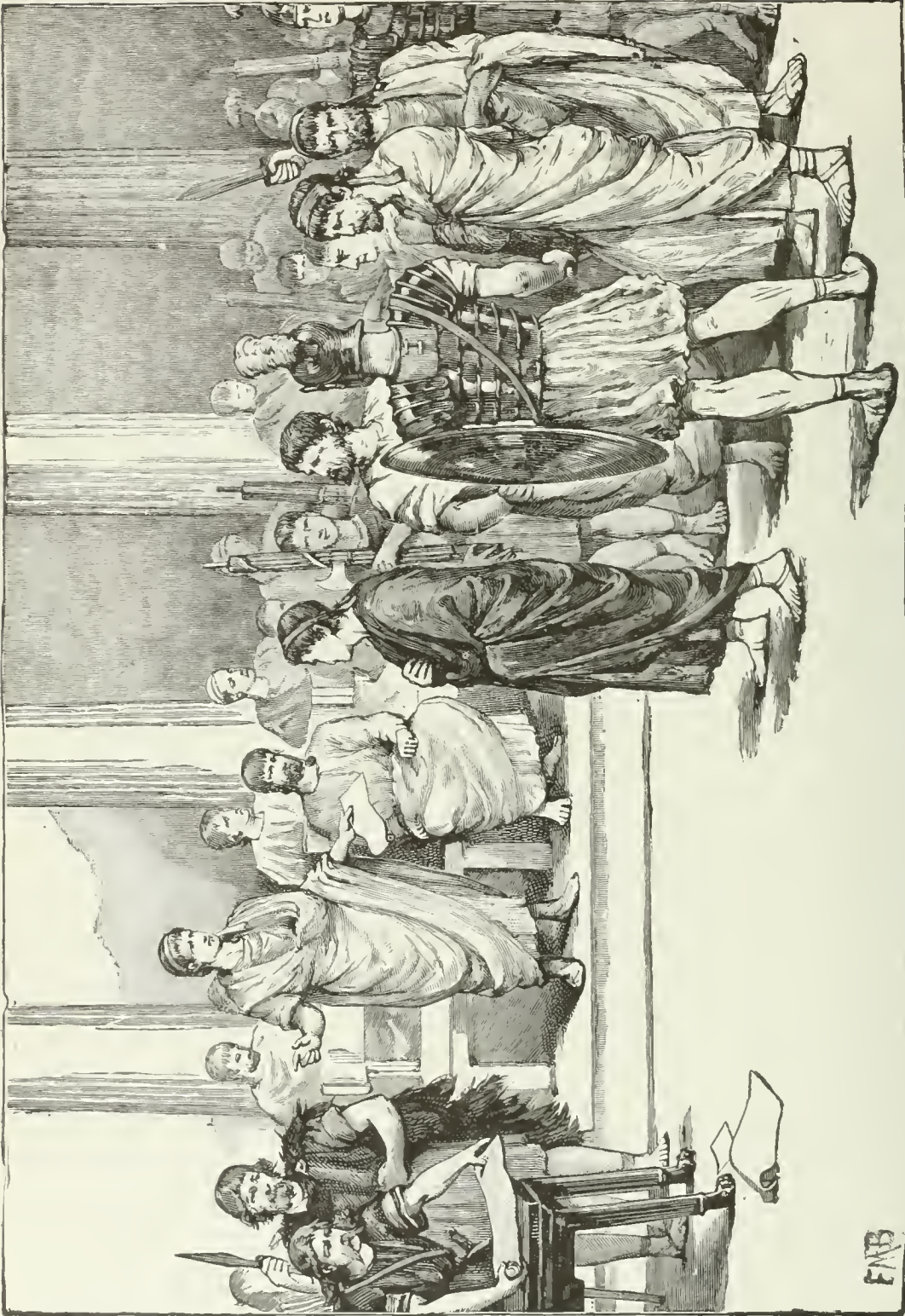
It only remained to carry the sentence into execution. So great was the peril of the state that Cicero felt constrained to have the warrants immediately issued and carried into effect. The prætor Lentulus and four others were accordingly strangled in prison—and Rome breathed more freely when they were dead!

In the mean time Catiline had joined Manlius in Etruria, and collected an army of two legions. It was a force by no means to be



CICERO, MADRID.

despised; for the leaders were desperate and able, and the soldiers were mostly the veterans of Sulla. When, however, it became known in the insurgent camp that the leaders in Rome had been convicted and put to death, many of the legionaries deserted, thus thinning the ranks upon which Catiline placed his last dependence. Believing himself unable to meet the consular armies in the field, he undertook to escape into Cisalpine Gaul, where he hoped to find a vantage ground for renewing the war. But the consul Metellus Celer was sent around to preëccupy the passes of the Apennines, and Antonius was ordered to pursue the fugitive. When Catiline found that he could not force his way through the mountains, he turned about and confronted Antonius, believing, perhaps, that the latter, hav-

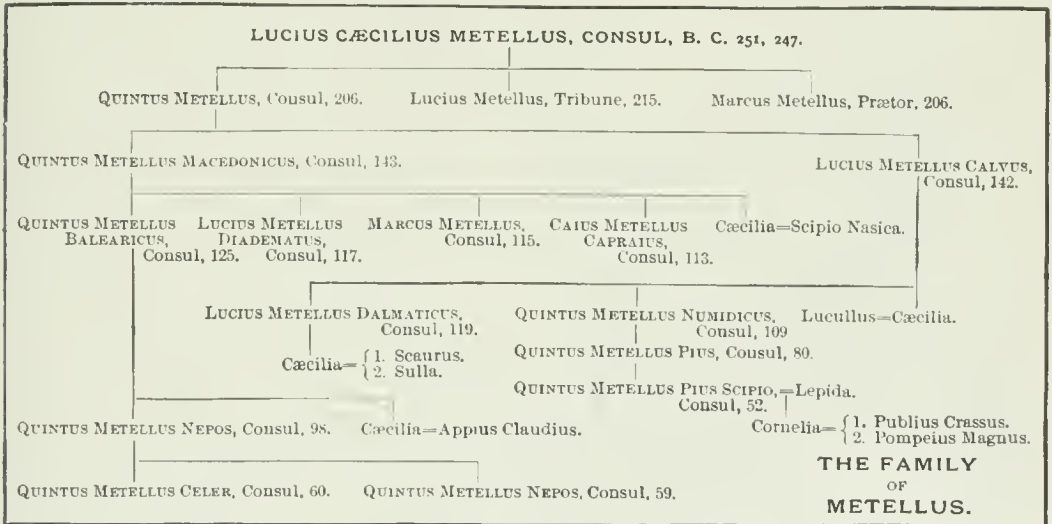


THE CATILINARIAN CONSPIRATORS BEFORE THE SENATE

ENB

ing been his friend and co-candidate for the consulship, might strike him less fiercely than Metellus. Nor does it appear that this view was wholly unsupported by the facts; for when the battle was about to be precipitated, Antonius feigned sickness, and the command devolved upon PETREIUS, who had¹ not the same tenderness for the conspiracy. The two armies met at Pistoria, and a conflict ensued hardly surpassed in the annals of ferocious battles. The conspirators had made up their minds to conquer or die in the struggle, and this resolution was carried out with a courage worthy of a better cause. It is said that not a single freeman in the army of Catiline was left alive.

the law required that a Roman citizen should not be condemned without being heard in his own defense. Besides, there has been in all ages a disposition to sympathize with the fallen as against those by whose agency they fell. The dead, even the treasonable dead, fight for the restoration of their forfeited fame, more desperately than they fought to destroy it while living; and posterity generally concedes the battle.¹ Before the close of his consular year, Cicero was obliged as best he could to stem the tide of a reaction which set in in favor of the overthrown rebellion. The tribunes-elect—Metellus and Bestia—were both of this sympathy, and when at the close of



He himself was found dead far in advance of his lines, still grasping his sword and his face distorted with a scowl of defiance, which not even the agony of death could relax. He died as he had lived, fearless, audacious, and revengeful.

Notwithstanding the indisputable evidence adduced against those who had been executed at Rome, and the still more palpable proofs of guilt on the part of those who had perished in battle, still the law had been violated. For

his really brilliant consulship, Cicero went into the Forum to render to the people an account of his deeds, one of the new officers forbade him to speak,² but the influence of the great orator was still so potent that when in spite of the interdict, he cried out with an oath that he had saved the Republic and the city from ruin, the people answered with a shout of approval.

Such was the course of events in Rome

¹ Doubtless if any of the friends of Catiline had narrated the story of the conspiracy it would appear in different colors, and perhaps in several parts the characters would be reversed. As it is, we have only the Ciceronian and Sallustian view of the business, and must, therefore, accept the voice of partisanship as the verdict of history.

¹ In the last half of the nineteenth century, justice and charity have joined their forces to save as much as is salvable of the wrecked fame of Benedict Arnold. It has been agreed to write his epitaph thus: "*Here lies a Patriot Traitor.*"

² "This man, who condemned our fellow-citizens unheard, shall not himself be listened to," said Metellus.

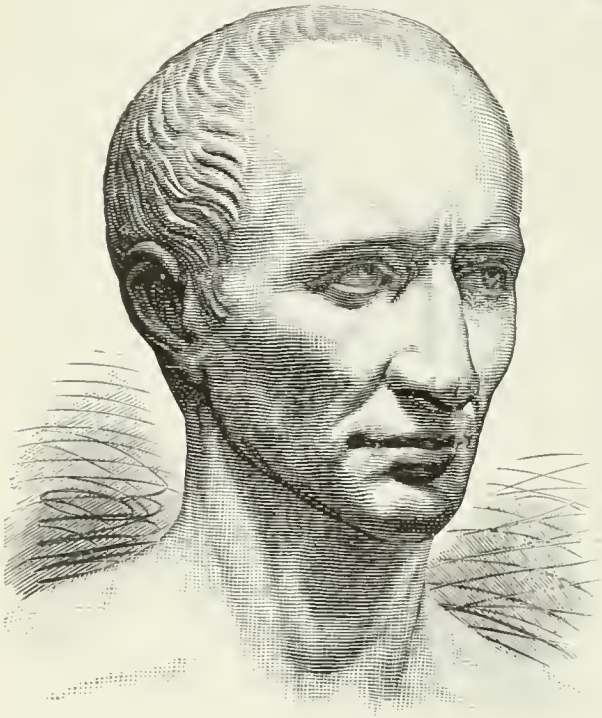
during the absence of Pompey in the East. The stormy consulship of Cicero occupied the year B. C. 63, and in the following year Pompeius reached Italy. He and Crassus were rivals, and were mutually suspicious of each other's movements. The former desired the privilege of entering the city without forfeiting his rights to a triumph, but he was obliged by Cato to conform to the law and custom. He therefore tarried beyond the walls till January 1st, B. C. 61, and entered with a grander triumph than had ever been previously wit-

abilities were equal to any emergency of the state, and his ambition all-absorbing. In the power to penetrate a situation and to adapt means to an end he far surpassed all the other great men of his day. In his relations with Pompeius and Crassus it soon became sufficiently apparent that while they had talents of the highest order he had genius.

CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR was born July 12th. B. C. 102. He was of the patrician order, but his sympathies, even from boyhood, were with the party of the people. Before reaching his majority he was known as a partisan of Marius. When the Sullan persecutions were on Cæsar was ordered to divorce his wife because she was the daughter of Cinna; but he refused to comply, and his name was added to the proscription list. He thereupon sought refuge among the Sabine hills until the storm was past and his pardon secured.¹ His first military reputation was achieved in Asia Minor, where he won the civic crown. On his return to Rome, after the death of Sulla, he became more than ever identified with the popular party. He conducted the impeachment of Dolabella and Antonius, and though unsuccessful he won the notice and applause of the public. He soon afterwards went to Rhodes to study rhetoric; for that island was then the greatest seat of learning in the world.

At the age of thirty-three Cæsar was elected quæstor. At the expiration of his term he was made ædile.

and as such had charge of the public amusements and decorations of the city. He distinguished his administration by a reckless profusion of display never before witnessed in the city. And to this he added a certain political audacity well calculated to draw to himself the attention of both friends and foes. He even ventured upon the hazardous measure of restoring to their places the



JULIUS CÆSAR.

After the Bust in the British Museum.

nessed in Rome. The representatives of fifteen nations, including more than three hundred princes, walked before his car. The conqueror required the Senate to ratify the acts of his administration and to reward his soldiers with a distribution of lands. But the party of the Optimates, jealous of his ascendancy, refused to comply with his wishes, and he was obliged to go over to the party of the people.

At this juncture Cæsar appeared on the scene as a peacemaker. His own successes in Spain had given him a military reputation second only to that of Pompeius. His civil

¹ It is related that when a petition for Cæsar's pardon was made by the moderate nobility and the vestal virgins, Sulla replied: "Well, I grant your request, but this boy *has many Marii in him.*"

trophies and statues of Marius. Then it was that the old democratic soldiers came from their retreats, surrounded the effigy of their great leader, and wept for joy at seeing again openly displayed the emblems of their day of glory. In his personal affairs Cæsar was equally reckless, prodigal, audacious, even dissipated. He spent his means and borrowed and went in debt until he was burdened with obligations amounting to a sum equal to a million and a quarter of dollars. He spread tables public and private the like of which had never before been seen in the Eternal City. He equipped in silver armor three hundred pairs of gladiators and sent them into the arena for the delectation of the people. By every variety of expenditure and invention, as well as by real magnanimity of purpose, he sought to arouse the enthusiasm and admiration of his countrymen. Whatever great natural genius, brilliant wit, profound insight, refinement, culture, and a certain splendor of vice could do to fascinate the multitude and to wean them withal from the gloomy scenes and calamities of the past, that Cæsar studiously exhibited in his life and manners and official conduct.

After the expiration of his term as ædile the ambitious Julius next sought the office of pontifex maximus, recently made vacant by the death of Catulus. In this purpose he was hotly opposed by some of the most eminent men of Rome. It is related that on the morning of the election he said to his mother, "To-day I shall be either pontifex or a dead Roman." He was triumphantly elected, receiving from the tribes of his opponents more votes than they did themselves. The result showed conclusively that a new master had appeared whom in popular esteem not even Pompeius himself could long hope to eclipse.¹

At the age of forty Cæsar was still a mere tyro in the field. As a soldier—much less as a commander—he had no reputation except what he had won by acts of personal bravery

at the siege of Mitylene. It was a late beginning for a military hero. He had already made himself prematurely bald by his reckless life at the capital. He was pale, lean, slender; shaken somewhat by the too early and too frequent gratification of passion; subject to epilepsy. From this time forth, however, he became a changed man; and during the remaining seventeen years of his life displayed such a series of amazing and rational activities as have never been equaled except by Napoleon Bonaparte.

At the expiration of his prætorship (B. C. 62) Cæsar was assigned to Spain. It is said that at this time Crassus was his security for five millions of dollars. Now it was that the lightnings of his genius began to flash. The multifarious forces of his mind could never be sufficiently occupied. He read, wrote, spoke, discussed affairs, cogitated, dictated *to seven amanuenses at a time*, swam rivers, slept out of doors, defied the dark morass and the snow-blast of winter, ate hard bread, shared the lot of his soldiers, heaped up through sleepless nights the glowing embers of his ambition. Meanwhile Crassus and Pompeius eyed each other askance, and the moribund Senate croaked out its jealousy at both.

In the rivalry of the two leaders just mentioned Cæsar saw his golden opportunity. Instead of inciting them the one against the other, he conceived the idea of effecting a reconciliation between them which should be used to his own advantage. He now had in view the consulship, and he knew that with the united support of Pompeius and Crassus he could easily obtain the prize. In the face of such a combination the opposition of the Senate would be little less than ridiculous. In the furtherance of this object he was completely successful. Crassus and Pompeius were reconciled, and between them and Cæsar, under the guiding hand of the latter, was formed that great coalition known as the FIRST TRIUMVIRATE. The popularity of Pompeius and the money of Crassus were both subordinated to the end of Cæsar's consulship. He was elected in B. C. 59, with MARCUS BIBULUS, an Optimate blockhead, for a colleague.

This was just to Cæsar's liking. Bibulus

¹ Just before the pontifical election one of the opposing candidates offered to pay Cæsar's debts if he would withdraw from the contest. He merely answered that if it were necessary to his election *he would borrow more!*

was the *cipher* which made him *ten*. With Pompeius he kept his pledge. The acts of the latter in the East were ratified by the recalci-

trant Senate, and a bill was adopted distributing a liberal quantity of public lands to the veterans who had overthrown Mithridates.



GYPTIS PRESENTING THE GOBLET TO EUXENES.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

The tax-system now prevalent in the province of Asia was revolutionized. A commission of twenty members was appointed, under the presidency of Pompeius and Crassus, to superintend the distribution of lands, and the equestrian order was gratified with several concessions. The administration was preëminently one of conciliation, but was not lacking in any element of strength or vigor.

At the end of his consular term Cæsar was assigned to the government of the Two Gauls and Illyricum. His commission extended over five years, and he was given eight legions of soldiers. The Transalpine Gaul presented a field for the proconsul's military ambition not so rich, but far more adventurous than that which had been spread before Pompeius in the East. It opened to the aspiring genius of Cæsar precisely the vista through which the goal could be seen afar. To Pompeius was assigned the government of Italy and that of the East to Crassus.

Before departing for his province Cæsar took the precaution to leave behind him in the city an able dependent. For this purpose a certain PUBLIUS CLODIUS PULCHER was chosen as the proconsul's representative. Clodius, himself of high birth, secured his adoption into a plebeian house in order that he might be elected to the tribunate. In this measure he was supported by Cæsar, who further strengthened himself by inducing Pompeius to marry his daughter Julia, then but twenty years of age. The proconsul also procured the election of LUCIUS CALPURNIUS PISO, his father-in-law, to the consulship. Thus gradually were lengthened and made stronger the cords which the genius of one man was stretching from itself to every part of the Republic.

On assuming the duties of tribune, Clodius proposed four new laws. The first provided for a gratuitous distribution of corn; the second forbade the consuls to impede the passage of legislative acts with the pretext of augury; the third revived those ancient cross-road guilds or associations which, until their abolition by the Senate, had exercised an important political influence in the state; and the fourth abrogated a part of the authority of the *ensors*.

The next step after the adoption of these measures was taken for the purpose of weakening the Senate by depriving it of leaders. Clodius introduced resolutions into the assembly so worded as to drive into exile Cicero and Cato. The latter was to be assigned to the governorship of Cyprus, and the former, though not mentioned by name, was to be interdicted from fire and water.¹ In vain did Cicero clothe himself in mourning and go into the Forum. In vain did he appeal to Pompeius. In vain did he defend himself against the charge of the illegal execution of the Catilinarian conspirators. The sentence was carried, and he who had been called *Pater Patriæ* by Cato was forced into exile. The pitiable old Senate, already sunk into senility, and now deprived of the two principal defenders of the ancient *régime*, virtually collapsed before the omnipotence of the triumvirs and their supporters.

Affairs being thus reduced to quiet in the capital, Cæsar set out for his provinces. Transalpine Gaul, as a country, had hitherto been but little known to the Romans; though the Celtic warriors of that region had been a frequent, and not always agreeable, apparition in the South. The enterprise of Rome had, however, in some measure penetrated beyond the mountains. Commercial relations had been established between some parts of Gaul and Italy. The old manufacturing city of Massilia—the modern Marseilles—had already scattered her luxurious goods into the marts of the Republic.² The time had now come when a more intimate but less pleasant ac-

¹ The wording was that any magistrate who had put Roman citizens to death without a trial should be interdicted from fire and water within four hundred miles of Rome. The name of Cicero was omitted, but could be seen everywhere between the lines.

² This town of Massilia was not a little celebrated for the story of its founding. At the close of the seventh century B. C. the country surrounding the bay was held by a Ganish chieftain named Mann. In course of time he would, at a banquet—after the manner of his tribe—give his daughter Gyptis in marriage. It was the custom of the Gauls that the maiden who was to be given should herself come to the banquet at its close, bearing in her hand a full goblet of wine. She then made choice

quaintance should lead to the establishment of the Roman system beyond the Alps.

At this point we strike the page of *Cæsar's Gallic War*. To him, as an author, we are indebted as much for the narrative of his career in subjugating the transalpine nations as we are to him as a warrior for carving that

movement of the Helvetians, who, pressed between the Jura and the Rhine, had determined to abandon that pent-up region for some other more open and fertile. *Cæsar* alleges that he considered this movement dangerous to his province. He accordingly hastened to the Rhone, and constructed a line of fortifications

from Lake Lemanus to the Jura, to prevent the passage of the Helvetians. The tribe, thus baffled in its progress, turned down the right bank of the river, attempting to find a way to the west; but *Cæsar* followed the host, and in a great battle at *Brax* virtually destroyed the nation. The remnants were driven back to their original seats.

The times were fruitful in tribal migrations. The Suevi, living beyond the Rhine, had crossed into Gaul, a hundred and twenty thousand strong. They were led by their



GAULISH WARRIORS.—Drawn by A. Beck.

history with his sword. On reaching *Gallia Cisalpina* he was informed of a contemplated of him who was to be her husband by handing to the preferred and happy youth the cup.

In this case it came to pass that *Gyptis* chose most strangely. It was the year B. C. 600. At that very time it happened that a stranger merchant named *Euxenes*, from *Phoea* in *Asia Minor*, had come into the bay with his merchandise. Him the chieftain *Mann* had invited to the marriage feast of his daughter. To the surprise and mortification of the Gauls, when at last *Gyptis* came into the banquet she presented the goblet to *Euxenes*, who was not slow to accept both the compliment and the giver. Nor was it long until the wealthy *Phoecean* returned to his native city, gathered a shipload of adventurers, came back to Gaul, and founded the colony of *Massilia*. Thus was the culture of the Greeks planted in the south of France.

great king *ARIOVISTUS*, who had come hither—so he declared—at the instance of some of the Gaulish tribes, to be arbiter in their difficulties. The Suevi were driven back across the river. This movement brought *Cæsar* into the country of the Belgæ, who dwelt next to the Rhine, and were hardened in almost continual warfare with the Germans. During the year B. C. 57 the Belgic race was subdued, and the way thus paved for an invasion of Germany. In the following year *Cæsar* made a great campaign against the *Veneti*, whom he overthrew both by land and sea.¹ The *Morini* and

¹ *Cæsar's* naval victory over the *Veneti* is noteworthy as being the first great sea-fight that ever occurred on the Atlantic.

the Menapii were also subdued, and the conquest of all Gaul completed within the year.

In B. C. 55 Cæsar devoted himself to the German war. It was his purpose to beat back all the Teutonic tribes across the Rhine, and to establish that river as the western boundary of the Germanic race. Another great battle was fought with the Teutonic peoples west of the Rhine, and then Cæsar built a bridge over the river—one of the famous exploits of his career—and crossed into Germany. The movement was made as much to terrify as to conquer the Germanic tribes. After a successful summer campaign he made his way to the coast and crossed over into Britain. He then withdrew into his winter-quarters in Gaul, but

the fulsome praise was that it was *true!* For the mountains had their passes and gateways, but the vigilance of the great proconsul none.

During the winter of B. C. 54-53, while the Roman army was dispersed to several quarters on account of the scarcity of supplies, the Gallic tribes rose in a general revolt. One division of Cæsar's forces was attacked and utterly routed by the Aduatici, and the camp of Quintus Cicero, in the country of the Nervii, was surrounded by sixty thousand barbarians. The whole situation was one of extreme peril, but the courage of Cæsar rose with the occasion. He sped to the relief of Cicero, and before the Celts were aware of his presence they felt the blow. They paid for their temer-



LANDING OF THE ROMANS IN BRITAIN.

in the following year returned into the island, defeated the British Celts under their king Cassivellaunus, and reduced the country to a dependency, compelling the Britons to pay tribute and give hostages.

No such startling campaigns as these had been heard of since the days of Alexander. The half-paralyzed body of Rome felt the thrill of a new life. The city rang with acclamations. Cicero, who after a year's exile had been permitted, in B. C. 57, to return to the capital, and was again in the blaze of the Forum, declared that the gods of old time had set the Alps as a barrier against barbarism, but had now raised up a greater bulwark than the Alps—Cæsar. And the strange part of

ity at a terrible expense of blood and treasure. Many of the Germans were again engaged in a common cause with the Gallic tribes, and the proconsul found it necessary to make a second campaign into Germany. This movement occupied the latter part of B. C. 54, and was followed up in the beginning of the next year by the punishment of the Eburones, who had instigated the recent revolt. After this Cæsar returned into Cisalpine Gaul; for the news from Rome was of such a character as to indicate that his presence might at any time be demanded as a participant in the civil war which seemed impending.

The Transalpine tribes had not yet learned wisdom by experience. In B. C. 52, as soon

as it was known that the attention of Cæsar was drawn to the other side of the mountains, a general insurrection broke out in all parts of Ulterior Gaul. In this revolt the Averni, under their great leader, **VERCINGETORIX**, were the leaders, and to him the other tribes looked for the management of the war. The proconsul again crossed the mountains, fell upon the town of Genabum, which the insurgents had taken, recaptured and burnt the place almost before the enemy had knowledge of his coming or intentions.

Vercingetorix now adopted the policy of wasting the country, and the Romans were greatly straitened for supplies; but Cæsar

Cisalpinæ. He concentrated his forces. He drove Vercingetorix into Alesia, and there besieged him and his eighty thousand Gauls. Another barbarian army, said to have numbered more than two hundred and fifty thousand men, came to the relief of their brethren, and Cæsar found himself with his ten legions surrounded by an almost countless host of savage and vindictive warriors. Still he quailed not. Alesia was forced to capitulate. Vercingetorix was taken and reserved for the coming triumph. The rest were reduced to slavery. Every soldier was given a Gallic servant. The encompassing army was routed and dispersed. So signal was the overthrow of the



ROMANS INVADING GERMANY.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

made a sudden investment of Avaricum and succeeded in securing a large store of provisions. He then laid siege to Gergovia, the capital of the Avernian territories, but was presently defeated in so signal a manner that he was obliged to save himself by a retreat. The news spread like a flame in stubble, and all Gaul, excepting only the tribe of the Remi, again rose in revolt. All the barbarian floods were loosed. The desperate warriors swore that they would not return home until they had twice fought their way through the broken lines of the Romans. It was not the first or last rash oath of barbarism.

For Cæsar was equal to the emergency. He called a new levy from the province of

rebellion that the various tribes each sought to placate the anger of the conqueror and to procure favorable, or at least merciful, terms of peace. The conquest of all Gaul was completed without another blow. It only remained for Cæsar to spend the winter in settling the conditions of peace and organizing, after the Roman method, the vast territory into the two provinces—soon to be consolidated into one—of **GALLIA** and **BELGICA**.

Now it was that the qualities of the Cæsarian mind began to display themselves with that rational magnanimity for which the subsequent career of the great leader was so notably marked. The policy which he pursued towards the Gauls was characterized by a

breadth of liberality without a parallel in the previous history of the Roman provinces. The Gauls having submitted, all persecutions ceased. They were conciliated and treated as friends. Their own chiefs were recognized and honored. Roman citizenship was freely



VERCINGETORIX SURRENDERS TO CÆSAR.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

extended to many of the leaders. Several of the most distinguished were admitted to the Senate. The local institutions of the country were as little disturbed as possible; but the Latin tongue was made the language of official intercourse. No effort was spared to unify the nation as well as to Romanize the people.

While these great events were taking place in the North, the capital of Italy had been shaken with the incipient but unmistakable throes of revolution. Pompeius proved unequal to the task which had been assigned him by the triumvirs. The civil agitations which blew up from every direction, in whose breath the state stood quivering like an aspen, were more than he could apprehend or control. The audacious tribune Clodius had matters as he would. The Senate sat horrified in the shadows, while he proceeded from step to step with his revolutionary measures. Pompeius ceased to appear in the forum, and confined himself to his villa. It was in August of B. C. 57 that Cicero was at last recalled from banishment. He was hailed with delight by what remained of the senatorial party, and by the more moderate classes of the people; but Clodius and his bands of proletarians would fain have killed him in the street.

An effort was now made by Pompeius to heal the breach between himself and the senatorial party. A bill was proposed conferring upon him such powers as might have enabled him to give quiet to the city; but the Senate, ever jealous of the extension of consular authority, refused its assent, and the measure failed. The old distrust between Pompeius and Crassus had in the mean time revived, and Cæsar found it necessary to invite them to Luca, the capital of his country, where a conference was held in B. C. 56, and the two triumvirs were again reconciled. The plan suggested by Cæsar was that they should be elected consuls for the following year, with a view to being thereafter assigned to the proconsular governments of Spain and Syria. In return for his support, the triumvirs were to secure an extension for another five years of Cæsar's term in the proconsulship of Gaul. This arrangement was carried out, but not until the elections held in the Campus Martius had

been debauched of all virtue by armed bands acting in the interest of the triumvirate.

Pompeius finding himself again in authority chose not to depart with his army for Syria, but to remain in Rome. His plan was to give secret encouragement to those influences and tendencies which were likely to lead to the appointment of himself as dictator. While with the one hand he attempted to force this necessity upon the Senate, with the other he showered favors upon the people. He encouraged the games and plays, built a splendid theater in the Campus Martius, and turned five hundred lions and eighteen elephants into the arena for the delectation of the multitude. In the mean time the government was agitated by the proposition to declare war against Parthia. Not that Parthia had been in any wise aggressive; not that a treaty was lacking to preserve the peace, but in order that the ambition of Crassus might be gratified by an Eastern expedition was the measure pressed before the Senate and assembly.

Though the proposition to go to war failed of legal adoption, Crassus prepared his army and departed for Syria. Here he spent the winter of B. C. 54-53, adding to his revenues by plunder and extortion. In the following spring he made his way eastward, crossed the Euphrates, and was led into the desert by an Arabian chief who acted as guide for the expedition. When the Roman army was thus treacherously exposed on the waste plains of Mesopotamia, the Parthian host appeared on the horizon. The desert grew black with their coming. Then out of the rolling cloud of sand the long line of breast-plates flashed in the sun, and in the midst of a terrible uproar the Romans of the front ranks felt the sting of the Parthian arrows. The lines were broken under the impetuous onset. The son of Crassus, who undertook to stay the battle, was surrounded and killed. The rout became general, and the army was only saved from annihilation by the coming of darkness.

Crassus, overpowered with grief and fatigue, committed the fate of his soldiery to Octavius and Cassius. Under the guidance of these two officers a retreat was effected during the night, as far as the town of CARRHÆ; but even the

fortifications of this place were deemed insufficient for defense, and the retreat was about to be continued, when a demand for surrender was made in the name of the Parthian king. Crassus was not disposed to yield, but a division of the army mutinied, and he was obliged to capitulate. He, together with several of his leading officers, was seized by the Parthians and put to death. One division of troops, under command of Cassius, escaped from Carhræ, and reached Syria in safety. All the rest of the army, amounting to thirty thousand men, were either killed or captured.

Rome was now a prey to the rival bands of Clodius and Milo. The triumvirate was falling to pieces, and so was the Republic. The death of Crassus reduced the masters to two. It was already a duumvirate, and the ties which held the two together were dissolving. In B. C. 54, Julia, the wife of Pompeius and daughter of Cæsar, died. The latter attempted to furnish his colleague with another wife, but Pompeius, who now looked to the senatorial party for support, took, instead of Cæsar's choice, the daughter of Metellus Scipio. Soon afterwards Clodius was met in the Appian Way and killed by a company of gladiators led by Milo. The people, however, took the body to the city, tore up the benches of the Senate House for a pyre, and burned the corse and the edifice together. So terrible and frequent became the riots that in February of B. C. 52 Pompeius was appointed dictator—though without the name—and intrusted with the defense of the city. He thereupon renounced his alliance with Cæsar, and announced his purpose to uphold the Senate and maintain the ancient *régime*.

The power of the state now fell into the hands of the Optimates. Order was measurably restored in the city. The leaders of the mobs were exiled. Even Milo, though an adherent of the senatorial party, was banished to Massilia. In the next place, a law was proposed for the purpose of overthrowing Cæsar. The measure provided that no one should be a candidate for office during his absence from Italy. The friends and partisans of Cæsar demanded that he should be exempted from the operation of the law; but this was refused,

though Pompeius himself was considered as exempt. The years B. C. 51–50 were passed in suppressed excitement. Cato had given notice that on the expiration of Cæsar's term he would impeach him. The condition of the proconsul was one of extreme delicacy, not unmingled with danger.

It is necessary to understand succinctly the condition of affairs. When the conference was held between the triumvirs at Luca it was expressly agreed that when Cæsar's second five years in the proconsulship of Gaul should expire—which would be at the close of B. C. 49—he should be again elected, or permitted to stand for election, to the consulship. In order to do so, he must present himself in person in the city. In order to do this, he must resign his proconsular authority before entering Italy. Should he do so, he would no longer be protected by the sacredness of his office, and would certainly be seized and impeached as soon as he should arrive at Rome. The law, however, requiring the personal presence of the candidate in the city had become by frequent violations a dead letter, and indeed had been positively abrogated. It was now only dragged forth from the sepulcher and galvanized into apparent life to prevent by the *form* of law what the *spirit* of law no longer demanded. It can not be denied that the senatorial party, now headed by Pompeius and Cato, had determined to prevent at all hazards the reëpearance of Cæsar as a candidate for the consulship, and this in the very face of the agreement which Pompeius had subscribed at Luca, in accordance with the terms of which he had himself with presumed legality enjoyed for nearly five years the government of Italy.

Meanwhile Cæsar made unwearied efforts to effect a reconciliation. He may have intrigued to produce the condition of affairs now present in the state, but there is no denial of the fact that his conduct was henceforth on the side of law, and mostly on the side of right. Seeing from a distance the coalition of his enemies, and knowing that if he yielded, his fate was sealed, and perceiving more clearly than any other man in the Republic that the old system was effete, and that

there was neither virtue nor patriotism in performing a dance around the body of death and singing hymns to the gods of the Past, he determined to gird himself for the inevitable, and commit himself to his destiny. He accordingly proceeded to strengthen himself in the North by extending the rights of the Gauls, and lightening their burdens. At the same time he took care that nothing should bedim his fame in the capital. Near the spot formerly occupied by the Senate House he erected a palace known as the *Julian Basilica*. He instituted at his own expense—for he was now grown rich—splendid games and festivals, and left unused no means which money could procure to baffle the designs of his enemies.

At last, in B. C. 50, a measure was introduced by CAIUS MARCELLUS, requiring that Cæsar, though his term of office had not yet expired, should resign his command. When the resolution was presented to the assembly TRIBONIUS CURIO, one of the tribunes, ardently attached to the Cæsarian cause, seconded the motion on condition that the provision should be extended to Pompeius also.¹ To this, of course, the adherents of Pompeius could not well agree, and their refusal to agree meant civil war and revolution. Cicero, who by his spirit of compromise and commanding abilities, though not by his political steadfastness, was the Henry Clay of the tottering Republic, was now governor of Cilicia, having been purposely sent by the Pompeians to that distant trust to destroy his influence at the capital. So the winds were left to blow, while one thunder-cloud rose from the horizon of Cisalpine Gaul, and another hovered over Rome.

Notwithstanding the superficial supremacy of the Pompeian party, there was in Rome—even in the Senate—a tremendous underflow of sentiment against it. The senators well

remembered that Pompeius was but a recent convert from the popular party, and they distrusted him. They were willing to use him in maintaining their crumbling prerogatives, but wished to free themselves from his domination. These dispositions were clearly manifested when Curio's resolution to include Pompeius with Cæsar came to a final vote. The amendment was adopted by a majority of three hundred and fifty *concurros*,¹ in a vote of three hundred and ninety. So the measure was passed requiring Pompeius as well as Cæsar to lay down his command. The consul Marcellus, however, seeing that this resolution would by giving an equal chance to the two rivals at the bar of public opinion prove the ruin of the Pompeians as well as of their leader, refused to publish the decree. He even went further, and directed Pompeius to call out the troops and defend the city; for he had already circulated the false report that Cæsar was marching on Rome. The latter had in the meantime been deprived of two of his legions by a fraud of the Optimates. Under the pretense of sending a reinforcement to Syria, they had procured the passage of a resolution requiring Pompeius and Cæsar each to surrender a legion for the war in the East. During the Gallic insurrection Cæsar had been under the necessity of borrowing a legion from his colleague, so that both the required legions were now drawn from Cæsar's command, and none at all from that of Pompeius. Then, as soon as the legions were brought down from the North—for Cæsar cheerfully complied with the order of the Senate—they were stationed at Capua, and Syria was left to take care of herself. It was an adroit maneuver to weaken the proconsul of Gaul.

The crisis was now at hand. When the decree of the Senate was borne to Cæsar he expressed his entire readiness to resign his command if Pompeius would also comply with the law and do the same. He sent this, his determination, to the Senate, as an ultimatum, by the hands of Curio, who had fled for safety

¹ Here was the gist of the whole question. The party of the aristocracy had determined that Cæsar should be suppressed. They had determined to destroy him. He knew it. All Rome knew it. In order to succeed, they must deprive him of his command. Pompeius held his office by a tenure not one whit more constitutional than did Cæsar. The proposition of Curio, though adroit, was fair. It was shrewd, but honorable. It was politic, but legal; cunning, but right.

¹ When a Roman senator was called for his vote, he arose and said, *concurro* (I concur), or *non concurro* (I dissent), according to his views or interests.

to Cæsar's camp at Ravenna. The senators, on the receipt of this message, buzzed about like old wasps stiffened with age around their venerable nest of privilege. A resolution was carried that Cæsar should by a given day disband his army and surrender his province, under penalty of being declared a public enemy. Against this measure the tribunes of the people protested in vain, and then fled from the city to join Cæsar. The Senate thereupon, proceeded to arm the consuls with

was cast, gave the order, and crossed the Rubicon. Rome was once more in the throes of civil war.

In the mean time Cicero had returned to the capital, and was exerting his influence for peace. His constitutional timidity and lack of any well-grounded political faith left him all at sea; but he was able to apprehend clearly enough that the only security for *him* lay in the direction of reconciliation. He wrote to both Cæsar and Pompeius, beseeching



CÆSAR CROSSING THE RUBICON.

dictatorial powers, and called on Pompeius to defend the city.

Now must Cæsar decide. From Ravenna he looked into Italy. To cross the Rubicon, which here constituted the boundary between his province and the parent state, was to break the law, already broken by his enemies. He is represented as pausing—hesitating whether he would or would not take the step which should waken the echoes of war and revolution in all the civilized world. But the hesitation was only momentary. He delivered an address to his soldiers, declared that the die

them to make peace; and it is not unlikely that but for the aristocracy at the back of the latter the efforts of the great orator might have somewhat availed. It is said that when Cæsar had advanced to Ariminum he was met by secret messengers from Pompeius, proposing an adjustment. To these Cæsar replied in a conciliatory tone, repeating in substance the terms which he had offered to the Senate. But the Pompeians—whatever their leader might have been disposed to do—durst not accept a settlement; for in that event Cæsar's popularity would burst out like a flame through

all Italy, and they would be consumed. So they returned an answer that he should instantly retire from Ariminum and disband his army. Thereupon the proconsul immediately set out for Rome.

The Pompeians now had to face the issue which themselves had made. As Cæsar came on by rapid stages they fled from the city and took refuge in Brundisium. Here were gathered the remnants of the nobility, and all the prominent adherents of that cause which now depended for its success upon the generalship of Pompeius. Having passed by the capital, Cæsar followed his antagonist, and began a siege of Brundisium; but Pompeius, having control of the navy, put his followers and soldiers on board, and departed for Greece. Cæsar now turned about and made his way to Rome. Here he arranged for the government of Italy, and then set out for Spain; for he had no fleet with which to pursue Pompeius, and the lieutenants of that distinguished personage were having every thing as they would in the Spanish peninsula. In a battle fought with them at ILLERDA, Cæsar met with a serious check, but soon recovered himself and reduced the Pompeians to submission. The expedition of Curio into Africa, where that general was slain in the battle of BRAGADAS was less fortunate in its results. But the disasters of this expedition were more than counterbalanced by the conquest of Sicily. The granaries of the island were thus wrested from the Pompeians, and made to supply the armies of Cæsar.

The plans of Pompeius were greatly disconcerted by the overthrow of his forces in Spain. It had been his purpose for that division of his army to pass by way of the Pyrenees into Cisalpine Gaul, and there form a junction with the other division commanded by himself to be brought over from Macedonia, which country he had designated as the rendezvous for all the drifting fragments of the aristocracy. The union of his forces having been once effected in the valley of the Po, he purposed to invade Italy from the north, defeat Cæsar wherever he could find him, and restore the ancient *régime* in Italy. Now, however, by the defeat of Afranius and Petreius in Spain one of his arms was broken, and with

the other he must fight the battle with his antagonist in a foreign land.

Nevertheless, in the crisis which was now at hand, the advantages were on the side of Pompeius. At his camp in Macedonia he had nine legions of infantry and seven thousand horse. His supplies were abundant—inexhaustible; for behind him was the great storehouse of the East. To his assistance came Cato with the residue of his forces from Sicily, and Domitius from Massilia. Around him flocked the aristocrats and officers of the government. The Republic was now peripatetic, and had moved over into Macedonia. Cæsar held Italy, but Rome—Old Rome—the Rome of Africanus and Sulla, was with Pompeius.

In the mean time Cæsar, busy at the capital, had cleared away the *débris*, and in the dictatorship of eleven days had laid anew the foundations of the state. New Rome—the Rome that was to be—budded from the ground. A few wholesome laws—calling back exiles, calming the populace, and restoring public credit—were enacted; and then, on the 4th of January, B. C. 48, Cæsar, having assembled his war-worn veterans—the survivors of six legions—at Brundisium, made ready to embark for Epirus. With the first division of the army he crossed the Adriatic in person; but while his fleet was returning for the rest, it was attacked by Bibulus, who commanded the squadron of Pompeius, and thirty vessels were captured. The rest of the armament was driven into the harbor of Brundisium, from which perilous position, however, it was soon relieved by the energy of Marcus Antonius.

The position of Cæsar was now critical in the extreme; but he succeeded in bringing over the remainder of his forces, and secured a favorable camp near Dyrrhachium. His supplies, however, ran short, and nothing but the invincible spirit of his veterans prevented either famine or mutiny. From the first Cæsar assumed the offensive. He threw up works sixteen miles in length around the position of Pompeius. The latter, however, succeeded in breaking through the lines, and Cæsar fell back into Thessaly. This movement was really indecisive, but the followers of Pompeius foolishly regarded it as the end of the war. The



FLIGHT OF POMPEIUS FROM PHARSALIA.

profligate nobles who thronged his camp fell to debating the distribution of offices and spoils. It was only a question with them how long it would be before Cæsar's head would be displayed on a pike. When Pompeius showed some caution and hesitation, the consulars and senators began to taunt him with indecision and even incompetency. He was thus driven to follow his antagonist and make the onset. Cæsar had taken up a position at PHARSALIA, and here awaited the approach of his enemy.

On the 9th of August, B. C. 48, the Pompeian army offered battle, and the gage was gladly accepted. Cæsar's forces numbered twenty-two thousand men, while Pompeius had forty-seven thousand infantry and seven thousand horse; but the first was an army of veterans hardened by every sort of conflict and exposure, enthusiastically devoted to their general, and ready to live on roots and bark rather than concede the victory to their foes. A short but hotly contested battle ensued; in which Pompeius was utterly overthrown. Scarcely an organized company of his army remained. All were either killed, captured, or dispersed. Many went over and joined the standard of Cæsar. Pompeius with a few companions escaped from the field and took ship for Lesbos. Thence he sailed away for Egypt and landed in the harbor of Pelusium. On stepping ashore he was stabbed to death by an assassin, who had been sent thither for that work by the court of Alexandria, who hoped by this bloody deed to win the favor of Cæsar. But they little knew the temper of the man with whom they had to deal. When he arrived at Alexandria and the gory head of his former colleague was brought to him as a trophy, he turned away in horror and refused all fellowship with the murderers. He ordered the remains of Pompeius to be buried with every mark of honor, and refused to patronize that style of revenge which had hitherto prevailed as the method of Roman victors.

After the flight and death of Pompeius the remnant of the Optimæ party gathered around Cato in Illyricum; but their numbers were not formidable nor their military character such as to create alarm. Cæsar, therefore, after the battle of Pharsalia, sent a small force

to watch the movements of Cato, and himself set out with his army for Egypt. In that country the sovereign Ptolemy Anletes had recently died, leaving a will in which it was directed that the kingdom should be divided between his daughter, Cleopatra, and her brother Ptolemy. The guardians of the latter, however, refused to recognize Cleopatra's rights and undertook her expulsion. But the princess appealed to Cæsar, as did also the party of Ptolemy. It was to settle this civil broil of the Egyptians that Cæsar now entered the country. The adherents of Ptolemy refused to accept his arbitrament, and Cæsar espoused the cause of Cleopatra; nor is the suspicion wanting that his judgment in so doing was not a little influenced by the personal charms of the Egyptian princess. It is alleged that the bronzed warrior of Rome showed in his relations with the young queen how little he had forgotten the arts and sentiments of his youth. After a serious war of nine months' duration the forces of Ptolemy were dispersed and Cleopatra was restored to her rights.

The provincials of Rome had not yet learned the character of the conqueror of the Gauls. Rumors were circulated from time to time that he was dead, that his army had mutinied, that he had been defeated in battle. Such a story was set afloat in Asia Minor, and Pharnaces of Pontus, son of Mithridates, raised the standard of revolt. Cæsar, hearing of the rebellion, passed over hastily into the Asiatic province, fell upon Pharnaces at Ziela, and annihilated his army at a blow. It was on this occasion that he sent to the Senate that celebrated dispatch in which he announced his victory in the three words: *Veni, vidi, vici*. "I came, I saw, I conquered."

The horizon was now sufficiently cleared to admit of Cæsar's return to Rome. He found affairs at the capital in a state of great confusion. The Tribune Dolabella and Antonius, to whom Cæsar had intrusted the defense of the city, had managed matters with little skill. More serious by far than the disquietude occasioned by the imprudence of his subordinates was the mutiny of the tenth legion at Capua. This body of soldiers had been the

favorites of Caesar, but during his long absence had become impatient of the restraints of the camp and arrogant in their demands. They had first killed their officers, and then marched

peared to have reference to a payment of their dues, the bestowal of promised presents, and a release from further duty. Caesar well knew that the best way to humiliate an insurrection



CÆSAR AT THE GRAVE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

After the painting by H. Showmer.

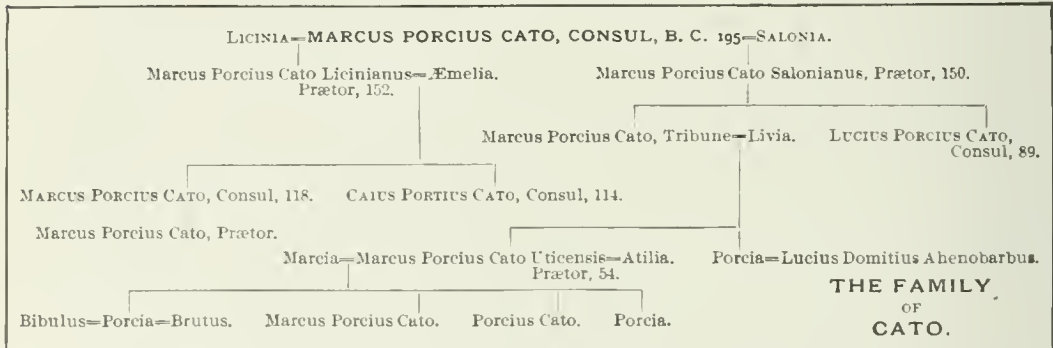
on the capital. The city was endangered by the mutineers, and Caesar's coming was anxiously awaited. He mustered the soldiers in the Campius Martius, and requested a statement of their grievances. Their demands ap-

is to grant what it clamors for. He accordingly made an address to his old legion, being careful to begin with "Citizens," instead of "Soldiers." This was gall and wormwood. To be addressed as *citizens* by their beloved

commander! "I discharge you." said he. "You have had enough of fatigue and wounds. I release you from your oaths. As to your presents, you shall be paid to the last sesterce." The old veterans could stand no more. They burst into tears, and began to beg for forgiveness. With a certain prudent hesitation, Cæsar received them back to favor; but he took care that the leaders who had fomented the mutiny should be executed. It was the work of a master.

During the former stay of Cæsar at Rome—after the escape of Pompeius from Brundisium—he had reorganized the government as nearly on the former basis as was practicable under the circumstances. The Senate, the assembly, the tribunate, and all the political

and confiscation should begin. Against all this Cæsar stood like a pillar of stone. He would permit no work of spite and revenge—no spoliation of the state in the interest of his friends. Antonius, who bid in the estate of Pompeius, was obliged to pay for it just as though he had bought the villa of a friend. He who had formerly, at the peril of his life, restored the statue of Marius now restored those of Sulla and Pompeius, which had been thrown down by the populace after the battle of Pharsalia. In every department and every work of his administration—for he had now been named dictator, with full powers both in peace and war—he showed the same spirit and purpose. His genius rose above the narrow and revengeful spirit of his times, and soared



forms to which the Romans were accustomed were preserved without alteration. As to the Senate, however, the complexion of that body was greatly changed. The old aristocratic element was nearly extinct. After the battle of Pharsalia a certain number of those who had been Optimates made their peace with the victor, and returned to their former place in the government. Cicero was reconciled—a thing not difficult with so pliant a character—and hastened back to his old haunts at the capital.

It thus happened that on the return of Cæsar from Asia Minor he found a government thoroughly favorable to himself, but not very competent for the great work of political transformation. The *spirit* of the government, moreover, as well as the spirit of the people, was in many respects antagonistic to the purposes of Cæsar. There was an expectancy—even a demand—that the work of proscription

into a new atmosphere, too fine and deep for the gaze of his countrymen.

The Pompeians still held Africa. With them was leagued JUBA, king of Numidia. Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompeius, refusing to recognize the logic of events, and still believing in the Rome that was, held command of the African province, and refused to be reconciled. Cato also refused to write *Respublica fuit*, and held out with his old-time obstinacy at Utica. In the beginning of B. C. 46 Cæsar found it necessary to go in person to Africa to reduce the country to submission. He crossed the Mediterranean, and in April encountered the forces of Scipio at THAPSUS. The latter was completely overthrown. Not a vestige was left of his army. His losses were reported at fifty thousand, while those of Cæsar were less than a hundred men! A few of Scipio's officers, such as Labienus and the two sons of Pompeius, escaped and took refuge in Spain.



"CITIZENS! I DISCHARGE YOU."

Utica was still held by Cato. But this sturdy and honest old republican saw that the cause was hopelessly lost. He accordingly urged his friends and followers to escape or make peace with the conqueror. He dismissed the Utican Senate, and discouraged all further efforts at resistance. For himself, however, he determined to seek a peace which could never be disturbed. He wrote a letter to Cæsar, in which he denounced him with all the devoted folly of expiring patriotism. As to himself, he declared that he had lived an unconquered life, and had achieved superiority in those things in which he wished to excel. He told Cæsar that the vanquisher was vanquished, and that the arbiter of others' fate ought to be a suppliant for his own; and, moreover, that he who was convicted of ambitious designs against his country was already falling and ready to perish.

Having prepared this message, so true and so false—for such a paradox is the utterance of him who outlives the virtue of his age and country—Cato bathed, supped, and retired for the night. He lay on his couch and read twice through that part of the *Phædo* of Plato in which the author reasons of the immortality of the soul. He inquired anxiously if his friends who had gone down to the coast had succeeded in embarking, and then felt at the head of his couch for his sword. It was already the dappled-gray of morning, and the first sounds of the waking day gave token that the great drama would soon begin, but for Cato nevermore. He arose from his place of repose, thrust his sword through his body, and sank back into that other repose from which not even the knock of Cæsar could awake him.

The reduction of Africa was the end of the struggle which left Cæsar master of Rome. After five hundred years the great Republic had paid the debt which was in large measure due to her cruelties and crimes. Oligarchy on the surface, and slavery in the bottom, had made popular liberty impossible. Yet popular liberty was necessary to perpetuity. Cæsar was a leader of the people. He was a reformer of the heroic type. In all the qualities of greatness, whether of mind and purpose

or actual deeds, he was a head and shoulders above the age he lived in. He alone,

“In form and gesture proudly eminent,”

was able to control and calm the turbulent elements which whirled in a vortex around the axis of Rome. He was necessary to his times, as all men are necessary to theirs. He rose out of chaos, and reigned because the chaos feared him. To him the state, sinking into the sea, held up her hands for rescue. It is needless to speak of his vanity, his egotism, his ambition, his extra-constitutional methods. It was a time of fruitful anarchy, of transition, of growth. Some single intelligence stronger, clearer than the rest was necessary to the further advance of the human race. It is easy for reactionists and croakers to point to Julius Cæsar as the despoiler of liberty. So far as Roman Liberty was concerned, she had already perished—at least in character. She was no longer virgin, matron, or widow. She kept the bagnio of Old Rome. She had visitors from Sulla to Spartacus. The purblind Scipios and Catos still believed her pure. They gave their lives in attestation of her chastity. Cæsar knew her to be what she was, and proceeded to the demolition of the establishment. It was necessary; just as the barbarians will be necessary five hundred or a thousand years to come.

If in his battle with the Nervii, “Cæsar had every thing to do at once,” the same might be said of his present condition. The state was to be reorganized; society, reconstituted. The provinces must be quieted; their government, reformed. Rome must be lifted to a new level; her people, pacified. New institutions must be formulated; old prejudices, cajoled. The situation was such as to bring out the best qualities of the Cæsarian genius. Fortunately for himself, the associated powers of the government were in a mood to give him ample latitude. In B. C. 46, he was made dictator for ten years, and in 44 the office was extended for life. His rank of censor, or Prefect of Morals, was likewise made a life tenure. He was chosen tribune for life, and consul for ten years. He already held the place of pontifex maximus, and to these accumulated dignities

and powers was now added the title of *Imperator*. Nor was any social distinction which it was possible to confer withheld. A golden chair was provided for him in the Senate House. His effigy was carried in the procession of the gods. The month Quintillis was changed to *Julius* in his honor. He was called the Father of his Country, and a statue erected to him in the Capitol, was inscribed, KAISARI HEMITHEŌ—“to Cæsar the Demigod.”

Perhaps this adulation had less effect on the master of the world than appeared on the surface. At any rate, he concerned himself more with the substantial honors of a triumph than with the lucubrations of the obsequious Senate. The celebration which was given in his honor far surpassed the greatest of the great triumphs previously accorded to the generals of Rome. The pageant of Cæsar embraced the spoils and trophies of Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, and Africa. The captives of the train presented a strange jumble of races and conditions. An African chief walked by the side of Vercingetorix and British Celts kept pace with the swarthy sons of the Syrian desert. The car of triumph was drawn by white horses, and was conducted to the Capitol in charge of seventy-two lictors. Then came the division of spoils. Each soldier received five thousand denarii. The people received four hundred sesterces apiece, besides a liberal distribution of corn and oil. In the public places of the city twenty-two thousand tables were spread with what viands soever the spoiled markets of the world could furnish, and the citizens were invited to feast until they were full. Then the circus, covered for the first time with an immense awning of silk, was opened, and the horrible combats of beasts and men began.

On this great occasion it was noticed that nothing was exhibited to remind the people of the battle of Pharsalia. The magnanimous Cæsar refused to celebrate a victory over Romans.¹ Aye, more: he insisted on an amnesty. None were exempted from its provis-

ions except those officers who had taken the part of Pompeius after the battle of Ilerda. Many of the friends of the Imperator, who had stood hungering for the confiscation to begin awoke to the fact that there was to be no confiscation at all. So they murmured, not loud, but deep.

Measures of reform were now pressed with long and rapid strides. The debtor class was relieved by judicious legislation. The rights of citizens were made equal. The executive department of the government was made independent of the Senate. The plan of relieving Rome, and at the same time strengthening the provinces by establishing colonies in foreign parts, was adopted in earnest. The Roman clubs were either suppressed or made obedient to law. The recipients of the gratuitous distribution of grain were reduced in number more than one-half. Order suddenly sprang from anarchy, and prosperity from the debris of civil war.

While these great reforms were progressing, the energies of Cæsar's mind were directed to the decoration and improvement of the city. A new Senate House was projected. A theater was planned on a scale surpassing any thing hitherto accomplished. A great public library was designed to rival—perhaps surpass—that of Alexandria. The engineers were ordered to consider the establishment of a new channel for the Tiber, by which the Campus Vaticanus, now on the right bank, should be thrown to the left, and made a substitute for the Campus Martius. The latter was thus to be recovered from its present uses, and devoted to the purposes of private and public building. The plan also embraced the draining of the Pontine marshes and the establishment for the city of a seaport more eligible than that of Ostia.

In the mean time the legislative revolution was carried steadily forward. Laws were passed for the abolition of usury; others for the development of the agricultural interest; others reviving the statutes of Licinius; others relating to the subjects of debt and bankruptcy; others reforming the calendar and codifying the laws of the state. Of still larger aim were those enactments by which the rights

¹ If Pompeius had won the battle of Pharsalia, he would have exhibited the cloak of Cæsar (if not his bald head) as an object fit to elicit the loudest applause. And the Optimates would have taken care that the applause was given.

of citizenship were conferred on the Roman colonists in Africa, Gaul, and Spain. Above all these laws and executive measures rose the one great purpose of Cæsar, which was to unify and consolidate, not only the peoples of Italy, but those of all the states and provinces ruled by Roman authority, under one dominion—the *EMPIRE* of the future.

During the progress of these great civil movements at the capital a serious rebellion had been organized in Spain by Cæsar's old lieutenant, Labienus, and Sextus and Cneius, the two sons of Pompeius. In the year B. C. 45 they succeeded in putting into the field an army so large and well equipped that Cæsar was unwilling to intrust the command of the expedition against them to any but himself. The spring and summer months were occupied with an arduous campaign, which culminated in the battle of *MUNDA*. Hardly since the day when he fought with the *Nervii*—certainly not since the day of *Pharsalia*—had Cæsar seen a field so hotly and bloodily contested. Not until thirty thousand of the enemy, including Cneius Pompeius, the eldest of the brothers, had been slain, did the victory declare against the insurgents. The rebellion was extinguished at a blow, and Cæsar was honored with another splendid triumph at Rome. He was still further honored by the Senate, which body passed resolutions assigning to him a golden chair in the Senate House, a triumphal robe to be worn at the games, and a diadem decorated with gems.

By this time, however, an under-current of hostility was created against him. Every cause and occasion of public and private grief conduced to produce disaffection. Jealousy, envy, discontent—every motive which could inflame the passions of those who saw a greater than themselves in the world—played upon the dispositions and purposes of those who, having no policy of their own, were willing to obliterate the new institutions and their creator for the mere gratification of hatred and revenge. A knowledge of the foment against him reached Cæsar himself; but he refused the precaution of a body-guard, preferring exposure to cowardice. He occupied himself with the great business of state, and began to or-

ganize an expedition against Parthia. In the midst of these preparations, rumors were circulated in the city that Cæsar was aiming to be king. The hated name, which had last been borne by Tarquin the Haughty, was trumped up and flung like a firebrand into the multitude. There is little doubt that the people were on one or two occasions instigated to hail him as king; but the Emperor merely replied, "I am no king, but Cæsar." Presently afterwards, at the feast of *Lupercalia*, Marcus Antonius is said to have offered him a diadem as he sat in the golden chair decreed him by the Senate. But Cæsar rejected the bauble, saying, "I am not king; the Romans have no king but Jupiter." During the night the statues of Cæsar were crowned with wreaths, though whether by friends or foes did not appear.

These circumstances furnished material for a conspiracy against Cæsar's life. The malcontents, embracing about seventy plotters of high and low degree, banded themselves together to destroy him. The ringleader of the conspirators was a certain *LONGINUS CAIUS CASSIUS*, who had been a lieutenant in the army of Pompeius. After the battle of *Pharsalia* he had fallen into the hands of Cæsar, who not only granted him a pardon, but received him into favor, promising the office of prætor and the province of Syria. To this monstrous ingrate fell the dastardly work of developing the plot for the destruction of his benefactor's life. With him was joined *MARCUS JUNIUS BRUTUS*, the son-in-law of Cato, who, though honorable in his intentions, was easily abused with the belief that Cæsar was aiming at the name and authority of king.

Like Cassius, Brutus had been a lieutenant under Pompeius at the battle of *Pharsalia*, but had received the favor and pardon of the conqueror. He, as well as his co-conspirator, must now add to the crime of murder the crime of ingratitude. It is said that Brutus hesitated to enter into the conspiracy, but the other plotters threw billets into his window, demanding that he should awake and do his duty, and put notes into the hands of the statue of the elder Brutus, expressing the wish of the anonymous writers that *he* could arise from



the dead and save Rome. Marcus Brutus was thus induced to give his name and influence to the base and bloody work.

A meeting of the Senate was called for the 15th (or Ides) of March. The subject to be considered was the question of the Parthian war. It was determined by the conspirators to consummate their work at this meeting. The city was full of rumors and agitation. The plotters more than half betrayed themselves by their looks and actions. Popular tradition has preserved the story of prodigies and portents in both the earth and the heavens. Battalions of warriors were seen contend-



MARCUS JUNIUS BRUTUS.—Rome, Capitol.

ing in a cloud. Cæsar's horses wept and would not eat. A solitary bird of evil omen croaked in the forum. A lioness gave birth to whelps on the steps of the Capitol. A soothsayer came and warned Cæsar that the Ides of March was a day of fate, and Calpurnia, Cæsar's wife, besought him not to go forth to the Senate House. But the latter could not be moved and went to his duty and his death.

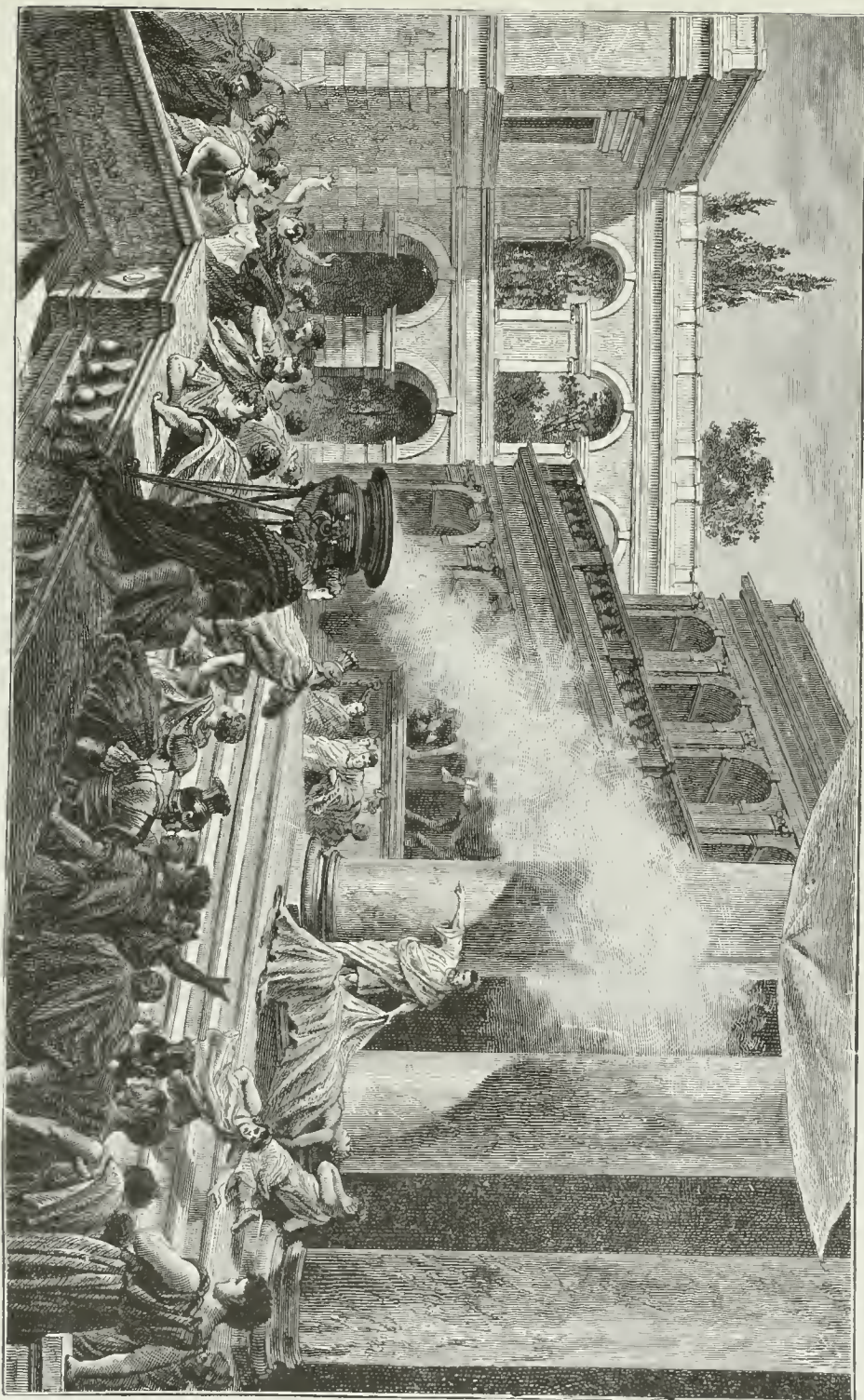
When he entered the chamber the senators were already seated. As soon as he had taken his chair the conspirators, with daggers under their cloaks, crowded around him and began to petition for the recall from banishment of

a certain Cimber, brother of one of the senators present. Cæsar refused the petition, which was pressed with additional earnestness by Brutus and Cassius until the Emperor in some anger rose from his seat. Thereupon he was attacked. Casca, one of the meanest of the crowd, stabbed him in the neck. Cæsar seized the arm of his assailant, exclaiming: "Villain, what dost thou mean?" For a brief moment he defended himself from the daggers of his enemies, but seeing Brutus among the number he cried out, *Et tu, Brute!*¹ then drew his mantle over his face and fell, pierced with twenty-three wounds, at the foot of the statue of Pompeius.

It was one thing to murder the greatest man of the age, and another to explain the deed. The conspirators had acted without much regard to the future. They had cut down the main stay of the state and had nothing to offer instead. They had hoped in a vague sort of way for the restitution of the Republic, and to this end relied upon the senatorial party for support. But most of the senators were Cæsar's friends, and when they saw him fall they fled in dismay from the Senate House. When the murderers looked around after the accomplishment of their infamous deed, expecting to be applauded, they saw only empty benches. They stood face to face with the vacuity of a great crime.

At the time of the assassination the Roman army, under command of LEPIDUS, was outside the city gates waiting for the announcement of the Parthian expedition. The chief friend of the dead Emperor was MARCUS ANTONIUS, and to him the conspirators—though they had recently discussed the question of killing him also—were now obliged to look for aid in the business of restoring the Republic. Antonius, fearing for his life, had escaped to his own house, but he soon learned that the assassins had stopped with the murder of Cæsar, and that he himself was sought for by Brutus. He determined to make the most of what remained of the world, and should opportunity offer to make a terrible settlement with the murderers of Cæsar. He accordingly gave in his adherence to the scheme of the restoration and

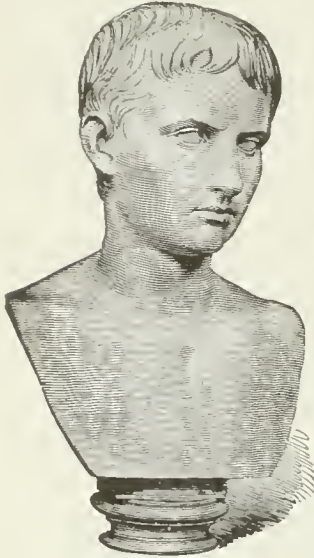
¹ "Thou, too, Brutus!"



MARK ANTONY DELIVERING THE FUNERAL ORATION OVER THE DEAD BODY OF CAESAR.
Drawn by H. E. V. Bertelsh.

began to take counsel with those who had struck down the impersonation of the state.

As soon as it was known that Cæsar was slain there were stormy scenes in the capital.



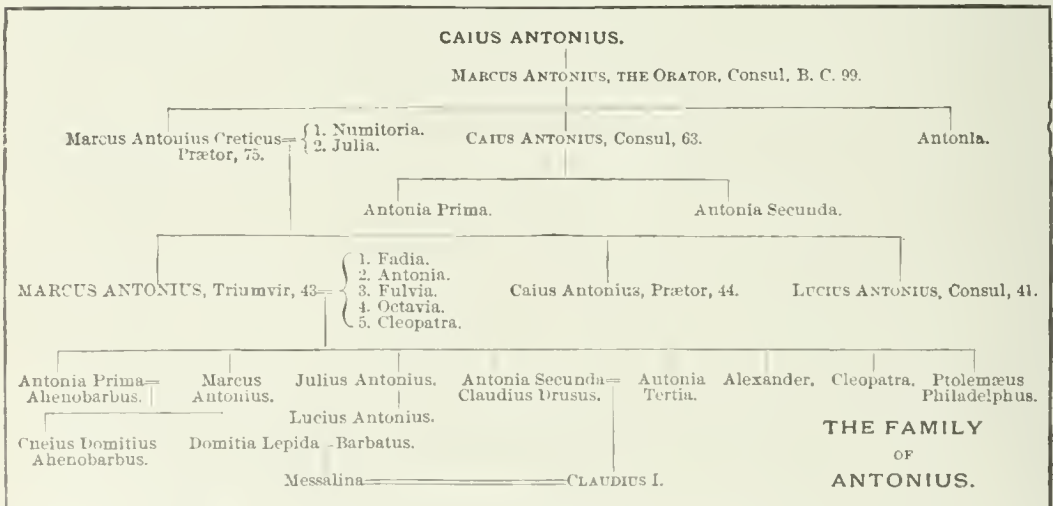
THE YOUNG CAIUS OCTAVIUS.
Rome, Vatican.

The populace rolled in unsteady masses from side to side. The sea-beds of Rome were shaken as by an earthquake. There was no uprising in favor of the conspirators. Here and there the solitary cries of the old aristocrats could be heard in cheerless applause like the notes of ill-voiced birds cry-

ing out of the shadows of the past. The assassins of Cæsar had to seek refuge in the Capitol; but through the agency of Cicero a conference was presently held and a reconciliation effected.

The opportunity soon came. Antonius was appointed to deliver the funeral oration over the body of Cæsar. He took advantage of the occasion, and produced a marvelous discourse, in which genuine praise of the virtues of the great dead was adroitly interwoven with ironical concessions to the virtues of his murderers. A waxen effigy of the body of the illustrious hero, with its twenty-three gaping wounds, was shown to the people under the glare of tapers. Finally Antonius read Cæsar's will, in which *many of the conspirators were remembered with legacies!* The Emperor's gardens beyond the Tiber were bequeathed to the people, and every citizen was to receive three hundred sesterces! The effect of this disclosure of Cæsar's benevolent purposes was tremendous. The inflammable multitude took fire. The storm of reaction swept every thing before it. The conspirators' houses were burned and themselves driven from the city. Brutus and Cassius were glad to escape with their lives.

In the mean time all of Cæsar's acts had been confirmed by the Senate. The world can murder the doer, but can not undo the deed! A transformation had been effected which could not be transfixed with a dagger. Anto-



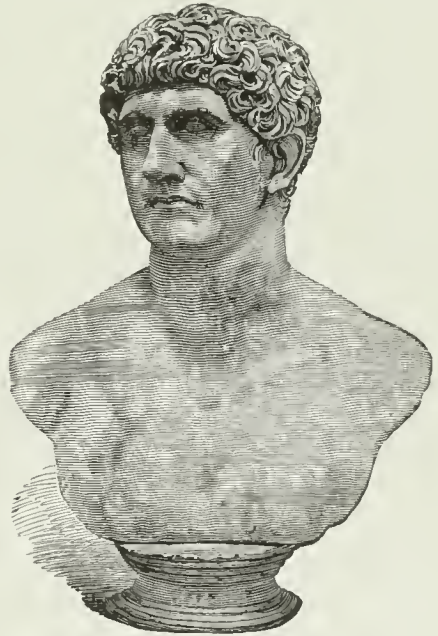
It was agreed that there should be no more bloodshed and an amnesty for all past offenses. Meanwhile Antonius had obtained possession of Cæsar's will and estate, and awaited the opportunity which was to make all things even.

Antonius was master of the city. Lepidus commanded the army. Young Caius Octavius, son of the daughter of Cæsar's sister, had been recognized as his heir; and the word *heir* might already have been rendered "successor."

The policy of Cæsar was pursued, and things which he merely contemplated were made the basis of new laws.

It now appeared that Antonius was to be master of Rome in Cæsar's stead. That great mouth by the name of Cicero had occasion to declare that though the tyrant was dead, the tyranny still lived. Nor is it impossible that Antonius, who had now by the marriage of his daughter to Lepidus, secured that general's cordial support, might have retained his ascendancy in the state. To his complete success, however, one serious obstacle opposed itself, and that obstacle was Octavius. This young man, himself of large ambitions and abilities, was in Apollonia at the time of his great uncle's assassination. As soon as he heard the news he hastened to Rome, assumed his adoptive name of CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS, and laid claim to the rights and duties of his inheritance. He was received with much favor by the people. Even the Senate was cordial; for it was hoped in that body that Octavianus could be played off against Antonius, and an opportunity be thus obtained for the restoration of the Republic. The aristocracy at this time was led by Cicero, who for policy's sake induced the senators to support the young whelp of Cæsarism until what time they might the more conveniently dispose of him and his cause. So, while Marcus Antonius was absent on an expedition against the insurgent DECIVS BRUTUS, in Cisalpine Gaul, Cicero procured the passage of a resolution declaring him a public enemy. Octavianus was authorized to go to the relief of Brutus, who was besieged in Mutina by Antonius. The latter was twice defeated; Brutus was relieved; Antonius joined Lepidus beyond the Alps, and the young Cæsar was left master of Italy. No sooner, however, had this leadership been attained than the senatorial party, having used Octavianus till they thought his services no longer needed, and disliking him as heartily as they did Antonius, transferred the command to Brutus. This act precipitated a crisis. Octavianus returned to Rome. His soldiers entered the Senate House and demanded the consulship for their master. The aristocrats bad to succumb, and Cæsar was made consul.

Negotiations were now opened with Antonius and Lepidus. An interview was held and a reconciliation effected. The three leaders agreed to a joint government of Rome. Thus was formed the SECOND TRIUMVIRATE. The settlement was to continue for five years. It was stipulated that the new Cæsar and Lepidus should proceed at once against Marcus Brutus and Cassius, under whose banners had gathered or were gathering the fragments of the aristocratic opposition. Nor were the triumvirs slow to eliminate from the capital and the neighboring states the residue of the faction which upheld the counter-revolution. Chief



MARCUS ANTONIUS.

among this party was Cicero. The great orator had endeavored to please every body, and had pleased none. The lawyer had been uppermost in him so long that his eyes had been transferred to his back, and he could only gaze down the pathway of the past and sigh for a precedent. He advanced blindly against the naked sword of his fate. For the triumvirs made up a proscription list, and Antonius pricked the name of Cicero. The orator endeavored to escape, and would have succeeded had not a certain sentimental indecision prevailed over common sense to bring him back to his villa at Formiæ. His friends endeavor-

ored to dissuade him, but he replied that he preferred death to exile from that country *which he had so often saved!* The egotism of the great but weak old man haunted him to death. When his pursuers were close at hand, his servants endeavored to bear him away, but he

made their stand in Macedonia. Here for the last time the Republic lifted its sword against the Empire—the Past against the Present. Antonius went first with an army into Epirus, and was there joined by Octavianus with another. The combined forces proceeded across



MURDER OF CICERO.

was overtaken and killed in his litter. His head was cut off and presented to Fulvia, the wife of Antonius, and by her orders the protruding tongue was nailed with a bodkin to a post in the Forum. "Now," said she, "wag no more!"

These events occupied the year B. C. 43. In the mean time Brutus and Cassius had

Greece, where the leaders of the opposition had thus far appeared more concerned about spoils than for the overthrow of Cæsarism. The two forces met at PHILIPPI, which place had already been pointed out to the superstitious mind of Brutus by the specter of the murdered Julius as the spot where they should meet again. Here two battles were fought, in the first of which

Cassius, being defeated by Antonius, committed suicide. The other division, however, led by Brutus, gained the advantage over Octavianus, but in no part of the field was the result decisive. After twenty days of preparation another conflict ensued, in which the army of Brutus was totally routed. The principal adherents of the old cause were either killed or captured. A few escaped to the ships, and fled to Sextus Pompeius, in Sicily. Brutus made amends for the murder of Cæsar by fall-

eclipsed by personal vices. His ambition evaporated like morning dew in the fire of a passion which was kindled during his stay in Cilicia. Cleopatra, the youthful and voluptuous queen of Egypt—the same who had tried her ruinous charms not wholly without avail on the great Julius—visited the more susceptible Antonius, who from the time he first saw her in her galley ascending the Cydnus became her slave. Nothing ever availed to break for more than a brief period the spell



THE SUICIDE OF BRUTUS.

Drawn by H. Vogel.

ing on his own sword. He left his transfixed body to the gaze of the conqueror, and to posterity a reputation far better than his deeds.

After the battle of Philippi a new assignment of provinces was made, by the terms of which Antonius was to receive Transalpine Gaul and Illyricum; while Spain and Numidia were given to Octavianus. Antonius, however, preferred to remain in the East and extort from its opulent cities the means of gratification for himself and his friends. At this point his really great abilities began to be

which the enchantress flung around him. He followed her to Alexandria, and drowned himself in African dissipations.

In Italy, Octavianus was for a while severely beaten by adverse winds. The soldiers had to be supplied with the lands which had been promised as their reward for services in overthrowing the last forces of the old Republic. These lands had to be procured by the spoliation of estates, and even by the depopulation of towns. Those who were dispossessed became the breeders of discontent. Fulvia, the



CLEOPATRA GOING TO MEET ANTONIUS ON THE CYDNUS.—After the Painting by H. Makart, Stuttgart.

wife of Antonius, hearing of his proceedings in the East, stirred up strife in the hope of recalling him to Italy. His brother was in the mean time cooped up in Perusia, on the Upper Tiber, and compelled to surrender by Agrippa, the general of Octavianus. These doings at last aroused Antonius, who embarked with a part of his forces and sailed for the capital.

On his way thither he entered into a league with Sextus Pompeius to make war on the Cæsar; but the Roman soldiers refused to fight their brethren with whom they had so recently encamped as friends in Macedonia, and the triumvirs were obliged to make a treaty. A conference was held at Brundisium, and the rivals were once more pacified. The world was divided into two parts, the East and the West. Antonius took the former, and Octavianus the latter; and to make the settlement final, Octavia, the sister of the Cæsar, was married to Antonius. He and Octavianus then went to Rome, and the pacification was properly celebrated with games and festivals.

There still remained to be placated Sextus Pompeius. Holding possession of Sicily and commanding the fleet, he was master at least of the stomach of Rome. When the stomach began to gnaw, then the mouth of Rome began to clamor. The triumvirs were obliged to open their triangular compact, and take in Sextus. To him was assigned the government of Sicily and Achaia, on condition that the Roman corn-market should be at once supplied.

The treaty was no sooner made than broken. Sextus did not receive his provinces, and Rome did not receive her corn. Antonius came with a powerful fleet to enforce compliance, but Octavianus would not coöperate, and another

settlement was undertaken at Tarentum. Sextus was now left out, and his suppression was intrusted to Cæsar. In the following year, B. C. 37, Octavianus, having equipped a powerful squadron, met the fleet of Sextus near Naulochus, and gained a victory so complete as to transfer to himself the undisputed dominion of the Mediterranean. Sextus escaped from the island, and sought to obtain the favor of Antonius in the East, but was seized by one of that general's lieutenants and put to death.

In a short time after these events a new and serious complication arose, which for the time threatened the destruction of the triumvirate. Lepidus came over from Africa to aid Agrippa, the general of Octavianus, in the reduction of Messana, held by the Pompeians. As soon as the city was taken, the soldiers of the old cause saluted Lepidus as Emperor. Nor was the triumvir insensible to the dangerous compliment. His forces, united with the Pompeians, amounted to no fewer than twenty legions, and with these, if their loyalty remained unshaken, he might well hope to bid defiance to any force which could be immediately brought against him. The crisis was truly perilous, and it was put aside by a method truly Cæsarian. Octavianus went unarmed into the camp, and won over the army of Lepidus by a wave of the hand. The treacherous triumvir was deposed and shut up in the island of Circeii, where he remained until his death.

Thus was the world divided between the rivals, Octavianus and Antonius. The former from his central position at the capital of the Empire was now welcomed by all classes as the head of that government which had been established by the logic of events. He planted himself, as far as it was practical, within the forms of the Roman constitution. Large concessions were made in extending the rights of citizenship and securing that amelioration of the condition of the people for which the great Julius had so earnestly contended. He wisely endeavored to turn men's minds to the pursuits of peace. To this end he made MÆCENAS his principal counselor, and joined with him in the encouragement of literature and art.

With the deposition of Lepidus, in B. C. 36, the triumvirate ended, though the partnership between Antonius and Octavianus still remained in force. According to the terms of the treaty of Tarentum, the former leader received from the latter a division of twenty thousand soldiers, to aid in the war against Parthia. After the lapse of nearly two years, Antonius finally departed for the East. An army of a hundred thousand men was assembled on the Euphrates. He crossed Mesopotamia, and pressed his way into the Parthian kingdom as far as Prasapa. But here he was compelled



CLEOPATRA.

to pause. The Parthians, hovering on the wings and rear of the army, cut off his supplies, and, when he began to retreat, inflicted severe losses on the legions. In the next campaign, which was directed against Armenia, he was more successful, and he returned to Alexandria laden with the spoils of the Orient.

Octavia had been left at Rome, and Antonius was again ensnared in the net of Cleopatra. The former excesses and dissipations of the illustrious pair were totally eclipsed by the profligate abandonment to which they now surrendered themselves. To her personal charms the Egyptian queen added the highest intelli-

lectual attainments of the age. She was versed in languages; a proficient in music, art, and literature. Her recklessness was equaled by her ambition. Through all the wasteful extravagance and dissipations in which she in-

mastered by one, not two. Or failing in this scheme of dominion, her next purpose was to detach Antonius from the very recollection of Rome, and to fix him and his court permanently at Alexandria. Thus at any rate would



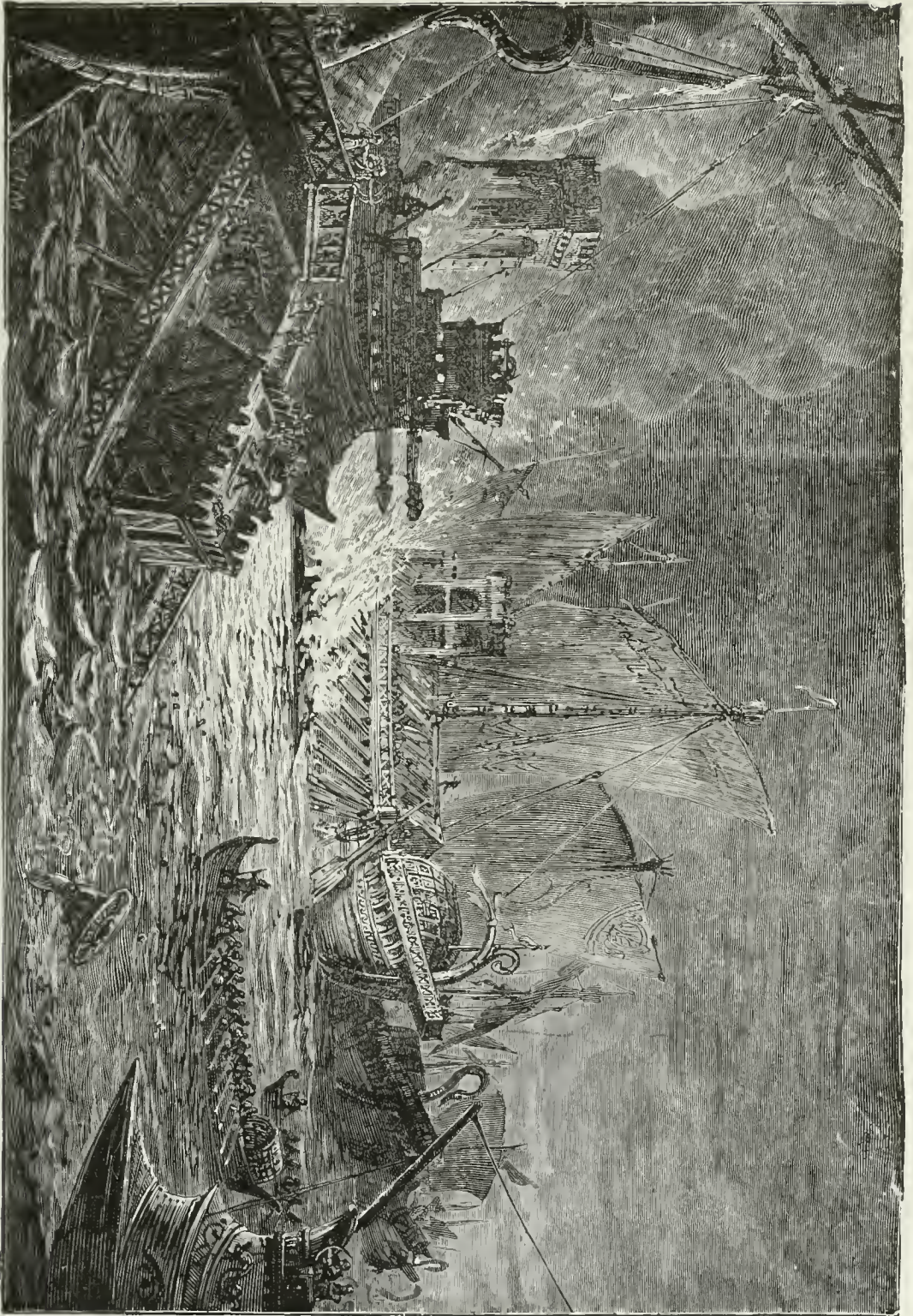
ANTONIUS AND CLEOPATRA AS OSIRIS AND ISIS.

Drawn by B. Moerlings.

dulged with Antonius there ran a thread of policy which united all her subordinate designs in a single great purpose, that of becoming queen of the Roman Empire. In the way of this ambition stood the figure of Octavianus. She clearly perceived that the world must be

be established an oriental monarchy having herself for its queen.

While the empire of passion thus flourished for a season in the East, the empire of reason was instituted in the West. The influence of Octavianus was constantly extended, and the



BATTLE OF ACTIUM.

Cæsarian régime was already accepted as a fact accomplished. Octavianus was careful to popularize his government by fostering methods and practices to which the people were attached. In Italy his policy of peace secured the tranquillity of the state, and his successful foreign wars with Dalmatia and Pannonia added luster to his reputation as a warrior. By the aid of his friend and counselor, Agrippa, now ædile of the city, Rome was beautified and adorned with magnificent public works. Statues and fountains were seen on every hand, and beautiful buildings in the Corinthian and composite styles of architecture were erected in number and proportions hitherto unequalled. Nor did Octavianus forget that "*Bread and the Circus*" was still the motto of the great mass of Romans. He therefore made large distributions of grain, patronized the games and combats, and improved the theaters.

As was natural under the circumstances, the two leaders of the Roman world became first estranged and then hostile. Not without good reason did Octavianus charge his brother-in-law with squandering the revenues of the East in the vain attempt to satisfy the passions and caprices of the Egyptian queen. When the consular elections for B. C. 32 were held the officers chosen were the friends of Antonius. They openly opposed the policy of the Cæsar, and the latter was obliged to go into the Senate House with a body-guard, and reply to the charges of his enemies. He soon managed, however, to obtain possession of the will of Antonius, which had been deposited with the vestal virgins, and in which the purposes of the testator were fully developed. The distinguished profligate had sure enough bequeathed his provinces and treasures to the children of Cleopatra. One of this spurious brood, named Cæsarion, was declared to be the heir and successor of Julius Cæsar. Finally Antonius had provided for the burial of his own body with that of Cleopatra in Alexandria. The contents of the document were divulged by Octavianus, and the public mind was so incensed towards Antonius that the Senate declared war, not indeed against *him*, but against the enchantress, who had woven

around him the web of her African ambition and passions.

Antonius accepted the gage thus thrown at his feet. He divorced Octavia, and thus broke the last tie binding him to Rome. By the terms of the existing compact between the two leaders their partnership was to last until the close of B. C. 32. Already before this date the rivals were busily engaged in preparations for the coming conflict. Antonius had his head-quarters first at Athens and then in Epirus, and there he mustered his army. Octavianus crossed over with his forces from Brundisium and landed at the Acroceraunian promontory. Thence he directed his march to the Ambracian Gulf, where he encamped opposite Actium.

The limited supplies of his army, as well as the disaffection of his soldiers, compelled Antonius to risk a general battle. His own preference was to decide the conflict in an engagement by land, but Cleopatra induced him to accept a battle with the enemy's fleet. The two squadrons were accordingly drawn up off ACTIUM. Here, again, the mastery of the world was staked upon the conflict. The engagement took place on the 2d of September, B. C. 31, and was long and obstinate. Late in the day, while the issue was still undecided, Cleopatra, who with her sixty galleys was in the rear of the line of Antonius, believing, perhaps, that victory was inclining to the side of Octavianus, caught a favoring breeze and fled from the scene. Antonius, thereupon, choosing the society of a woman to the dominion of the world, flung himself into a swift-sailing galley and followed in the wake of her flight. For a while the conflict was continued by his lieutenants, but they were presently borne down by the vessels of Agrippa and driven from the sea. The victory was decisive and final. The land forces of Antonius made a voluntary surrender and were incorporated with the army of the conqueror.

Octavianus made haste to settle the affairs of Greece, long groaning under the exactions of Antonius, and then pursued that illustrious fugitive to Egypt. There he and Cleopatra had resumed their old life of luxury and abandonment. They feasted and reveled to satiety



CLEOPATRA DURING THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM.

Drawn by H. Vogel.

and spent the residue of their time in experimenting with poisons and venomous insects to see if nature had provided any creature able to afford a pleasurable exit from life. For the distinguished voluptuaries knew full well that for them the door would soon swing outward which opens into the shadows.

As soon as Octavianus arrived in Egypt, Antonius and Cleopatra sought to be reconciled with him and perchance obtain another lease of power. But the victor would have no more trifling. Pelusium was taken and Alexandria besieged. In the defense of the city, Antonius rose suddenly to the full stature of a soldier. Stripped of resources and left almost to the nakedness of personal valor, he defended himself like one of the heroes of Troy. While the siege was progressing Cleopatra, beaten by conflicting emotions and interests, sent word to Antonius that she had committed suicide. He thereupon stabbed himself with his sword, but before expiring was carried into Cleopatra's presence. The soldiers of Octavianus soon broke into the mausoleum, and Cleopatra was taken. She exhausted all her arts on Octavianus, but neither her grief nor her beauty availed her any thing with the unimpressionable Cæsar. He prepared to convey her to Rome to grace his triumph, but she was presently found lying among her attendants, dead—such was the common belief—from the sting of an asp, which had been sent to her in a basket of figs.

After spending a short time in settling the affairs of Egypt,¹ now organized as a Roman province and committed to the governorship of CORNELIUS GALLUS, Octavianus, in the Summer of B. C. 29, returned to Rome, and celebrated a threefold triumph for his victory at Actium and his conquests in Dalmatia and Egypt. The temple of Janus was closed to indicate the cessation of war, and Octavianus, with the titles of Imperator and Augustus, was recognized as sole ruler of the Roman world.

The transformation of the Republic into the Empire was one of the great crises in human

history. The change, though gradual and conservative in many respects, was none the less sufficiently striking in its causes, its character, and its results. The shadow of the great event had been forecast upon the screen. Doubtless the first minds of the epoch perceived with sufficient clearness the trend of current history, and were able in some measure to appreciate that combination of forces which thrust up from the decaying stump of the Imperial Republic the green and far-branching tree of the Republican Empire.

It could but prove of the greatest interest to analyze with care the historical condition of Rome in the time of the transformation—to look with the calm eye of philosophy upon the situation, out of which sprang of necessity the Cæsarian system. The limits of the present work forbid the consideration *in extenso* of such subjects as the occult causes, the relations, and tendencies of historical events. Only at intervals is it permitted in these pages to turn from the body to the soul of history—to consider the spirit and essence of that great fact which embraces all others, and of which all others are but the parts. If, then, we pause to reflect upon the true nature of those tremendous impulses which transformed the Rome of Cato into the Rome of Octavianus, we shall find the major causes to be about as follows:

1. The Republic gave place to the Empire on account of *the vast territorial limits* to which the dominions of Rome had expanded. The difficulty of human government is always to some degree proportioned to the extent of the area over which it is established. Within narrow limits the governing power is able to see to the horizon. If in any part the spirit of turbulence is manifested, it can be easily and promptly suppressed. Rome began with a municipality on the Tiber. She spread first to the boundaries of Latium; then to the limits of Italy; then to the countries of the Mediterranean, and then to the rim of the world. With each expansion of her territory the difficulty of controlling the diverse populations around which she had drawn her cords was increased; and no improvement in administration could keep pace with the multiplying embarrassments attending her authority. All the more were

¹ It was during his stay at Alexandria that Octavianus visited the grave of Alexander the Great, (see p. 241) and stood for a brief spell in silence over the sarcophagus of that illustrious conqueror.



INTERVIEW BETWEEN OCTAVIANUS AND CLEOPATRA.

her political troubles increased on account of her republican form. The wills of the many were at cross purposes in the Senate and the Forum. Faction paralyzed the arm of the Republic, and it became more and more apparent that the distracted counsels of aristocratic Rome must yield to the Imperial will of one, in order that the great state created by the valor of Roman arms and maintained by the vigor of Roman law might be saved from universal insurrection and imminent dismemberment. Cæsar answered to the great emergency.

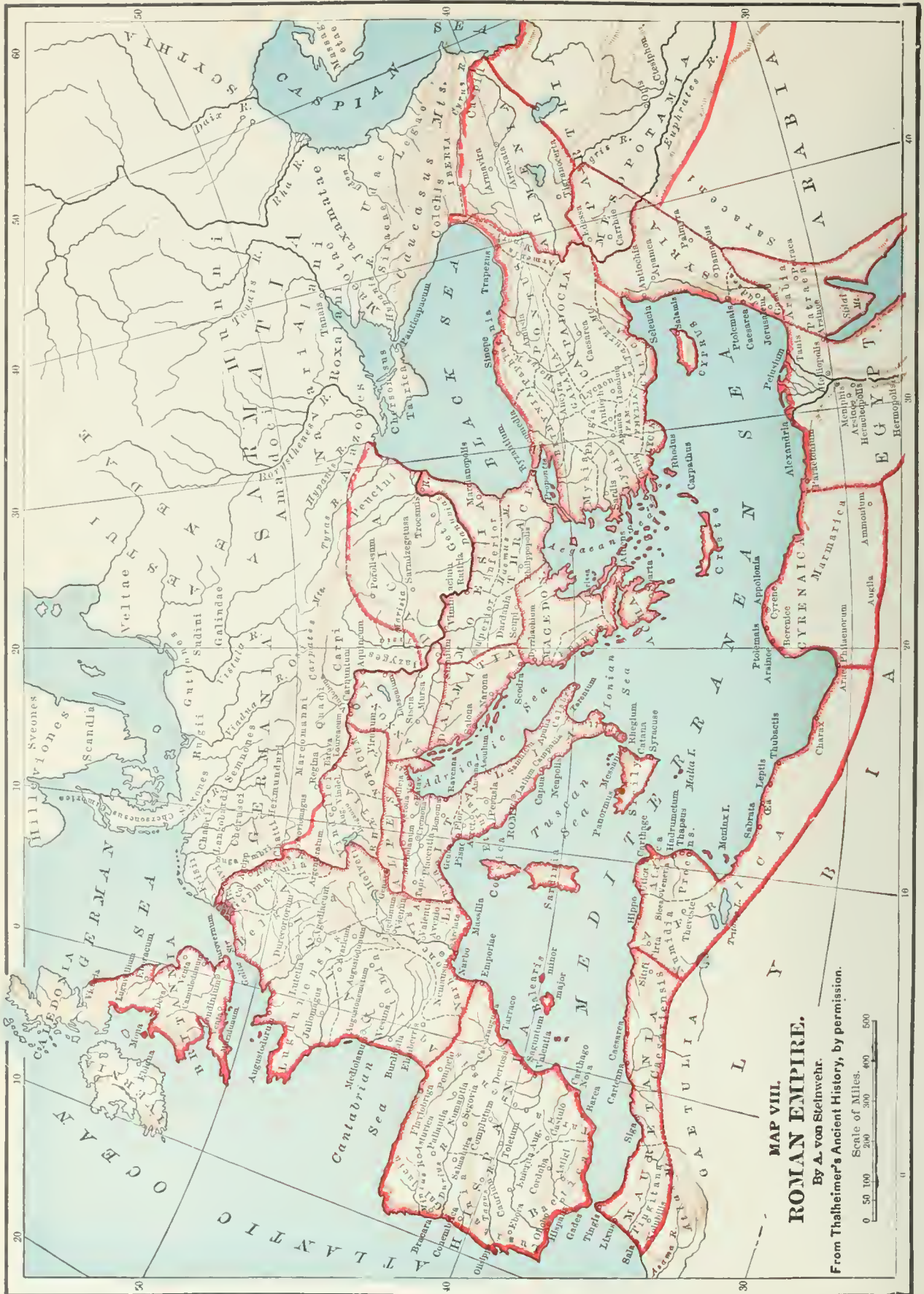
2. In the second place the Empire rose over the Republic because of the *decay of those peculiar virtues* by which only a popular form of government can be upheld. Old Rome was pervaded with patriotism. The contention of faction was counterbalanced by the love of country. The Roman character was, at the first, one of great simplicity. The man of Rome was frugal, brave, temperate, virtuous—according to the standard of his age. His neighbor was like himself. The people of the city cooperated in the work of government. The senators were content to be equals. The gross vices of ambition and the grosser lusts of power had not yet germinated in the Early Republic. It remained for war and conquest, the inflamed passions of haughty consuls, the envy and distraction and burning jealousies of the day of triumph to kindle in the Roman breast those fierce and relentless enmities in the flame of which patriotism is consumed and virtue melts like wax.

3. The Roman Republic gave place to the Imperial rule because of *essential vices in the old constitution*. The Republic, so called, was

not a republic in fact. It was an aristocracy: at first, an aristocracy of intellect and birth; but afterward, an aristocracy of wealth and luxury and pride. The theory that government of right proceeds from the people—that it is of the people and for them—never prevailed in the Imperial City. The Roman Republic, great and glorious as it was, was a mockery. The state existed for itself, and not for its subjects. In such a condition one of two things must ultimately ensue: anarchy or Imperialism. In the case of Rome the Cæsar system answered to the call of this necessity.

4. In the fourth place, the peculiar character of the *personal agencies* which controlled the closing decades of the Old Era contributed not a little to replace the Republic with the Empire. The affairs of the world are in part—albeit not largely—controlled by *men*. Such leaders as they who composed the two Triumvirates have sufficient influence in their own age to shape somewhat the general destinies of mankind. Such leaders were the Catos, the Scipios, Crassus, Lepidus, Pompeius, Antonius, and especially Julius Cæsar. The strife of Pompey the Great and his greater rival—the one the representative of the tottering Past and the other of the titanic Future—was precisely the kind of a strife required for the furnace heat of a great revolution. The existence of such a man as Julius—so daring, so creative, so great—was of itself a strong suggestion of the substitution of the progressive and audacious One for the paralyzed and retrogressive Many. The Man came to the aid of Destiny.





MAP VIII.

ROMAN EMPIRE.

By A. von Steinwehr.

From Thallheimer's Ancient History, by permission.

Scale of Miles.
0 50 100 200 300 400 500



PART III.—THE EMPIRE.

CHAPTER LXII.—THE FIRST CÆSARS.



THE establishment of the Roman Empire is generally dated from the battle of Actium, B. C. 31. This event, however, as well as the peaceable recognition of his authority after the conquest of Egypt, was but the culmination of a series of historical movements, which, so far as personal agency was concerned, had their origin with Julius Cæsar. As a matter of fact, Augustus was the inheritor of a vast estate whose limits had been circumscribed by the sword of his great-uncle, and whose fields had been sown and orchards planted amid the tumults and agitations of the civil wars. It now remains to trace out briefly the history of that colossal power which, under the name of the EMPIRE, was destined to survive in the West for five hundred and in the East for fifteen hundred years. The picture will be crowded with more splendid but less heroic events than those which make up the history of the Republic.

The great fact in the new power thus established was centralization. The civil and military authority was lodged in the hands of the Cæsar. The Empire promised peace. With the coming of tranquillity, the people became content with the change. Even the

senators learned that their remaining rights and prerogatives were more secure when protected by the imperial sword than when exposed to the vicissitudes of the Republic.

Augustus was prudent and politic. He declined the dictatorship, and sought to preserve the forms and even the name of the Republic. The shadow of liberty was exhibited to the people, and they accepted it for the substance.

In his administration Octavianus followed as far as practicable the outlines of the old constitution. Republican methods and precedents were set forth and honored in the observance. Contrary to the course pursued by Julius Cæsar, Octavianus rather fostered and upheld the Senate as one of the means of governing; and this body, in turn, conferred upon him what powers and dignity soever seemed necessary to the head of the state. A revised list of senators was made out; unworthy material was eliminated, and new members appointed to the vacancies. Nor could it be truthfully said, in the age of Augustus, that the character of the Roman Senate was in dignity and ability below the standard which should measure the chief advisory body of an empire so vast and powerful. On the Kalends, the Nones, and the Ides of each month regular meetings of the Senate were held, and the

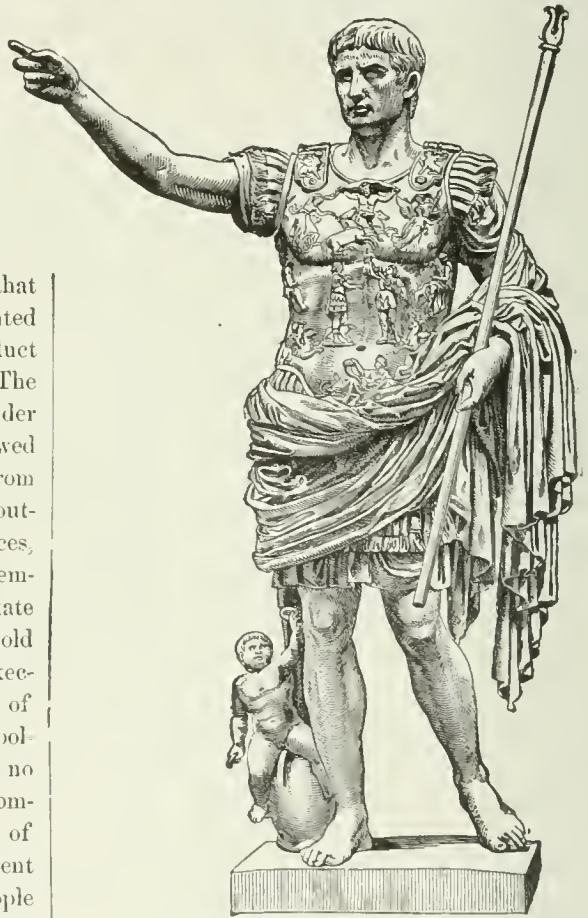
measures thereat debated which were of highest importance to the progress of the state.

In B. C. 29 Octavianus was again chosen to the consulship; and to preserve the old constitutional form, Agrippa was associated with him as a colleague. Octavianus was honored with the title *Princeps Senatus*—an old distinction which had not been observed since the death of Catulus. He, however, adopted the rôle of the diffident magistrate, and was in the habit of resigning many of the honors voted to him by the Senate. Thus in B. C. 28 he renounced those powers which he had assumed on the formation of the triumvirate; and in the following year he went so far as to express a wish—which he was very far from entertaining—to give up his prerogatives altogether. The obsequious Senate, however, insisted that he should remain in power, and he consented to retain the military command in the conduct of foreign wars for a period of ten years. The home districts, however, of the Empire, under the name of Senatorial Provinces, were allowed to remain under the control of that body from which they derived their name; while the outlying regions, known as Imperial Provinces, fell to the exclusive government of the emperor. Into the former divisions of the state proconsuls were sent as governors, after the old Republican method; while to the latter executive offices were assigned by appointment of the Cæsar. It was a part of this shrewd policy—since the Senatorial Provinces were in no need of military defense—to throw the command of the entire army into the hands of Augustus. In consideration of these apparent concessions and magnanimity, the people heaped upon him still additional honors and titles.

In the year B. C. 23, his artful procedures were still further heightened in effect by an attack of fever, which gave him an opportunity, after his recovery, to acquaint the Senate with the provisions of his will. He had taken care, in the event of his death, not to name a successor, but to resign all his prerogatives to the Senate. The bait of the imperial hook was now eagerly taken by the unsuspecting and servile senators, and it was voted to grant

to Augustus a body-guard of twelve lictors, and a curule chair for life between the two occupied by the nominal consuls. This step so greatly strengthened and confirmed Octavianus in his offices that many historians have chosen this year as the true date of the founding of the Empire.

The position of the Cæsar was now such as to give him an almost exclusive monopoly of



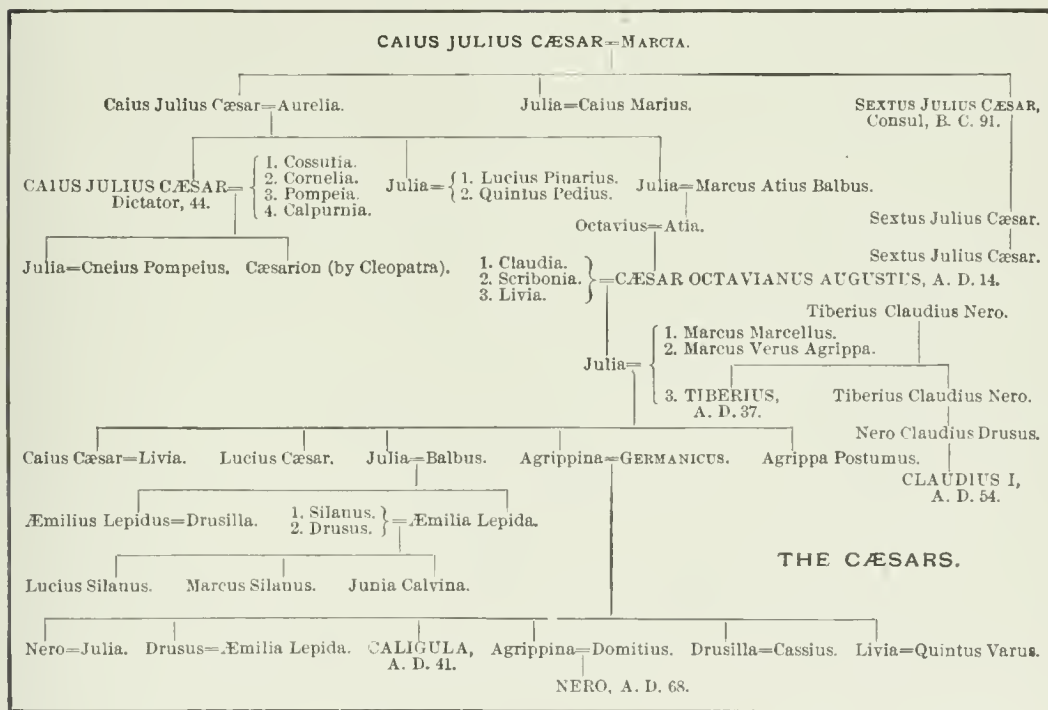
AUGUSTUS.—Vatican.

the powers of the state. He might take the initiative in proposing laws, though as yet the completion of legislative acts rested with the Senate. In B. C. 19, however, the full right of issuing an edict having the force of law was granted by the shadowy body which still continued to exercise the phantom functions of government. There thus remained only the power of pontifex maximus to complete in Augustus the impersonation of the state; and

in the year 12, when the deposed triumvir, Lepidus, died, his office of chief pontiff was transferred to the sovereign.

The great transformation thus accomplished in the structure of Roman society was effected without noticeable agitations. The old institutions of Rome still walked like well pleased shadows about the Forum and the Campus. The Senate assembled on the stated days, freely debated the questions which were presented, passed resolutions and bills, and flattered itself that it was the same body of which

to assume an air of haughtiness and grandeur. His house was not of the most splendid and his apparel was the garb of Roman citizenship, undistinguished by badges or insignia. He went freely among the people, walked the streets of the city and saluted his friends as would be expected of any other person of distinction. His banquets were comparatively free from ostentation, and his tables were never the scene of boisterous revelry and drunkenness. He even insisted that the women of his household should practice industry and



Cato and Cicero had once been members, and Augustus was careful not to dispel the illusion. The looker-in on Rome beheld the priest and the virgin ascending the hill of the Capitol as of old. The municipal officers still bearing the ancient names went as usual to the discharge of their daily duties.

Meanwhile Augustus drew between himself and the other dignitaries of the state as little distinction in right and etiquette as possible. His life on the Palatine was that of a wealthy senator. On election days he went into the public assembly and voted as any other citizen. In the Senate House he was careful not

economy after the manner of the matrons and maidens of ancient Rome. This cold temperament and passionless character made self-control as easy to the man Octavianus as it was necessary to the man Augustus. The senses of all Rome were thus lulled into repose. The truculent specters of the old aristocracy ceased to menace the established order, and the Roman populace had its bread and its circus. It ate the one and went to the other and was satisfied.

The noiseless pressure of the new *régime* was particularly felt in the suppression of the hurtful distinctions hitherto existing in Roman

society. Augustus steadily pursued the policy of weakening the influence of the hereditary aristocracy and strengthening the provincials of the Empire. No opportunity was lost of extending the rights of citizenship and developing a national spirit among the out-dwellers of Italy. Taxation was equalized, municipal privileges freely bestowed, and justice fairly administered. The partiality which had hitherto been manifested towards the home state was no longer seen. Even the exemption which Italy had enjoyed at the expense of the provinces from the presence of a standing army was annulled, and she was obliged to bear her burden with the rest. To the end that peace might be maintained under sanction of the sword, nine cohorts were organized for the army of Italy. Of these regiments three were to occupy Rome, and the other six to be distributed at convenient points among the Italian towns. In addition to this army of prætorians, there was a kind of city guard in the capital, consisting of several additional cohorts besides the Imperial guard, composed mostly of German soldiers, and constituting a police which the Emperor might summon at any moment to his side.

While Augustus did not—could not—exhibit the amazing activities of the elder Cæsar, he nevertheless devoted himself with the greatest assiduity and energy to the vast business of the Roman state. The municipal government of the capital was organized on a new basis. The city was divided into fourteen districts, or “regions,” and each of these into wards or *vici*. To each *vici* a police magistrate was assigned with an adequate squad of patrolmen and guards. Over all the municipal magistrates was placed a prefect of the city, a position assigned at the first to the able and trustworthy Mæcenas. To him, also, was intrusted the command of the city cohorts; and he was held responsible, especially during the absence of the Emperor, for the order and quiet of the capital.

Augustus gave much attention to the reform of manners and customs. The habits of the Romans had become greatly depraved by the vices of civil war and the corrupting influences of luxury. Assiduous efforts were made

by the new administration to restore, at least in some measure, the simpler method of life, the religious practices and domestic virtues of the olden time. The temples of the gods were built anew and beautified. New life was instilled into the priesthood. The Sibylline books were revised, and extravagant expenditures in religious rites and public celebrations interdicted by law. Severe penalties were enacted against bribery, and the political condition purified by wholesome legislation. The domestic tie was encouraged by making the celibate incapable of inheriting property, and the childless married man was to lose a part of his estate.

What may be called the physical development of the Empire was carefully considered. The means of communication from province to province, and between the provinces and the capital, were diligently improved. Statistical information was regularly compiled, and the geography of the kingdom was studied by scholars under the patronage of the Emperor. The dissemination of intelligence and edicts of authority from the capital to the remotest part, and the collection of news from the provinces, were facilitated by the establishment of an efficient post. Wagons and carriers sped from station to station along the paved and beautiful thoroughfares which stretched across the Empire, carrying the behests of the central will to the borders of the state, and bringing back a knowledge of the condition of outlying territories and distant peoples. Even common travel was so quickened by the ample means afforded that one might speed a distance of more than a hundred miles in a day.

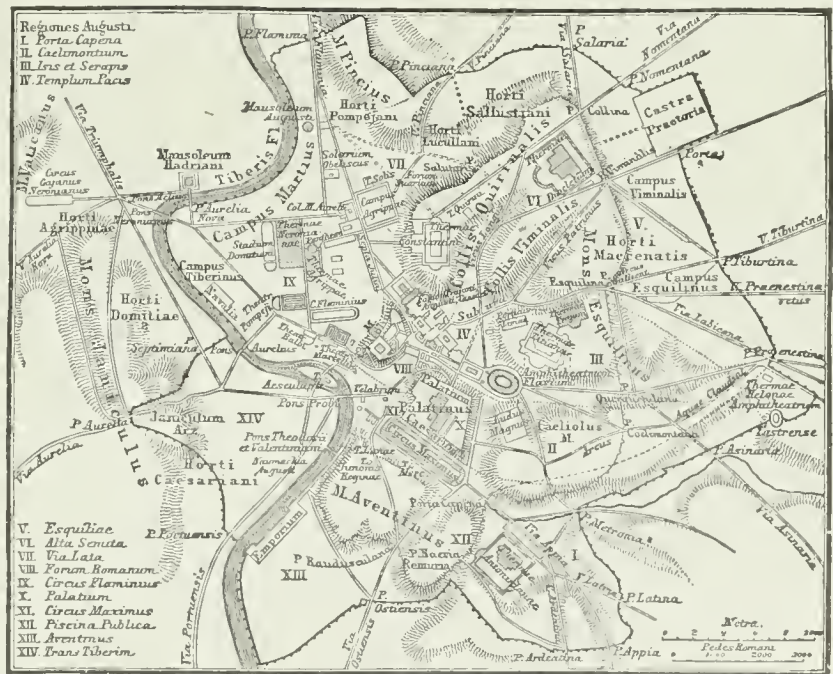
In the general improvement of the Empire much encouragement was also given to commerce. Rome became the Babylon of the West. In her markets were displayed nearly all the products of the world. The commercial theory of the state was that the provinces should direct their industrial energies to the production of the great staples, and that Italy should be the center in which the lines of traffic should converge. Rome was to be the metropolis of the nations as well as of the Italian peninsula. Sicily, Sardinia, Egypt, Northern Africa, Spain, and Gaul were ex-

pected to furnish the grain with which the world was to be fed. The rare and costly things were contributed by the East. The riches of the provinces of Asia were drawn to the emporium of Alexandria, and were thence borne by merchantmen to the harbor of Rome. Such became the splendor of the Eternal City that strangers from all parts of the world, having once stood on the Capitol Hill and in the Forum, bore to distant lands the fame of the city of the Cæsar.

Meanwhile the process of obliterating the old lines of distinction between aristocrat and equestrian, knight and plebeian, Optimate and Proletarian, was carried steadily forward. It was the policy of the Empire, without an actual destruction of inequalities in rank, to constitute a single body politic—the People of Rome. If the industrial energies of the masses could have been quickened into proper activity a still more healthful condition might have been produced. Unfortunately it was, however, that the Roman commons had, by long indulgence, acquired the habits of unthrift, the vices of indolence. To continue the gratuitous distribution of provisions seemed a necessity of the situation. Against this practice Julius Cæsar had set himself and his administration. By vigorous measures he had succeeded in reducing the number of state beneficiaries to a hundred and seventy thousand; but the indulgent Augustus, willing to administer a temporary panacea, permitted the number of paupers to whom grain was regularly distributed to increase to three hundred

and twenty thousand—a vast and hungry horde, easily agitated, and quickly kindled into violence.

The monarchy thus established in Italy and stretching out its arms to the remotest corners of civilization was essentially military in its structure. It rested upon the army. The imperial office was that of Emperor. The Emperor commanded and the world stood fast. When the civil wars were ended, the military force consisted of fifty legions, and the peace-footing only reduced the number to eighteen. Even this number was presently augmented to



PLAN OF ROME, TIME OF AUGUSTUS.

twenty-five, the legions being distributed to those parts of the Empire where the presence of an army was most desired. Eight legions were stationed to guard the frontier of the Rhine; three were assigned to Spain; seven, to Pannonia and Moesia; two, to Egypt; one, to Northern Africa; two, to the extreme East.

The protection of Rome and Italy was intrusted to the Praetorian Guards. The soldiers of the regular army were constituted a class, and under the direction of able officers they became by discipline and subordination the best representatives of the Roman character

Not so, however, the prætorians. The latter absorbed all of the vicious influences of the capital, and to these added the vices of the camp. Their leaders were generally infected with the politics of the capital, and the guards soon became more of a menace than a protection to the state. As to the naval service, a large fleet was retained under the command of Agrippa. Naval stations were established at Ravenna, Misenum, and Fregus, in Gaul, and from these harbors squadrons were sent out to chase pirates, collect tribute, cruise around the shores of the Mediterranean, and convoy merchantmen to and from the East.

Only for a short season after the conquest of Egypt were the portals of Janus closed.



DRUSUS.

It soon became necessary for Augustus to make a vigorous use of the sword for the protection of the imperial borders. As early as B. C. 27, the Cæsar was called to Lugdunum to settle the affairs of Gaul. It was found necessary to revolutionize the Gallic towns, and to make war on the Iberi and Cantabri.

The policy was adopted of founding military colonies, and encouraging the introduction of the Latin language and customs among the Gauls. Highways were established at least by two routes across the Alps, and communication thus made easy between Italy and Gallia Transalpina.

In B. C. 24, a trouble occurred on the borders of Upper Egypt, which made it necessary for the Roman legion stationed at Alexandria to make war on Candace, queen of Ethiopia. But this petty hostility was soon repressed. In the same year an expedition, led by Ælius Gallus, penetrated into Arabia Felix, but was attended with no success. Two years afterwards, Augustus himself made a tour of the East. Passing from Sicily into Greece, and thence into Phœnicia, he settled various com-

plications in those distant parts, and then proceeded to recover from the Parthians the Roman standards which had been taken from Crassus. On his return to Rome, another extension of his authority for five years was voted by the Senate, and the Secular Games¹ were celebrated in honor of the event. Great care was taken that the festival should be observed after the manner of the fathers. To this end the Sibylline books were consulted, and the priests ordered to prepare a celebration which no living Roman had ever witnessed or would witness again.

The next foreign difficulties of the Empire were on the frontier of the Rhine. The Germanic nations never ceased to press upon that border. In order to check the incursion of the Teutonic tribes and make sure of the Rhine as the permanent boundary of the Empire, a chain of no fewer than seventy fortresses was established along that river. The defense of those regions against the constant menaces of barbarism was intrusted to DRUSUS and TIBERIUS, both surnamed Claudius Nero, and both stepsons of the emperor. The two generals were ambitious of military fame, and aimed at the conquest of Germany. Drusus constructed a canal from the Lower Rhine by way of the Zayder Zee to the mouths of the river, thus extending the defenses of the Empire from Basle to the North Sea. In B. C. 12 he captured the island of Burchana at the mouth of the Rhine, and in the same year conquered the Bructeri, dwelling on the right bank of the river. Soon afterwards the Usipii were also subdued, and in B. C. 10 the other over-Rhine nations were conquered as far as the river Elbe. This was, however, an ill-omened

¹The Secular Games were a national institution which the Romans established in the times of Valerius Publicola. They were celebrated in honor of Pluto and Proserpine, the divinities of Death and Life. The general purpose was to avert by divine interposition calamity and downfall from the state. They were called secular from *sæculum*, meaning an age, and were observed at long and irregular intervals. Three times before the reign of Augustus they had been celebrated, and were now, in B. C. 17, revived with great pomp and magnificence. It was for this celebrated occasion that Horace composed his Ode, called the *Carmen Sæculare*, or "Secular Hymn."

expedition. Doubtless the iron heart of the Roman soldier quailed before the solitudes of the German forests. Portents were seen and heard. On his way back to the Rhine Drusus fell from his horse and killed himself. Tiberius was at once summoned to the command, and the tribes on the Rhine yielded to Roman domination. They sent to a conference several of their leading chiefs, who were seized by Augustus and held as hostages.

Taken altogether, the last years of the Old Era corresponding with the first of the reign of Augustus were the happiest which had ever been witnessed in Rome. There was almost universal content. The people went to and fro in the callings of peace and the poets broke forth in song. At intervals a slight manifestation was discovered of that old stoical republicanism which had used the dagger against Julius. Several feeble conspiracies were made against the Emperor's life. As early as B. C. 30 the younger Lepidus, son of the triumvir, was detected in a project of assassination, and was justly put to death. Other similar attempts were discovered and punished by the execution of their authors; but in general the public life of Augustus was troubled with few alarms and fewer disasters.

In the emperor's household, however, there was much distress. Agrippa and Mæcenas, his most trusted friends and counselors, died, the one in B. C. 12, and the other in 8. Drusus, as already narrated, perished in the German campaign. Tiberius, married to the dissolute Julia, daughter of the emperor, unable longer to endure her conduct, exiled himself to the island of Rhodes; while she was banished by an imperial edict to Pandataria. Of the grandchildren of Augustus the two most

promising were Caius and Lucius Cæsar, and to them the emperor looked with pride and expectation; but they presently both died of a pestilence, and the emperor was obliged to adopt Tiberius as his heir. The latter in his turn adopted Drusus, surnamed Germanicus, son of that Drusus who had perished in Germany.

It was now the epoch of the CHRIST. Jesus, the son of Mary and the carpenter, was born in Bethlehem of Judæa. He came in an age of peace and expectancy; but it did not ap-



THE CHRIST.

After the celebrated painting by Correggio in Dresden Gallery.

pear that one born in the obscurity of a Syrian provincial village would be able to give a new date to history and change the religious beliefs of mankind. The story of his life is too well known to need repetition. His first twelve years were passed with his parents in Nazareth. Of the next eighteen not a solitary fragment of an account has been preserved. There are, however, some inferential grounds for believing that the years of his later youth and early manhood were spent in travel and observation abroad; nor does it contradict conjecture that the countries with whose life and belief he made himself familiar were Egypt, Arabia, and the East. At the age of thirty he began his career as a public teacher, and

three years afterwards was seized by his countrymen, dragged before the Sanhedrim and the procurator Pontius Pilate on the compound charge of blasphemy against heaven and treason against Cæsar, condemned, and crucified on Mount Calvary, just outside the wall of Jerusalem. The malevolent and vindictive Jews took the whole responsibility for his execution upon themselves, saying in defiance that his blood might rest upon them and their children.

The death of Christ was for the time a staggering blow to his followers. After a brief season, however, they rallied from the shock, and began to "preach his Gospel among all nations, beginning with Jerusalem." Not, however, until the appearance of Paul on the scene did any great organizing mind arise to give form and organic union to the various bands of Christians that sprang up in Palestine, Asia Minor, Greece, and finally in Rome. Under his masterful evangelism the doctrines of the new faith were disseminated, not only in the provincial towns of the East, but in the very capital of the world and the household of the Cæsar.

In the first years of our era the attention of the Empire was constantly directed to the Germanic frontier. In A. D. 6, the Marcomanni, a powerful tribe of Tentons, led by their king, Maroboduus, went to war with Rome. Tiberius marched against them and traversed the Hercynian forest, and had almost reached the army of the hostile tribe, when he was suddenly recalled by a formidable revolt in Dalmatia and Pannonia. The insurrection was so extensive and defiant that great alarm was produced throughout Italy. A large army and an extensive campaign were required to reduce the insurgents to submission. The rebellion broke the charm which the administration of Augustus had diffused, and showed that empire and peace were not necessarily synonymous.

Hardly had the Pannonian revolt been suppressed before a still more serious outbreak occurred among the nations beyond the Rhine. The Emperor had committed the military governorship of Germany to a certain PUBLIUS QUINTILIUS VARUS, who had previously been prætor of Syria, and had acquired most of the

vices incident to official life in the provinces. Totally misapprehending the character of the Germans, he undertook the discharge of his duties by the same method which he had employed in the East. He went about with no sufficient show of military authority, issued arbitrary edicts in the German towns, imposed tribute on the tribes, neither consulting with the chiefs nor giving to any a reason for his acts.

Presently the stubborn spirit of the German race began to show its dissatisfaction with the system of the governor. A leader was soon found in the person of a chief named HERMANN, who invited all the nations between the Rhine and the Weser to form a confederation and renounce all allegiance to Rome. Thereupon Varus found it necessary to undertake the maintenance of his authority by force. In the year 9 of the new era he collected an army of three legions, and advanced against the tribes in insurrection. The Germans fell back from place to place, until they drew the Roman army into the Teutoburger forest. Here in the solitude of their native haunts they turned upon the Romans and routed them with great slaughter. Varus, having lost forty thousand of his men and the eagles of the legions, covered his disgrace with the mantle of suicide.

Thus was Rome again thrown into the utmost consternation. The emperor himself, in a fit of temporary despair, went wailing about the halls of the basilica, crying out in his anguish, "Varus, Varus, give me back my legions!" In order to repair the disaster, Tiberius, who now held command in Pannonia, was dispatched in the following year to make war on the rebellious tribes. But when he advanced into the enemy's country, the Germans refused to join battle unless they could entrap their foes as they had done with Varus and his army. But Tiberius was more wary than his predecessor, and took care not to expose himself to such a fate as had befallen the legions in the previous year. He accordingly withdrew after a brief campaign, and again established the Rhine as the north-eastern boundary of the Empire.

Augustus was already nearing his end.

He was now nearly seventy-six years of age, and for forty-four years had borne the cares and responsibilities of the state. In the summer of A. D. 14, Tiberius was sent on an expedition into Illyricum. In departing, he was accompanied as far as Beneventum by the emperor. In returning to Rome Augustus was taken sick, and, after a short illness, died at

city herself, where this magnificence of thought and deed was exhibited, it has been said, without undue license of speech, that Augustus found Rome of brick, and left it of marble.

After the death of the emperor's grandsons, Caius and Lucius, public attention was naturally turned to Tiberius as the probable successor to the throne. Him, indeed, had



BATTLE WITH THE GERMANS IN THE TEUTOBURGER FOREST.

the town of Nola, on the 19th day of August. So signal had been his success as a general, an emperor, and a man that his name has been indissolubly associated with that colossal power over which he was the first recognized ruler, and with one of the most brilliant literary epochs in the world. With that age are blended the splendid achievements of Virgil and Horace, of Livy and Ovid; and of the

Augustus associated with himself in the government, and to his claims, after the Emperor's death, there was no formidable opposition. TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS NERO, therefore, at the age of forty-six, found himself raised by common consent to the throne of the Cæsars. On his accession to power, acting in accordance with an alleged but manifestly fictitious wish of the late Emperor, he put to death Agrippa

Postumus, the only remaining son of Julia and Agrippa. Having thus cleared the field of his solitary rival, he assumed the peaceful policy of his predecessor, and began his reign with moderation and prudence. He took upon himself the same assumed humility of demeanor which had marked the methods of Augustus, and the old republican shadows were still allowed to stalk undisturbed about the Senate House and Forum.

Several features of the military service of the Empire were of a sort to create dissatis-



GERMANICUS.

faction and perhaps engender mutiny. The rate of pay established by the first Emperor had been ruinously low for a soldiery, which could not any longer be supplied by miscellaneous pillage. Towns once conquered and added to the imperial system could not henceforth be plundered at the will of every military commandant. War was less profitable than in the palmy days of the Republic, when the spoliation of the world was the one great vocation of the Romans. The term of service, moreover—having been fixed at twenty years for the legionaries and fourteen years for the

prætorians—became exceedingly irksome to the army. Time and again during the reign of Augustus were heard the mutterings of discontent. Tiberius inherited this disaffection. The soldiers demanded an increase of pay and a reduction in the term of service. The legions in Pannonia mutinied, and Tiberius was obliged to send to the insurgents, by his son Drusus, surnamed GERMANICUS, an assurance of a speedy compliance with their demands. Having accomplished this mission, Drusus led the legions across the Rhine and distracted their attention from their late troubles by an invasion of Germany.

The general soon proved himself to be a brave and competent commander. The powerful tribe of the Cherusci were routed in battle, and then Drusus plunged, as Varus had done, into the Tentoberger forest. The old battlefield was reached, and the bleaching bones of Varus's legionaries were gathered up and honored with sepulture. One of the lost eagles of Rome was recovered from the enemy, but Herman formed an ambuscade, drew Germanicus and his army into the trap, and attempted to repeat his former work of annihilation. All the desperate courage of the legionaries and the skill of the commander were required to save the army from destruction.

Germanicus, however, soon recovered himself, and fresh levies were brought forward for another campaign. He conducted his army by way of the Zuyder Zee canal to the Weser, where the German nations were assembled to give him battle. A great victory was here gained by the Romans, but the Teutons were by no means conquered, and Drusus prepared to follow up his success when he was suddenly recalled by Tiberius, who had become jealous of his fame. The emperor was of a disposition naturally suspicious, and this trait had been whetted into unusual sensitiveness by his position. He began to look with an eye askance on any and all whom his fancy painted as possible rivals of his greatness. His own social and domestic life had been embittered to its depths by his relations with Julia and the Cæsarian household. So, as soon as Rome began to ring with the praises of Germanicus, he contrived to recall him from his uneom-

pleted campaign on the pretext of needing his services in suppressing a revolt in Cappadocia.

Drusus cheerfully answered the summons. Nor did his expedition into Asia Minor prove less successful than the one which he had conducted into Germany. The eastern insurrection was quickly quelled, and the military reputation of Germanicus still further enhanced. He returned to Rome by way of Egypt; but presently after reaching the city he fell sick and died. Nor is the suspicion wanting that his death was caused by poison administered by his adjutant, Cneius Piso, acting, as was believed, under the inspiration of Tiberius. Piso was arrested and held to answer the charge before the Senate; but when called to make his defense he virtually confessed the crime by committing suicide.

The suspicions and jealousies of Tiberius grew by what they fed on. His baleful eyes were turned with malevolence against the members of the noble houses of Rome. These, forsooth, *might* conspire to dethrone him. He therefore adopted schemes for their destruction. The law of *Majestas*, intended for the protection of the Emperor's life and dignity by the punishment of those who should take counsel against him, was revived and extended to all words and writings upon which a defamatory construction might be placed. A brood of miserable informers grew up about the Cæsar's court, whose falsehoods and innuendoes were sufficient to destroy the best men of Rome. There was no longer safety for any. Poison and the dagger did their work, not only against those who spoke lightly of the Emperor, but also against those who spoke not at all. Silence became constructive treason.

These were the first dark days of bloody-minded distrust in the Imperial administration, to be followed by many more as gloomy and dreadful. So keen became the suspicion of Tiberius that he called no more to his aid the Senate and Executive Council, so often appealed to by Augustus. Lest any should encroach upon his prerogatives, or act with treachery towards his government, he took upon himself the whole burden of the administration. Finding, however, that the assumption of such a load was as foolish as it was

impossible, he sought to associate with himself only those whose low birth and meanness of character would exclude them from the list of his rivals.

Acting under this instinct of the gutter, Tiberius sought and found a certain *ÆLIUS SEJANUS*, whom he appointed master of the prætorian guards. The latter was a base-born and brutal character, who had, nevertheless, all the ambition and subtlety peculiar to his type. Not long had he been the right arm of Tiberius until he formed the design of obtaining the succession for himself. The hereditary principle had already become well recognized in the Cæsarian system. In order, therefore, to reach the throne, Sejanus perceived that it was necessary for the legitimate heirs to disappear. At this time the expectation of the state was centered in Drusus Cæsar, son of Tiberius by his first wife, Vipsania. The prince was soon disposed of by poison. The next step of the base intriguer was to kindle the Emperor's hatred against Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus. He soon afterward persuaded Tiberius, who was now greatly under his influence, to retire to a villa in the island of Caprææ, and leave the management of the state to himself. This left Sejanus free to proceed as he would. Agrippina and her two sons, Caius and Drusus, together with any others who might seem to stand in his way, were either assassinated or thrown into prison. Tiberius meanwhile, in his place of resort, gave himself up to gluttony and repose, and Rome was left to the mercy of a brute.

After a season, however, the story of Sejanus's high-handed proceedings penetrated even the stupefaction of Tiberius. His old jealousy flamed up, and he resolved to bring his haughty subordinate to a sudden accounting. By this time, however, Sejanus had concluded that his master could now be spared from further interference in the affairs of Rome. He accordingly formed a plan for his assassination; but Tiberius outwitted his treacherous subordinate, and in A. D. 31 Sejanus was seized and executed.

For the moment, there was joy in Rome over the destruction of the tyrant. It was

even hoped that Tiberius, after his round of excess and bloodshed, would return to the policy and manners of Augustus. But his nature was incapable of reform. As age drew on, his life became more gloomy, his character more despicable. His disposition and practices were relieved by only a single gleam of light, and that was the prospect of his death. His dissipations in Capree had ruined his health. He tottered briefly about the basilica

interposed on behalf of the accused, and saved them from sentence. Gradually, however, the exercise of arbitrary power, the dissipations of the court, the foreboding and gloom of old age seen in the distance, and the naturally unsympathetic nature of Tiberius, reduced him to the level and practices of an Oriental despot.

Tiberius died without nominating a successor. The choice of the Senate fell on CAIUS CÆSAR, the son of Germanicus. He was twenty-five years old at the date of his accession, and had passed nearly his whole life in the camp. He was a great favorite with the soldiers, who gave him the name of CALIGULA or "Little Boots," because of the half-boots of the soldiers in which the youth delighted to strut about his father's tent.

The introduction of the new Cæsar's reign was marked with clemency. Those who had been imprisoned for political offenses, real or imaginary, were liberated. The brood of informers and sycophants was driven from the basilica, and careful attention was paid to those old republican forms which, in their exercise, still seemed to imply that the people and the Senate were the sources of authority. For a brief season Caligula gave himself to the duties of government with a zeal and enthusiasm which promised the best results. But this legitimate activity was of short duration.

In the course of a few months the Emperor began to indulge in dissipations and extravagance. He even displayed symptoms of insanity in the reckless path of his descent. His slumbers were disquieted with strange dreams and hallucinations, indicating an abnormal condition of mind. He ceased to regard the interests of the state, and abandoned himself to the circus. The old extravagant style of celebrating the games and shows was revived. Gladiatorial combats became more fashionable than ever. Members of the Senate were induced to enter the arena, and presently the Emperor himself took his place on the sand and fought as a gladiator for the amusement of Rome. With the increase of his nervous excitement, Caligula became cruel and bloodthirsty. At times he ordered spectators in the amphitheater to be seized and thrown to the



THE ELDER AGRIPPINA.

under the weight of a disreputable old age, and then died in his seventy-eighth year, A. D. 37.

The only benefits which flowed from the administration of Tiberius were traceable to the earlier years of his reign. His first acts were marked with wisdom and firmness. For a season, the order and progress of the state were maintained with a steady hand. A milder system of government was enforced in the provinces; nor did the Emperor at the first exhibit that cruelty of disposition which afterward converted him into a persecutor and a tyrant. It is narrated that in many of the state trials of the early years of his reign, he

wild beasts. Caprice became his master, and the destruction of life his chief delight. He married his sister, and when she died he had divine honors decreed to her by the Senate. As a divinity she received the name of *Panthea*, and her statue was set up in the temple of Venus.

Tired at length of dissipation, Caligula turned to butchery. Tiberius had killed through jealousy; the present Cæsar, for the love of murder. Senators, knights, generals, nobles, provincial magnates fell right and left like oxen in the royal shambles. Confiscation followed in order to keep bank-full the river of extravagant expenditure which flowed through Rome.

It had been the misfortune of Caligula's youth to pass a considerable time under the tutelage of Herod Agrippa, the chief of Jewry. By him the mind of the prince was abused with notions of Oriental despotism. He had been taught to believe that monarchs were gods to be worshiped. The time had now come when that pernicious planting was to bear its fruit. Caligula ordered a porch to be built across the Forum from his palace on the Palatine to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, whose equal and representative he claimed to be. He pretended to hold free converse with the immortals. He dressed himself by turns in the habits of Hercules, Bacchus, and Apollo, and when he wearied of impersonating the male deities he appeared in the costumes of Venus, Juno, and Diana! He ordered his statue to be set up in the temples of the Milesian Apollo and of Jehovah at Jerusalem. He had contrived an artificial thundering-machine in order that he might imitate the work of Jove. Finally, after an assumption of equality with the divinities, he advanced his claim to be the chief god of earth and heaven. And Rome, who had once given birth to such lion's whelps as Regulus, Scipio, and Cato, bathed her hands in the spittle of the impious profligate who daily defiled the basilica of the Palatine!

For four years this disgusting drama was enacted in the name of government. The peculiarity of Caligula's delirium was that he required every thing to be done in a magnifi-

cent, or rather grandiose, style. He married the woman Cæsonia on account of her size! He was jealous of the preceding reigns because of their calamities. He gloated over the destruction of the army of Varus, and sighed for a repetition of such a sensation as must have followed that prodigious slaughter. In the time of Tiberius the theater at Fidenæ had fallen and crushed fifty thousand people. Caligula longed for the occurrence of another such calamity. Finally he declared that he wished the Roman people had but a single neck that he might sever it with an axe! By-



CLAUDIUS.—Rome, Vatican.

degrees his insolence rose to such a pitch that human nature could no more endure his conduct. At length he publicly insulted a tribune of the prætorians, who, with a few others, resolved on a summary revenge. They watched their opportunity, fell upon Caligula as he was going from the amphitheater, and left him dead in the passage with thirty stabs of their daggers in his body. The assassins escaped and the corpse of the Cæsar was taken away by some of his friends and buried in the Lamian gardens.

When the sudden exit of Caligula was known the spasmodic cry of the old Republic was heard in the Senate House. For the

nonce the senators were filled with zeal for the restoration of the impossible. Resolutions were adopted to honor the assassins of the late prince, and to put away his widow and child. The prætorians, however, had now come to know the hand that fed them, and they took upon themselves the easy task of showing the foolishness of the reactionary dream of the Senate. **CLAUDIUS**, the son of Drusus Claudius Nero, and uncle of Caligula, had assumed the rôle of an imbecile. During the reigns of

wrought by the late ruler were effaced as rapidly as possible.

After the conquest of the island by Julius Cæsar, but little attention had been paid to Britain. The firm establishment and growth of Roman institutions in Gaul, however, and the extension of civilization to the British Channel, had naturally attracted the interest of the Empire to the important island beyond. Commercial relations had sprung up between Londinium and the towns of the con-



THE PRÆTORIANS HAILING CLAUDIUS AS EMPEROR.

Tiberius and Caligula idiocy was of prime value, especially in those of high birth. Claudius had discovered that to be a fool was to have a breastplate. Whether the prætorians believed him wiser than he seemed, or deemed it better for themselves that the Empire should have an imbecile for its head, does not appear. At any rate, they chose him for Emperor; and he was dragged from his hiding-place in the palace to assume the duties of government.

Without great abilities, the new Cæsar showed much wisdom in the beginning of his reign. He imitated the policy of Augustus. The exiles were recalled, and the devastations

continent, and ships passed constantly between the Thames and the Rhine. Thus far the Romans had had no more than a bare footing in the south-eastern part of the island. It remained for Claudius to signalize his reign by conquering the British tribes as far as the Avon and the Severn. In the course of a campaign into the country of the Silures, the general of Claudius met the famous British chieftain **CARACTACUS**, whom he overthrew in a great battle. The native king was captured and sent to Rome to grace the triumph of the victor. He was permitted as a prisoner to address the Emperor, and is said to have made

a profound impression by his patriotism and kingly bearing. A strong colony was established at Camulodunum, which became the

center of Roman influence in South Britain. The usual policy was adopted of introducing the Latin language, by the founding of schools



CARACTACUS AND HIS WIFE BEFORE CLAUDIUS AND AGRIPPINA.

Drawn by L. P. Leyendecker.

and the education of the younger Celts in the literature, politics, and arts of the parent state.

The Germans beyond the Rhine were a constant menace to the peace of the Empire. Their swarming tribes were ever pressing to the west, and the cordon of Roman forts on the left bank of the river was an imperative necessity of the situation. During the reign of Claudius there was an unusual commotion among the restless Teutons. They were held in check by the Legions stationed on the frontier; and in one instance at least the Roman arms were again carried beyond the river in a successful campaign. The tribes of the Chatti and Chauci were punished for their arrogance and hostility, and were taught to accept the Rhine as the utmost limit of their excursions.

Personally Claudius had few elements of popularity. His figure was ungainly; his gait, shambling; his legs, crooked; his health, miserable; his countenance, expressive of trepidation and pain. His personal habits, moreover, were of a sort to be admired only by contrast with the despicable conduct of the two emperors who had preceded him. He was gluttonous in food and drink; many times married; devoid of taste; of impure manners.

So far, however, as the great work of governing was concerned, he had a broader view of the requirements of the state than any Roman ruler since Julius Cæsar. He applied himself diligently to business, and outworked most of his subordinates in the onerous duties of the administration. His intellect worked slowly and laboriously, and his government was one of ingenuity rather than of intuition.

In the conduct of foreign affairs, the attention of the Emperor was next directed to the East. He adopted the policy of conciliating the Asiatic provinces by restoring to them their native princes. The sovereignty of Commagene was bestowed on a certain Antiochus. Mithridates, a lineal descendant of Mithridates the Great, was given the kingdom of the Bosphorus. The deposed sovereign of that state was recompensed with a province in Cilicia; while the authority of Herod Agrippa, of Galilee, was extended over the whole of Palestine.

The impudence of Caligula, in ordering his own statue to be set up in the temple of Jehovah, had excited the wrath of the Jews to such an extent that they were on the eve of rebellion. The course pursued by Claudius, however, was highly approved, and the coming of Agrippa to Jerusalem was hailed with delight. The people of Jewry were at this time divided into two parties; the ancient Jewish faction, which upheld the old Israelitish theory of government, and the pagan or Greek party, which maintained the supremacy if not the divinity of the secular ruler. Herod found it impossible to reconcile these factions, or to secure a harmonious government. While in the Jewish capital he was obliged to agree with the Jewish faction; but in the provinces he followed his natural inclinations and affiliated with the Hellenizers. At Cæsarea he fell sick and died, and Palestine was thereupon annexed to the province of Syria.

Several public works were undertaken or completed in the reign of Claudius. A great sewer was constructed to drain the Fucine lake, and a harbor was excavated at the mouth of the Tiber. The aqueduct which had been begun by the engineers of Caligula, was brought to completion, and many other public works promoted. The Claudian census showed a population of nearly twenty-four millions.

The marital relations of Claudius were any thing other than happy. His first wife Plautia and the second Ælia, were both for good reasons divorced. Hereafter he married the notorious Valeria Messalina, who has the historical reputation of being the worst of her sex. Her mind was a vortex of pride, passion, subtlety, ambition, and every vice and crime which could flourish in such a maelstrom. Deceit was her prevalent trait, and treachery her chief entertainment. She debauched her husband's administration, and turned the government into a bagnio. She finally in A. D. 48 capped the climax of her criminal caprices by marrying a young nobleman named Silius, with whom she proposed to share the throne when Claudius should be disposed of. The Emperor was absent from the capital when the marriage was performed, and on his return, the public scandal (for Messalina had her mar-

riage with Silius publicly celebrated), which had made even the sin-toughened ears of Rome burn with shame, was kept from him who was the chief victim of the intrigue; but when at last the intelligence was forced into his sluggish mind, he promptly ordered Messalina and her confederate to be put to death. It is narrated that a few days after the execution, Claudius had forgotten the event and made inquiry why his wife did not appear at the table!¹

The Emperor, not yet satisfied with his matrimonial experience, chose for his fourth consort his niece, Agrippina, widow of Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus and also of Crispus Passienus. By her first husband she was the mother of the boy Domitius, whom, on her marriage with Claudius, she induced the Emperor to adopt into the imperial family with the cognomen of Nero. To make the succession sure the youth was married to Octavia, the daughter of Claudius and sister of Britannicus, the rightful heir to the throne. To displace this heir, and, indeed, all other rivals who might stand between her son and the light became the purpose of Agrippina, and she pursued her schemes with a conscienceless audacity almost unequaled in the annals of crime. One of the first victims of her envy was Lollia, the divorced wife of Caligula, who sought a marriage with Claudius. Her jealousy was next directed against many Roman noblemen, whom she induced her husband to persecute and destroy. Claudius was already well advanced in years, and weakened by ill-health and the distractions of his office. Falling sick, but presently recovering a measure of strength, he resolved to leave Rome and seek rest on the coast of Campania; but Agrippina had resolved that his rest should be eternal.

Poisoning had now become one of the

¹There are some reasons for believing that the accredited but incredible story of Messalina is apocryphal in its leading features. It appears that a soothsayer had told Claudius that the husband of Messalina was doomed to a speedy death. He thereupon privately divorced her, and himself contrived her marriage with Silius, to the end that the bolt of fate might fall on another than himself, and a reason be furnished *ex post facto* for the divorce.

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fine arts in Rome. The business had its connoisseurs and professors. One of the most famous of these criminal gentry was named Locusta, whose services were at the command of any who could pay an adequate price for his skill. Him Agrippina now took into her service and directed to prepare a suitable potion for her lord. He drank it and found that rest which his affectionate spouse had contrived as a remedy for his sorrows.

NERO was now in his sixteenth year. He had been carefully educated by the philosopher Seneca, and on his accession to power showed that the restraints of the salutary instruction which he had received were laid upon his administration. He was also under the influence of the virtuous Burrus, the master of the prætorians. The reign began in A. D. 54, and was characterized by much lenity and moderation. The young Cæsar, however, was soon ruined by the



NERO.—Rome, Vatican.

domestic vices with which the Roman court was reeking. After reducing the taxes and increasing the authority of the Senate, Nero suddenly turned profligate and butcher. All the ferocity of his nature was aroused by the conduct of his mother. Not satisfied that her son should be emperor of Rome, she became ambitious to reign herself, and to this end conspired for the overthrow of Nero. She circulated the report that Britannicus was the true Cæsar, and favored his assumption of Imperial power. All the jealousy and passion of Nero were turned against Britannicus, and that unfortunate prince was put to death. The Emperor next fell under the influence of Poppæa Sabina, the beautiful wife of Salvius Otho, and by

her was persuaded to have Agrippina assassinated. This atrocity was immediately followed up by the divorce of Octavia and the murder of Burrus. The government was turned over to his ministers, Tergellinus and Petronius, and Nero abandoned himself to excesses and dissipations. Poppæa became his mistress and was publicly recognized by the Imperial household. Even her husband assented to the shame, and was rewarded with the governorship of the province. The mistress became the Empress, and Octavia, now in exile, was put to death.

Such high-handed profligacy as the Cæsar and his consort now exhibited had never before been witnessed even in Rome. Poppæa had for herself a bath of milk, which was supplied by five hundred she-asses kept on the Palatine. Her mules were ordered to be shod with gold, and the trappings of her couch to be trimmed with pearls. After becoming the mother of one child she died from the effects of a royal kick which her noble husband deigned to give her in a fit of passion.

The administration became an administration of blood. The nobles were proscribed, banished, murdered for the crime of being rich. Their estates were confiscated and consumed on the impossible luxuries and caprices of the royal banquet. All the restraints of education, custom, and common decency were flung away by the inflamed despot of Rome. He fancied himself a musician, a scholar, a connoisseur of art, a philosopher. To dispute his claim or criticise his performance was worth the life of him who did it. His pleasures became the scum of dissipation, the very dregs of license and vulgarity. He went into the arena and contended for the prize in music. It was not likely that the judges would withhold from him the palm of victory. In the race-courses of his own gardens, then in the hippodrome of Campania, and finally in the Circus Maximus, he engaged in contests with the most famous equestrians for the prize in horsemanship; and a multitude numbering two hundred thousand people screamed with delight on beholding the ruler of the nation in the character of a driver covered with dust and sweat.

In the year A. D. 64 the city was visited with a conflagration such as had never before been witnessed in Italy, perhaps in the world. For six days Rome was an ocean of flame. Six of the fourteen wards were utterly swept with the besom, and four of the remaining districts were partly devastated. Hundreds and thousands of the venerable structures of Rome—temples, museums, theaters, and basilicas—were wrapped in the vortex, and reduced to ashes. The great edifices of the Palatine, Capitoline, and perhaps of the other hills, were for the most part spared from the conflagration.

The people of the city were at first panic-stricken, then gloomy, and then suspicious. It was believed that the fire—which had broken out in several places—was the work of incendiaries acting under the orders of Nero. Ruffians had been seen setting fire to buildings; and it was presently noised abroad that, during the progress of the conflagration, the Emperor had taken his station on the turret of the villa of Mæcenæ, and amused himself with enacting a drama entitled the *Sack of Troy*, composed by himself. The fire had been devised as a realistic aid to the royal imagination!

The spread of this well-founded rumor created a sullen rage among the sufferers, and the throne was shaken by the surging of the masses. But Nero now pretended the greatest sympathy. He traversed the devastated districts and distributed money freely to those who were in need. With a view to transferring the odium to others, he exhibited great zeal in discovering the perpetrators of the crime. In his hunt for malefactors he fell upon the hated Jews, and these were chosen as the factitious criminals. More particularly was the new sect of Christians selected as the objects of vengeance. These people had already gained the intense dislike of Rome. The austerity of their manners, the severe tenets of their faith so opposed to the license of paganism, their customs and laws so antagonistic to the usages of the state, all combined to render them odious to the commonwealth.

The situation was such as to furnish Nero an excellent opportunity to turn the anger of the people against the hated followers of the Christ.

He accordingly disseminated the report that it was they who had fired Rome. Numbers of them were seized and imprisoned. Some he sent to the amphitheater, where they were bound to pillars and given to the mercy of tremendous, half-starved, Numidian lions. The devilish invention of the Cæsar next devised a plan for a more conspicuous destruction of the Christians. He gave a great evening festival in his gardens; and to the end that the grounds might be brilliantly illuminated he ordered the Christians to be wrapped in flax, dipped in pitch, fastened to poles, set up about the promenades and summer-houses, and lighted for torches! Then, while the groaning and writhing human candelabra burned to the socket, the Emperor and his friends caroused and feasted until the blackened feet of the expiring torches dropped into darkness!

The ever-multiplying excesses of Nero led to ever-increasing demands, and these in turn to ever-widening confiscation. The estates of noblemen were seized and themselves executed under every imaginable and unimaginable pretext. A plot was finally made by the survivors to destroy the cause of destruction. CALPURNIUS PISO headed a band of magnates who planned the overthrow of the tyrant. The scheme contemplated the restoration of the Republic, and the appointment of a dictator until public peace should be restored. Doubtless the conspirators purposed to make Piso

himself the prince of the new order. But the plot was presently divulged, and the plotters put to death. Lucan and Seneca were obliged to commit suicide. Nor did the mass of the Romans any longer sympathize with these reactionary movements on the part of the senators and grandees of the commonwealth. The



CHRISTIANS GIVEN TO THE LIONS IN THE ROMAN AMPHITHEATER.

commons preferred even a profligate Emperor to a dictator of the type of Sulla.

Meanwhile Nero became more and more disgusting. He left Rome and traveled in Greece, exhibiting himself in the character of a royal mountebank. Ever and anon the news reached the capital that he had been applauded by his claqueurs for a victory achieved as a singer in some petty town of the provinces.



A REVOLT OF THE PRÆTORIAN GUARDS.

Drawn by H. Leutemann.

The drama was now, however, about at an end. In A. D. 66, Nero started on a journey to Egypt and the East. In the mean time a knowledge of his proceedings and character had been borne to the legions. The soldiers were disgusted, and the idea easily took root among them that they were the instruments whereby such an administration should be brought to a finality. Almost simultaneously in A. D. 68 a mutiny broke out in Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Germany. When the news of the revolt reached Rome the prætorians deserted Nero, and the very rabble began to hoot its defiance. The Emperor quaked like an aspen in the wind of terror that blew chill through the basilica. He escaped from the palace and the city. The Senate declared him a public enemy and condemned him to death. The sentence was to be executed "after the manner of the ancients," which required that the condemned should have his neck fastened in the cleft of a stick and be scourged until life was extinct. Hearing of this dreadful penalty, the terrified monster summoned one of his slaves—for he had not the courage to kill himself—and bade him thrust a dagger into his breast. The messengers of death arrived before he expired, but found their work already accomplished. "What a loss to art my death will be!" said he, and died. His body was partly consumed where it was found; but the remains were presently collected and buried on the Pincian. Nor is the tradition wanting that his grave was in the darkness of the night covered with violets by an unknown hand! For so the darkest and most shameless character, albeit redeemed by some unperceived trait of tenderness, is remembered by the heart of love even amid the gloom and bitterness of an ignominious death.

One of the chief memorials of Nero's reign was his magnificent palace, called the Golden House. The structure consisted of a series of mansions on the Palatine, Esquiline, and Cælian hills. The various edifices were connected by bridges and corridors, and embraced within their inclosures lakes, gardens, thermæ, and pleasure-grounds extending over the greater part of Ancient Rome.

In the provinces the principal episode of

the reign was the revolt in A. D. 60, of the Britons under their queen BOADICEA. This celebrated Celtic princess was the wife of PRASUTAGUS, king of the Iceni. When about to die this monarch willed his treasures and his kingdom to his two daughters and to Nero, to whom he committed the protection of his family. But no sooner was Prasutagus dead than the Emperor's officers seized every thing in their master's name. This outrage Boadicea resisted, and for this she was publicly whipped and her royal daughters given over to the brutality of the Roman soldiers. The Britons rose in desperation at the call of their injured queen. She drove to town in her war-chariot with her ruined daughters at her knees, and besought her subjects to rise and execute vengeance on the despoilers of the land and the despisers of virtue. A vast army of two hundred and thirty thousand swarmed to her standard. The colony of Camalodunum was taken and the Romans massacred without mercy. The forces in the island were utterly unable to resist the avalanche of barbaric rage which swept down upon them. All Britain seemed on the point of being retaken by its original possessors; but Suetonius Paulinus, who had an army of ten thousand veterans in the Isle of Mona, came to the rescue in A. D. 62, and the Britons were decisively defeated in a great battle. Boadicea, however, preferred death to capture, and took her own life by poison.

The legionaries of the provincial armies had now made the discovery that the putting up and putting down of emperors was a work of their own. As early as April A. D. 68 (Nero was killed in June of that year), the army in Spain had proclaimed SERVIUS SULPICIUS GALBA as Imperator in place of the reigning Cæsar. In this movement the Gallic legions were active participants, and Galba was already on the march to Rome when the news of the downfall of Nero reached him. At Narbo he was met by envoys of the Senate who came to acquaint him with the acquiescence of that body in the decision of the army. There were other candidates for the vacant throne, but none could make headway against the claims of Galba, who assumed the government on January 1st, A. D. 69.

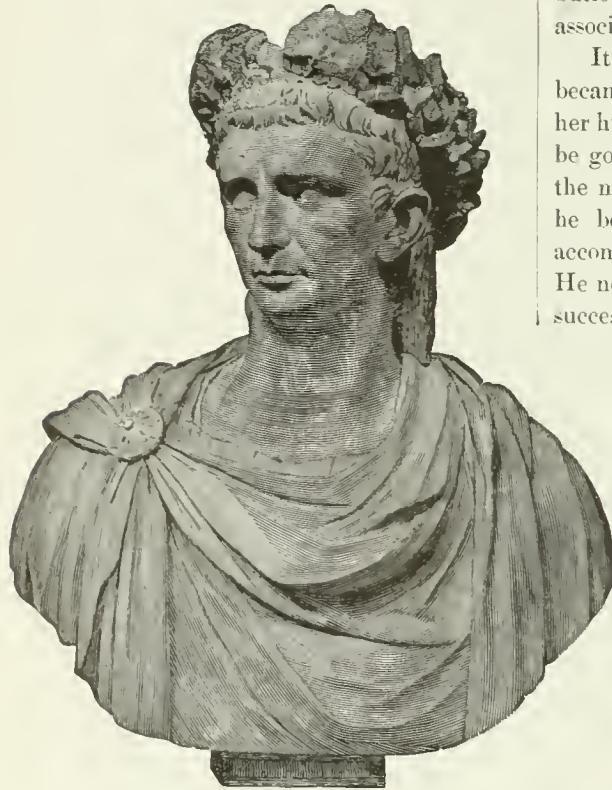
The new Emperor, though not of the Julian line, was a man of ancient family, and greatly distinguished as a general. He was an austere disciplinarian, who would fain bring the idea of military subordination into the management of the state. Nor was such a ruler foreign to the needs of Rome. The fact that almost from the first his manners and methods were distasteful to the people, debauched as they were by the examples of Caligula and Nero, was sufficient evidence of the wisdom of the choice

tion of the government by Galba, they in mock humility submitted their claims to the Senate for decision. The crisis was sufficiently serious to induce the Emperor to nominate a colleague, and the choice fell upon a nobleman named PISO LICINIANUS. The latter, however, was a man of the same severe temper as Galba, and the frugality, not to say parsimony, of the government, was as distasteful to the people and the soldiers as ever. The latter were especially aggrieved because of the non-distribution of a donative when Piso was proclaimed associate of the Emperor.

It will be remembered that when Nero became enamored of Poppæa he disposed of her husband, SALVIUS OTHO, by sending him to be governor of Lusitania. When he heard of the movement to elevate Galba to the throne he became a partner in the enterprise and accompanied the successful candidate to Rome. He now formed the design of becoming Galba's successor in the Empire, and was greatly cha-

grined when Piso was chosen to the place to which he himself so anxiously aspired. Nevertheless he did not abandon, but rather nursed, his design. He ingratiated himself with both the people and the army. He even won over the Spanish legions, whose benefits from Galba's accession had not equalled their expectations. The prætorians were in favor of any thing for a change. How should they live in such an atmosphere as the court was diffusing over Rome?

A few days after the election of Piso the prætorians withdrew their support from Galba, and notified Otho of their purpose to make him Emperor. The



GALBA.—Naples.

made by the Spanish legions. The inherent weakness of the situation existed in the fact that the same arbitrary power which had raised him to the throne might in the first hour of its displeasure destroy him and prefer another. Of this fatal flaw in his armor Galba was himself well aware, and his first concern was to remedy as far as practicable the defect in the system.

The legions in Upper Germany had in the mean time proclaimed an imperator of their own. But learning of the successful assump-

soothsayers, meanwhile, had discovered the trend of affairs and began to drop prophecies of Otho's budding greatness. Finally the haruspex of the Palatine, while Galba was sacrificing before the temple of Apollo, gave forth an utterance which, to Otho, who was standing by, signified that the army was ready for the revolution. He immediately descended, made his way to the prætorian camp, and before Galba had ended his sacrifice was proclaimed Emperor. All efforts of Galba and Piso to stay the tide were worse than

wasted. The tumultuous prætorians poured into the Forum, killed the Emperor and his colleague, and sent their man to the basilica of the Cæsars. The whole business was accomplished within fifteen days after the accession of Galba to the throne.

Great was the disappointment which the death of Galba produced among the better class of the Romans. They had fondly believed that after the dissolute reigns of Caligula and Nero the firm rule of a military leader would bring peace not only to the city but to the Empire. The sudden collapse of the reformatory *régime* left them hopeless, and Rome was again exposed to all the winds of profligacy.

The Senate, out of the necessity of things, accepted the situation by the recognition of Otho. A certain degree of order was presently restored in the city. Those who had been banished for political offenses were permitted to return to their homes. The old republican ghost was placated by the appointment of consuls. Even the nobles of Rome were conciliated by respectful treatment. Affairs in the capital seemed to favor an auspicious reign. Not so, however, in the Spanish and Gallic armies. While the legions in the East declared for Otho, those in the West proclaimed their general, AULUS VITELLIUS, Emperor. A civil war immediately ensued between him and Otho. Two divisions of the army of the former, led by the generals Valens and Cæcina, made their way through the passes of Mount Genevre and the Great St. Bernard, and debouched into Italy. Meanwhile the forces of Otho had advanced to the north, and in Cisalpine Gaul awaited the approach of the enemy. Near the confluence of the Adda and the Po a great battle was fought, in which Vitellius was completely victorious. Otho, in despair, committed suicide, and his triumphant rival was proclaimed Emperor. The latter, in traversing the battle-field, remarked to his attendants: "The corpses of our enemies smell very sweet, especially those of citizens!"

• Making his way to Rome, Vitellius was

accepted by the Senate and the people, who had now been regaled by the sight of three Emperors in a single year. In the West no headway could be made against the claims of the new Cæsar; but in the East the case was very different. The Syrian army, so far removed from the seat of Roman politics, was not at all disposed to accept as final the results of these disgraceful revolutions. The soldiers of the East, fully occupied with the Parthian war, the insubordination of Egypt, and the great revolt in Palestine, were preserved from



OTHO.—Rome, Vatican.

that stagnation which had proved the death of all soldierly virtues among the prætorians of Italy. The Syrian legions were at this time under command of the two distinguished generals, Mucianus and Titus Flavius Vespasianus. Without concerning themselves with the relative merits of the western broils, both had acquiesced in the claims of Galba and Otho, and they now accepted Vitellius, with little interest in the legitimacy of his promotion.

At this time Vespasianus and his son Titus

Flavius Sabinus were busily engaged in the Jewish war. The father, however, though plebeian born, became ambitious, not only of military fame, but also of Imperial distinction. Even before the decision of the question between Vitellius and Otho, the aspirations of Vespasianus were known and approved among the Syrian legions; and they accordingly proceeded to proclaim him Emperor. While Vitellius after the battle of Bedriacum was making his entry into Rome the huzzas of the soldiers in Syria were ringing in the ears of Vespasianus.

As to Vitellius, he immediately revealed a character as swinish as it was bloody. He was chiefly noted as the most illustrious glutton of Rome. He ate and drank until his coarse mind and coarser body were totally unfitted for rational activities. Mucianus, the other general of the Syrian legions, had mean-

while heartily ratified the assumption of Imperial honors by his colleague. Vespasianus himself remained for a season in the East. The suppression of the revolt in Palestine was intrusted to Titus. In



VITELLIUS.

order to overthrow the government of Vitellius, Mucianus advanced on Rome by way of Illyricum. The legions in the West were tempted with letters to abandon the cause of Vitellius. Especially was the Fourteenth Legion, which had recently been sent into Britain as a punishment for having upheld the party of Otho, plied with motives for a revolt. As Mucianus came on and made his way into Cisalpine Gaul he was met at Bedriacum by the forces of Vitellius, but the loyalty of the latter—even of the generals—was shaken, or at least lukewarm. The battle, however, was severe, and was only won by the army of Mucianus after much slaughter on both sides. Cremona was taken and pillaged by the victors, who then continued their march on the capital.

Vitellius was all the while living in riotous excesses. In the course of a few months he expended nine hundred millions of sesterces on

revelings and vulgar brutality. He refused to credit the story of the disaster in the North. When the prisoners, liberated by the generals of Vespasianus and sent to Rome for the express purpose of confirming the intelligence, came into the city, they were put to death as liars. At last, however, the libidinous glutton was obliged to open his eyes to the peril. An army of prætorians and gladiators was collected from the precincts of Roman Capua and led into the valley of the Nar to confront the approaching enemy, but the mélange of half-soldiers could not endure even the sight of the veterans of Valens, general of the forces of Vespasianus; and Vitellius was obliged to yield without striking a blow. Oddly enough, considering the temper of the times and the established precedents, he was granted the privilege of retiring to private life. Soon, however, he made his escape, returned to Rome, and was again put at the head of the desperate faction which opposed the party of Vespasianus. The adherents of the latter were driven to the Capitol Hill, where they endeavored to defend themselves against the Vitellians; but these gathered in great numbers, surrounded the hill, and by discharging burning arrows and throwing fire-brands succeeded in firing the buildings. The flames got the upper hand of the besieged, and the splendid edifices, including the great Capitoline temple of the gods, were reduced to ashes. Sabinus, who held the hill, was dismayed by the conflagration and yielded to his assailants.

Meanwhile Primus, who led the advance of the army of Vespasianus, reached the city, and entered the gates with the flying rabble which had been sent out to oppose his progress. The city was given up to pillage, and such scenes of carnage and destruction ensued as had never before been witnessed in the circle of the Seven Hills. Vitellius again made his escape, but presently returned to the deserted basilica of the Palatine, and was there found hiding behind a curtain. He was dragged forth and hurried along with torn dress and bleeding wounds through the midst of the jeering multitude. He was compelled to witness the demolition of his own statues, and was then ignominiously butchered in the

street. Vespasianus was immediately recognized by the senators, who sent an embassy to the East to salute him as Imperator. Thus on the 21st of December, A. D. 70, after a bloody turmoil of eighteen months' duration, the government of Rome at last fell into the hands of one who was competent to rule the Empire with something of the old-time energy and firmness.

Before proceeding to narrate the events of the reign of VESPASIANUS, it will be desirable to note in a few paragraphs the downfall of the Israelitish nation. The story of this people was dropped at the time of the conquest of Palestine by Cambyzes, the Persian. During the reigns of the succeeding kings the country remained subject to the empire of the Achæmenians. In the time of Artaxerxes, Ezra, the pious scribe of Israel, brought to Jerusalem a new colony of his people from beyond the Euphrates; and by an able and energetic administration succeeded in restoring the Mosaic economy. Afterwards, in B. C. 445, Nehemiah, who had been the cup-bearer of Artaxerxes, restored the fortifications of the city and carried forward the reforms undertaken by Ezra. The Jewish temple on Mount Moriah, which was the center and core of Judaism, fell under the control of a long line of high-priests. The prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Nehemiah kept alive the national spirit by the collection and authentication of the sacred writings, among which were included the most valuable fragments of the literature of ancient Israel. The Pentateuch was taught in the schools, and publicly expounded as the fundamental law of the Jews.

After the epoch of Alexander, the influence of the Greeks began to be felt in Palestine. The science and philosophy of that cultured people made great progress among the doctors of Jewry. The doctrines of Epicurus were received with much favor by many learned scribes who formed a sect known as the *SADUCEES*, rejecting the authority of tradition and denying the immortality of the soul. The principles of the Stoics were still more widely disseminated, and they who professed these

doctrines were united in the more numerous sect called the *PHARISEES*. A smaller faction, more ascetic and mystical than either of the others, was founded on socialistic and philosophic professions, and was known as the *ESSENES*.

The paganism of Greece also infected Samaria. The cities of this apostate region became Hellenized, and in many places the worship of the Greek gods was introduced. The language of the Hellenes prevailed in Judea more and more. After the establishment of Jewish colonies in Alexandria, the Græco-Is-



TITUS FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS.—Rome.

raelitish learning led to the translation of the sacred writings, resulting in the *SEPTUAGINT*. With the accession of Ptolemy Soter, Judea became an Egyptian dependency, but the relations of the little state were fluctuating and uncertain. In the times of Ptolemy V. the Jews went over to Antiochus the Great, and were worsted by the change. The rival parties in Jerusalem began to auction their nationality in order to secure the favor of the Græco-Syrian kings. In order to settle the disgraceful broils of the factions, and to punish the sedition which had spread abroad dur-

ing his invasion of Egypt, Antiochus, in B. C. 169, attacked Jerusalem, leveled the walls, garrisoned the city with his soldiers, proclaimed the worship of the Olympian Jupiter to be the religion of the state, set up shrines for the pagan deities, and sacrificed *a sow* on the altar of Jehovah! Thousands of the people were butchered and other thousands sold into slavery.

Soon afterwards, when Antiochus had gone on an expedition against the Parthians, leaving the completion of the work in Palestine to his general, Apollonius, a revolt broke out headed by the high-priest MATTATHIAS and his five sons, of the House of the Asmoneans.

The rebellion gathered head. The insurgents retired into the wilderness, whence they sallied forth and broke down the altars of paganism. The army of Mattathias waxed in strength until it became formidable. When the aged leader died, the command fell upon his son JUDAS, who greatly distinguished himself as a general. He obtained the surname of the Hammer, or in Hebrew *Makkab*. From this cognomen—though the derivation is somewhat disputed—came the name MACCABEES, which was given to the insurgent leaders and also to the apocryphal book in which their deeds are recorded. Time and again the forces of Apollonius and other Syrian generals were defeated by the obstinate Jews. At last, however, Bacchides brought a large army into Judea, and Judas being defeated slew himself rather than be taken. ELEAZER, his colleague, had already been crushed to death under an elephant in a previous battle. Thus, in B. C. 160, the organized rebellion was suppressed; but the remnant of the Maccabees' forces fled to the hills and for many years carried on a desultory warfare against their oppressors.

By and by, when Demetrius Soter was contending with rival claimants for the throne of Syria, JONATHAN, one of the surviving Maccabees found opportunity to restore the fortunes of the war, and made such headway that he was recognized as high-priest of Jerusalem; but he was presently assassinated by Tryphon, one of the Syrian pretenders. Afterwards SIMON made an alliance with Rome, and became, for a short time, an independent prince.

At the close of the second century B. C.

JOHN HYRCANUS and his sons ARISTOBULUS and ALEXANDER, maintained the reputation of their house and the dignity of the priestly office. Nearly all of the Maccabees were brave and virtuous warriors, who fought and died for the freedom of a country whose internal dissensions and feuds rendered her unworthy of such heroic service. In the latter days of the house, however, the younger ARISTOBULUS engaged in a disgraceful contest with a second HYRCANUS for the priestly throne. The dispute resulted in calling in Scaurus, the lieutenant of Pompeius the Great, to settle the controversy. In B. C. 63, he decided in favor of Aristobulus, but the decision was afterwards reversed by Pompeius, who, in order to suppress the rival claimant, took Jerusalem by storm, amid the wildest scenes of carnage. Hyrcanus then became high-priest, and Palestine was made tributary to Rome as the price of his recognition.

As a province of the Roman Empire, Judea was assigned by Julius Cæsar to ANTIPATER, who had been the minister of Hyrcanus. His title was procurator. Aristobulus, who had been imprisoned at Rome, made his escape and endeavored to recover his kingdom, but he and his sons perished in the foolish revolt which they had incited. When in B. C. 53 Crassus was overthrown by the Parthians, Antigonus conquered and captured Hyrcanus; but his success had no abiding root. For in the mean time HEROD, son of Antipater, being in Rome, had obtained the favor of the First Triumvirate, and now returned to Palestine backed by the support of that powerful combination. He succeeded in establishing a new dynasty, known as the Idumæan, and obtained for himself—though for what reason has never sufficiently appeared—the title of *Great*. His inordinate vanity, his cruelty, his uncurbed passions, and his base servitude to Rome, constituted his entire claim to the epithet with which he has been honored. He proved to be an unscrupulous sycophant and bloody assassin of his betters.

After the death of Herod his dominions were divided among his three sons: ARCHELAUS, PHILIP, and HEROD ANTIPAS. An era of anarchy followed, the tetrarchies of Idumæa, Trachonitis, and Galilee being engaged in

constant turmoils. It was during this troublous epoch that the Christ was born, and was saved from the bloody edict of Herod the Great by the flight of his parents into Egypt.

After the introduction of the new era Judæa continued a Roman province. The procurator generally lived in the coast town of Cæsarea, and stood aloof as much as possible from the interminable broils of the Jews. At Jerusalem, the capital, every thing was as far as practicable left to the management of the nation, under the lead of the Sanhedrim, or Jewish Senate. Never was a people so turbulent, so excited with expectation of a deliverer who should restore the ancient kingdom, so fired with bigotry and fanaticism, as were the wretched Jews of this period. One Christ came after another. Revolt was succeeded by revolt, instigated by some pseudo prophet or pretended king.

Meanwhile Rome gave little heed to Jewish prejudices except to despise them. Caligula required the priests to set up his statue in the temple of Jehovah. The rage of the Jews at this proposition was so intense that nothing but the temporizing policy of the procurator prevented a desperate rebellion. Claudius was more inclined to humor the dispositions of his Judæan subjects, and there was a lull in the gathering tempest. Under Nero, however, the procurators, acting in accordance with the temper of their master, began to oppress the Jews and to trample on their customs. A general rebellion was the result. The priests, as usual, promised the interposition of heaven. The authority of the hierarchy over the minds of the people was absolute. Not the Druids themselves held such undisputed sway over the forest tribes of British Celts as did the Jewish priesthood over the rabble about the temple and city of Jerusalem. It now became necessary for Rome to apply her exterminating iron to the turbulent race, or else give up Judæa to its own anarchic independence.

The conflict which was waged for independence by the infatuated Jews was prosecuted with a desperation hardly equaled in the annals of warfare. Nero committed the work of suppressing the revolt to Vespasianus, then

in joint command with Mucianus in the East. The tactics adopted by the Roman general were at once cautious and severe. He first captured Iotapata, in Galilee; then received the surrender of Tiberias; then took Tarichea by storm. The Jews quickly perceived that they had nothing to expect except annihilation as the penalty for their rash rebellion; but this knowledge merely inspired them with a profounder hatred of the Romans and a more sullen determination to resist to the last. The campaign of A. D. 69 was still directed against the outlying Judæan towns, rather than Jerusalem. It was manifestly the policy of Vespasianus to destroy the resources of the country, and when the whole population had taken refuge in the capital to invest the city and exterminate the race.

Meanwhile Rome tottered. Nero went down before Galba, and Galba before Otho. The latter gave place to Vitellius, and he hung for a moment on the edge of the precipice. The Syrian army declared for Vespasianus, and that general intrusted the completion of the Jewish war to his son Titus. The latter, in the year 70, moved with all his forces against Jerusalem. Within the city was a multitude of strangers, numbering hundreds of thousands; for it was the feast of the Passover. Behind the walls were twenty-four thousand regular soldiers, besides a large army of irregular troops, armed and equipped for the occasion. Titus had at his disposal a force of about eighty thousand men, mostly veterans of the legions.

If the people of the city had been united in their purposes, the Romans could hardly have succeeded. The defenses of Jerusalem, both natural and artificial, were almost impregnable to assault. It was only in the existence of warring factions among the fanatic multitudes of Jewry and in the steady approach of famine that Titus could hope for certain success. After advancing from the north, and planting his forces on the ridge of Scopus, he undertook negotiations, and, sending the historian Josephus to the city gates, offered honorable terms to the besieged. But all proposals were rejected with disdain and unquenchable hatred. The envoys which were sent by Titus were met with a shower of arrows.

Angered at this obstinacy, the Roman general at once began a siege. For this he was well prepared with all the enginery known to the invention of the time. The defense was conducted with all the spirit which insane fanaticism could engender. The outer wall was battered down, and the besiegers advanced against the second rampart and the tower of Antonia. Upon these strong bulwarks the engines were brought to bear, and it was but a question of time when they must fall.

Meanwhile famine began to gnaw at the vitals of the city. The factions hawked at and tore each other, and the distress became intolerable. The wolf of cannibalism began to screech in the streets. The bodies of the dead began to be eaten by the survivors, and then the living quailed at the horrid thought of being served up to the soldiers. In the wild rage of the hour, children were eaten by their parents. The insane illusions begotten of unappeasable hunger and fanaticism seized upon the feverish minds of the multitudes as they surged from one side of the city to the other looking for the Christ. Delirious prophets cried in the streets. Prodigies were seen in the heavens—spectral warriors striding the clouds as cherubim going to battle.

Finally the tower of Antonia was carried by assault, and the engines were brought to bear on the temple of Mount Moriah. This beautiful edifice soon yielded to the battering-rams, and was stormed by the assailants. The Roman soldiers rushing into the holy place over the bodies of the slain applied fire-brands, and the building was soon wrapped in flames. Meanwhile the people under their leaders, JOHN and SIMON, had withdrawn to Mount Zion, and here made their last defense. In vain did Titus, assisted by Josephus, attempt to secure a capitulation; but the envoys were met with curses and violence. Thereupon the Roman general resolved to accomplish the complete destruction of the race. Thousands upon thousands of the crowded host on Zion died of starvation, and other thousands, attempting to break through the lines of the besiegers, were impaled on Roman spears.

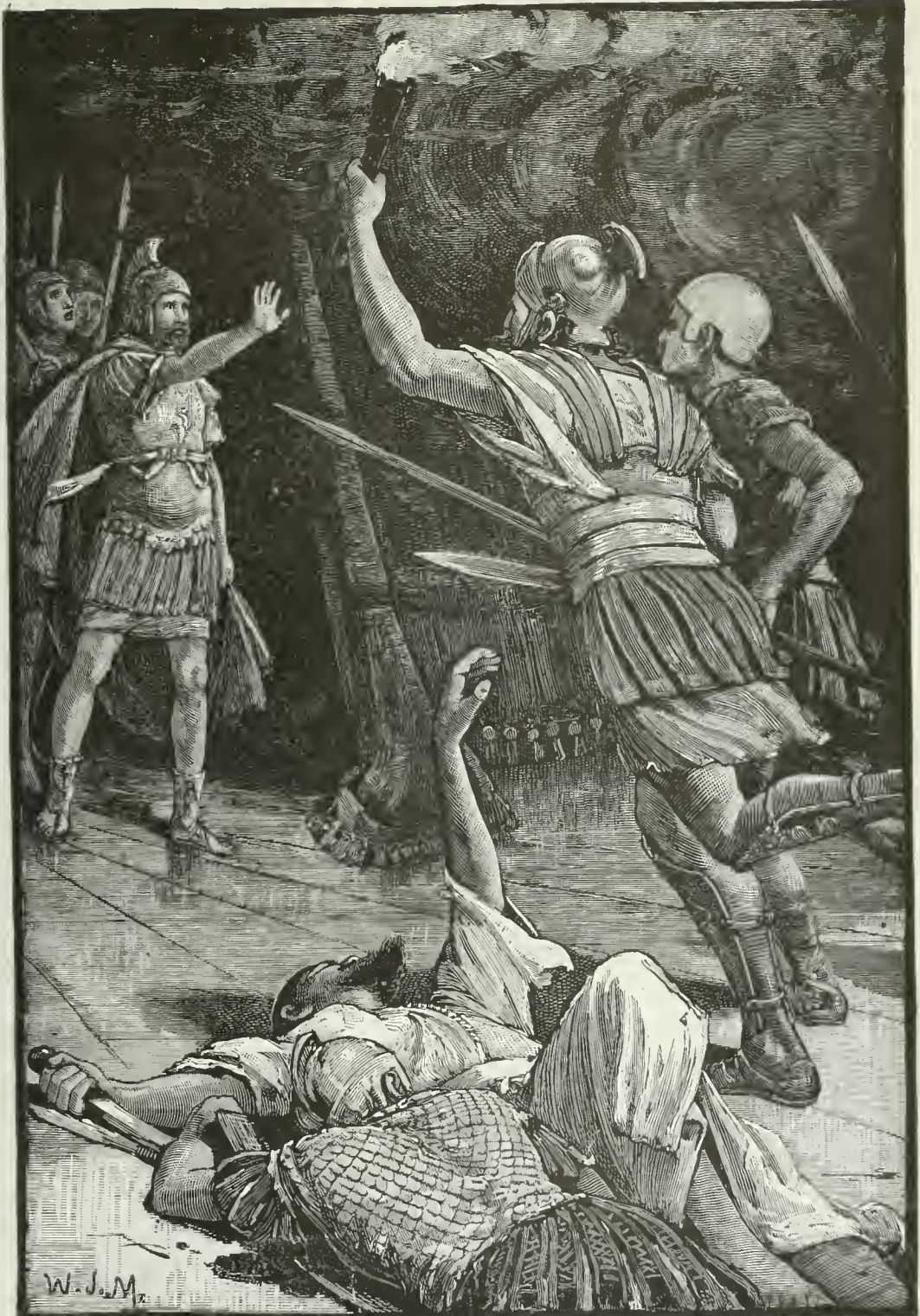
At last the work of destruction was com-

pleted. The remnant were captured and sold into slavery. John and Simon, having concealed themselves for a season, attempted to effect their escape through subterranean passages leading from the city, but were caught and dragged from the cavern. The former was condemned to imprisonment for life, and the latter was reserved to grace the general's triumph. The annihilation of Jewish nationality was complete. Jerusalem was reduced to a ruin, and the survivors of her people were to be found exposed in the slave markets of Rome or groaning out their lives in the rock-quarries of Egypt. As for Titus, he hurried to the capital of the Empire to express by tokens of affection his loyalty to his father; for he had himself been saluted as Emperor by the Syrian army. Nor were the ties of filial affection which bound together this father and son ever disturbed by the ambitious or jealousies of either.

The death of Vitellius marked the extinction of the Julian line in the government. With the accession of Vespasianus, the Flavian House was recognized as the head of the Empire. The recent change in administration denoted not only the transfer of the imperial diadem from one family to another, but also a striking modification in the theory of the government. The first Cæsars had reigned under a kind of divine autocracy, and the veneration, in which the emperors—disgusting as had been the character of many—had been held, was traceable to the fact that the throne was occupied by a sort of religious sanction. The emperors themselves diligently encouraged this illusive delusion; they would fain be gods. Albeit, at such an epoch and among such a people, it was safer to be god than man!

With Vespasianus all this was changed. The Flavian gens was of plebeian origin; nor had the family been materially improved with the lapse of time. Vespasianus himself was a man of low birth who had risen to distinction by military genius, and by that he had won the Imperial crown.

The new reign covered a period of ten years (B. C. 70-79) and was an epoch of greater tranquillity than Rome had enjoyed since the days of Augustus. It was the high



ROMAN SOLDIERS FIRING THE TEMPLE AT JERUSALEM.

noon and climax of the military greatness of the Roman Empire. The Emperor was already mature in years and had learned by military discipline the lesson of subordination in himself and others. His personal habits were simple and inexpensive. The time, moreover, had come in Rome, owing to the impoverishment of most of her noble houses, when a simple example, set by a frugal monarch, was more likely than hitherto to be emulated and followed by the magnates of the commonwealth. More important still was the substitution of the constitutional

fire he built the splendid baths called the *Thermae of Titus*. Still more grand was the amphitheater called the Coliseum or Colossemum, the magnificent remains of which still loom in grandeur above the degenerate structures of modern Rome. To commemorate the victories of his son in Judaea, the Emperor erected that wonder of architectural beauty known as the Arch of Titus. A new Forum was also constructed and a temple of Peace to testify of the character of his reign. Nor did the Emperor less distinguish himself by demolition than by construction. The Golden House

of Nero, a thing hateful to the people by the memories which it recalled, was torn away to make room for new structures of more grateful associations.

The administration of Vespasianus was upheld by a more hearty support than had been given to any previous reign. The Emperor was especially fortunate in the devotion of his son and the loyalty of his general Muci-



THE COLISEUM.—ROME.

for the divine theory of government. Vespasianus governed by law rather than by the arbitrary edicts of personal will.

It was a part of the ambition of the new Emperor to make Rome splendid. The recent burning of the temple on the Capitol Hill gave opportunity for the pious work of reconstruction, and an edifice more magnificent than the former rose on the site of the ruin.¹ In another part of the district devastated by the

anus. Antonius Primus, the other leading commander of the legions, was less faithful in his adherence, but was easily reduced to a minor rank. The methods employed by Vespasianus were wise and popular. The finances of the state were restored to a prosperous condition; the exhausted treasury replenished; the discipline of the army improved; and the factious elements in the city suppressed. A series of new regulations for the provinces were adopted by which a greater uniformity of administration was attained than under any previous reign. Nor should failure be made to mention the wise and generous efforts of the prince to

¹ It is a matter of dispute among modern antiquarians whether the great temple burned by the Vitellians occupied the Capitoline or the Tarpeian Hill, but the evidence seems to point to the former.

encourage the cause of education. An extensive public library was established in the new Forum, and provisions made for the maintenance of salaried teachers, who presently constituted, as at Alexandria, a profession of learned men. Scholars were in favor at the capital. Some of them were raised to important offices in the state. The rhetorician Quintilian was elected to the consulship. The natural opposition of learned and moral men to the abusive vices of politics was encouraged by the government, to the great improvement of the public service. The patronage of the Emperor, however, was withheld from the more radical of the Stoics and from the Cynics as a sect; and some old statutes of the Republic were revived against those philosophers whose teachings were regarded as tending to immorality and the corruption of the state.

The reign of Vespasianus may be most favorably compared with those of the preceding Cæsars. He was a man of honest purposes, personally virtuous according to the definitions of the times, diligent in his application to business, a keeper of his word with friend and foe. At the age of seventy, after a successful and peaceful reign of ten years' duration, he died a natural death. In his last illness the resolution of his character was shown in his demand that his attendants should hold him in an upright position. "For," said he, "an Imperator of Rome ought to die standing."

In the mean time Titus had been wisely associated with his father in the government. He had already held the office of censor, and had greatly alleviated the cares of the Emperor's declining years. Like his father, Titus came to the government with the reputation of a great military leader. His manners were, however, refined and scholarly. His sentiments were more elevated and less severe than those of Vespasianus, and he possessed, besides, many traits of popularity which were wanting in the elder prince. The life of Titus was dashed

with a romance dating from his campaigns in the East. There he had become enamored of Berenice, a Jewess, sister of Agrippa, king of Chalcis. Her he wooed after the fashion of human nature, and induced to go with him to Rome. It was his purpose to make her his wife and queen; but the prejudices of his countrymen were so intense against the marriage of their rulers with foreign princesses that Titus was obliged to give over his honorable intentions, and Berenice returned to the East.



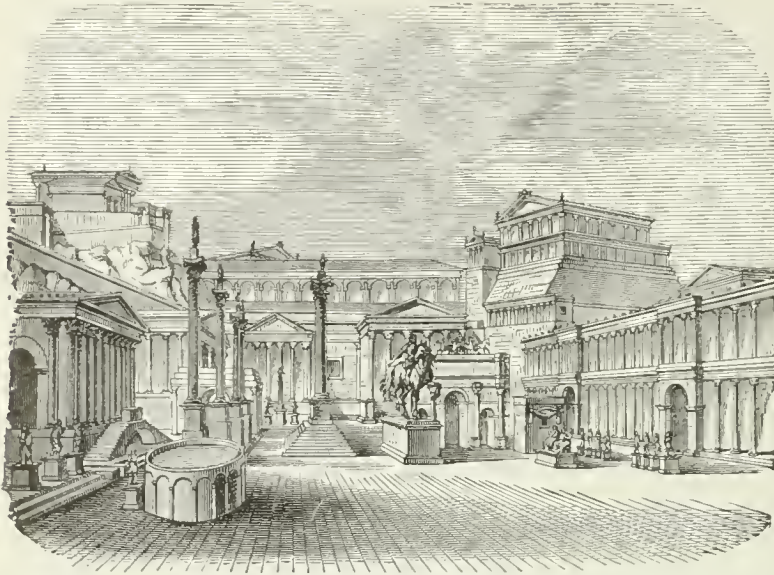
ARCH OF TITUS.—Rome.

The general policy of Vespasianus was carefully followed by Titus. The latter, however, for good reason refused to associate with himself his profligate brother Domitianus, preferring to bear the whole care of state rather than commit the public interest to the unworthy. The new Cæsar was destined to a brief career. A constitution naturally delicate had already been impaired by the hardships of the camp. His health failed, and after a reign of but two years he passed away. In mildness of manners and benevolence of

purpose he surpassed all his predecessors. Even towards the nobles he exhibited so much kindness and courtesy as to leave among them a great reputation. It was a maxim of his

lamity came in a single hour. The people had no timely warning of the impending doom. The sky grew black. The lava came rolling like a deluge. Pompeii perished in a shower

of cinders and ashes, and Herculaneum in the molten ocean which rolled through her streets and over her highest buildings. The burial was complete. Multitudes of the inhabitants were caught without the possibility of escape. The bather in the *therma*, the cobbler in his shop, the baker at his ovens, the reveler at his banquet, the woman of fashion at the toilet, were entombed alive almost before the look of ter-



ROMAN FORUM, RESTORED.

government that no suitor ought to go unrequited from the Imperial presence. He it was who was in the habit of saying that the day was lost which had witnessed the performance of no good deed. The only vice of which he could be justly accused, was a certain abandonment to ease and indulgence, even to the extent of cutting short his already mortgaged life. By his contemporaries he was called the "Delight of the Human Race," and the title, though fulsome, was better deserved than many that have been bestowed.

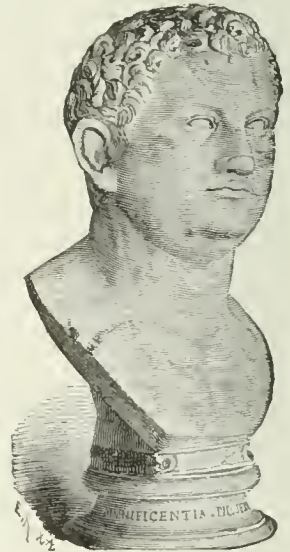
The reign of Titus was noted for two calamities, shocking to the times and remembered by posterity. In the year A. D. 79 the volcano of Vesuvius began to groan and bellow with internal anguish, and then vomited forth clouds of cinders and torrents of lava such as no preceding or succeeding age has equaled. The fiery mass rolled down in a deluge over the mountain sides and into the surrounding plains.

There lay the beautiful cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii, the fashionable resorts and sea-side homes of the wealthy Romans. All that art and luxury could do to satisfy the tastes and senses was here profusely displayed. The ca-

lamity could supplant the usual expression of the countenance. The devastation was so complete, so overwhelming, as to preclude all notion of restoration.

The sites of the buried cities were abandoned, and even forgotten, until in 1748 the digging of a well brought to light some statues from their bed in the ashes. Seven years later the workmen of Charles III. of Naples uncovered a whole amphitheater, and from that time until the present the antiquarians of the world have been at intervals busily engaged in exhuming the wonders of the old civilization from this tomb of ages.

According to Roman law Julia, the daugh-



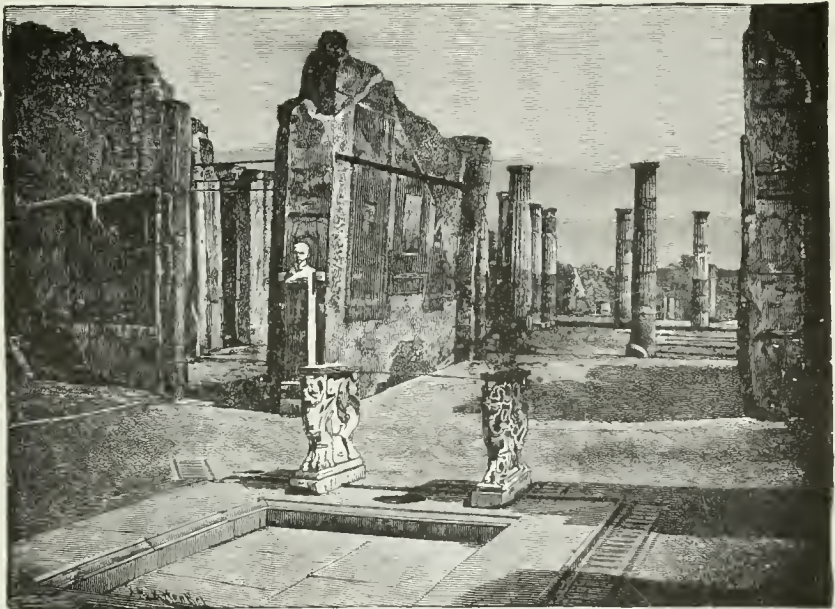
TITUS.—Rome, Vatican.

ter of Titus, could not succeed him in the Empire. He left no son to inherit the state. The brother DOMITIANUS thus became heir to whatever Titus could transmit. He was by a kind of necessity recognized as Emperor, and was unopposed in the assumption of power. He represented in his life and character the worst elements of Roman society. He was indeed the abstract and brief chronicle of those vices which were undermining the whole structure of the existing civilization. The Flavian family had been from the healthy atmosphere of the Sabine hills. The first two Emperors of this gens had preserved the rustic virtues of their ancestry, but even in the case of Titus it was evident that the habit of indulgence was preparing the way for worse to follow. Domitianus, long before his accession to power, had become a moral bankrupt. He had no vigor of manly purpose, no persistency in the prosecution of enterprises. He had had no success as a soldier, being too effeminate for the profession of arms. His reputation in the army, and afterwards in the administration of law, was that of a tyrannical martinet, whose chief delight was in cruel exactions and wanton freaks.

One of the most marked traits in the character of Domitianus was his jealousy. He was jealous even of his dead father and brother. It was public opinion rather than preference which gained his assent to the dedication of the Arch of Titus. He envied his brother's reputation in letters, and indeed it should be set down to his credit that he himself made considerable attainments in literature. After

his accession, whatever ambition he had, became inflamed with military ardor. He made two campaigns against the Germans, and, according to the testimony of his poetic flatterers, was successful. He decreed himself a triumph on his return, and took to himself the title of *Germanicus*!

In the work of his subordinates there was more substantial ground for boasting. CNEIUS JULIUS AGRICOLA, as governor of Britain, conquered Wales and the island of Anglesea, and carried his victorious arms to the Forth and the Tay. As a barrier against the Picts and the Scots, he built a wall from the Clyde to



STREET OF CORNELIUS RUFUS, POMPEII.

the frith of Forth, and then penetrated into Scotland, defeating the Pictish king Galgacus and inspiring the country with a wholesome dread of the Roman eagles. The fleet circumnavigated Britain, thus determining the hitherto unknown extent and outlines of the island.

The fame of these exploits was borne to Rome, and Rome praised her victorious general. To Domitianus the praise of another was gall for bitterness. Agricola was recalled. On his return to Rome he refused all marks of honor and promotion of his interests. He went into retirement, and lived for several

years in the highest esteem of his countrymen. His death occurred in his own home; but there were not wanting evidences (so says his son-in-law, the historian Tacitus) that his taking off was the work of Domitianus, whose

eclipse the glory of his father, Domitianus erected in front of the temple built by Vespasianus a colossal statue of himself, and the dedication was celebrated with a banquet of incredible luxury and expense.



TRIUMPH OF GERMANICUS.

Drawn by Vierge.

ferocious jealousy could in no other way be quenched.

The feelings of Domitianus, respecting the fame of his brother Titus, were exhibited in the erection of a rival arch commemorative of his alleged triumph in the German war. To

element of disgusting religious superstition. Having no regard for his own horrible vices, he undertook to reform the morals of the state. He established an inquisition for the purpose of investigating alleged irregularities on the part of the Vestal Virgins. Several

The worst traits of the reigning Cæsar were now to be exhibited in a career of violence and bloodshed. A rebellion, headed by LUCIUS ANTONIUS SATURNINUS, broke out among the legions of the Rhine; but the mutineers were soon overpowered by Norbanus, another of the Emperor's generals, though not until Domitianus himself had led out an army from Rome for the suppression of the revolt. As soon as the mutiny was at an end he adopted the policy of breaking up the armies of the frontier into small detachments to the end that none might be sufficiently strong to rise in rebellion against the reigning prince. He then began a career of proscription and bloodshed directed against whoever was sufficiently prominent in the Empire to excite his suspicion and distrust. In these proceedings was mixed an

members of the sacred college were arrested and examined. Two of the Vestals were convicted and condemned, but the merciful Emperor, driven by the stress of public opinion, consented that the execution should take place by suicide instead of burying alive. A third Virgin, however, named Cornelia, was not similarly favored by executive clemency. The poor convict was lowered into a vault with a crust of bread and a flask of water; the walls were closed around her and she was left to her fate.

A series of edicts were next issued, reformatory of the married state, and directed to the social abuses, which were then rife in Rome. Not that Domitianus himself had the slightest regard for the virtues of the home and the family, but because of the insane bigotry and violence of his own disposition did he assume the championship of marital fidelity and the sanctity of the hearthstone. He instituted proceedings against the singers, dancers, and actors of the city, whom he persecuted rather because he hated the appearance of happiness than on account of any moral repugnance to the things he would destroy. Meanwhile, in his own basilica, some of the most dissolute characters known in Roman society roamed at will and added their breath to the already pestilential atmosphere. The empress Domitilla was corrupted by one of the king's favorites bearing the significant name of Paris. Whereupon the Emperor had him assassinated, rather from a sense of jealous spite than from any anger at his moral turpitude.

In his measures of supposititious reform Domitianus was greatly aided by the temper of his age. The outrageous profligacy and ruinous excesses which prevailed in the times of Claudius and Nero had brought about a natural reaction in favor of the rough and savage virtues of the olden time. The alleged puritanism of which Domitianus was anxious to be considered the champion was a mere revival of the superstitions and truculence which belonged to a bygone age. Society had taken on an aspect which rendered impossible the enforcement of the edicts, and his "Reforms" were of the sort which in the times of the Restoration were attributed to Sir Hugh de Bras.

The Emperor lived in constant dread of assassination. Against what he felt to be his impending fate he adopted every possible precaution. He hired informers. He confined his goings to the basilica. He surrounded himself with guards. He procured the assassination of the suspected. He attempted by means of shows and bauquets and lavish expenditures to distract the minds of the people from the essential hatred of himself and his



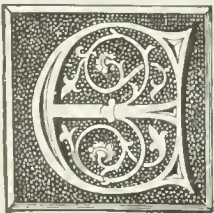
STATUE OF THE EMPEROR DOMITIAN.—Rome, Vatican.

court. It was all in vain. A plot was at last concocted against his life, and the members of the conspiracy were they of his own household. It was given out that a child entering the Emperor's apartments found therein a tablet containing the names of the empress and other members of the family in a list of those to be assassinated. Thereupon they turned and destroyed the destroyer. The blow was struck by a certain freedman named Stephanus, who thus became the avenger of a thousand victims of Imperial cruelty.

Domitianus was the last of the Flavian emperors. He died without an heir. Fate limits the reproduction of a certain kind of monsters to a few. The late Emperor was the last of the so-called Twelve Cæsars. His death marks a break between the extinction of the old forces of government which, beginning with the great Julius, had continued until now to direct the methods of government and the revival of senatorial authority. The first twelve emperors are considered in a group by themselves. Their biographies were written by Suetonius, whose sketches end with the assassination of Domitianus. With the downfall of that tyrant, there seemed to be a lull among those turbulent elements which for many reigns together had flung one emperor after another into the foreground of Roman history. Now, however, the legionaries found no candidate.

It was an opportune moment for the Senate to reassert itself once more as an active force in the affairs of state; nor was that body slow to avail itself of the opportunity then presented. An aged and honorable senator, named COCCEIUS NERVA, distinguished by many services, was quickly nominated for the imperial office, and was accepted without dissent. The event marked a new epoch in the history of the Empire. Nerva and the four succeeding monarchs constituted a line of rulers, all of whom were promoted to civil authority, and under whose administration Roman civilization reached its zenith. So great was the prosperity presently to be attained under the new *régime* that so profound a student as Gibbon has not hesitated to pronounce the era to be on the whole the epoch of the greatest happiness of the human race.

CHAPTER LXIII.—FROM NERVA TO ANTONINUS.



EMPEROR NERVA was a Roman by ancient descent, though himself a native of Crete, and the universal acquiescence in his elevation to power was no doubt attributable

to the fact that he, being a provincial senator, and by nature a man of cool and magnanimous temper, was little embroiled with the factions and party of the capital. The same policy of choosing the emperors from the provinces, instead of from Italy, was afterwards continued with good results through several successive reigns.

The first work which the aged Nerva felt called upon to perform was the punishment of the agents by whom the cruelties of Domitianus had been perpetrated. That ruler had been the creature and servant of the Prætorian Guards, and the latter resisted with alarm and anger the meting out of justice to the base wretches who had been the instruments of the recent administration. They demanded that the assassins of Domitianus, as well as his ad-

herents, should be brought into condemnation, and with this demand Nerva was obliged in a certain measure to comply. He determined, however, that henceforth this turbulent and lawless soldiery should no longer rule the state. He accordingly adopted such measures as seemed best adapted to secure their subordination to civil authority, and then proceeded to select as his successor in the Empire and present colleague a tried and true officer of the army, the brave and loyal Marcus Ulpius Trajanus. The nomination was heartily approved by the Senate and the people; the government was greatly strengthened, and a salutary precedent established for the future, by which the imperial and the senatorial authority were made concurrent in the choice of rulers.

The veteran Nerva, however, was destined to but a brief ascendancy. After a short reign of only a few days over six months he died calmly in the palace, and the diadem was transferred to TRAJANUS. The latter, usually known by his English name of Trajan, ascended the throne without opposition. Senate, people, and army were all alike confident

of his great ability and honest purposes. He was a Spaniard by birth, a soldier by profession. With him the old military ambitions of the Romans were fully revived. Until now the policy of Augustus and Tiberius of restricting the Empire within the boundaries already attained had been strictly pursued. Under Trajan this theory was abandoned. The new Emperor looked into the distant regions beyond the Danube, and even beyond the Euphrates, and coveted the laurels won by Julius and Pompeius. He immediately laid extensive plans of foreign conquest, with a view to extending the already wide-spread dominion of Rome. To establish his popularity at home, he began his reign with a pledge to the senators that none of their body should henceforth suffer capital punishment. To secure an easy route into Germany he bridged the Rhine at Mayence, and advanced the military frontier to Höchst and Baden. Before leaving the capital, the Senate repaid his confidence by conferring on him the title of *Optimus*, never borne by any other of the Emperors.

The foreign conquests of Trajan began with A. D. 101. His army was first led into Dacia, a vast region corresponding with the modern Hungary, Wallachia, Moldavia, Transylvania. The people of the country were under the rule of a king called Decebalus, who had his capital in the valley of the Maros. Trajan advanced down the Danube to Severin, bridged the river, and entered the enemy's country. The Dacian king, after suffering several defeats, was shut up in his stronghold; but the place was soon carried by storm, and Decebalus and his nobles committed suicide. The conquest of Dacia was complete. The country was organized into a province, and colonized with Romans.

On his return to Rome, Trajan triumphed. In commemoration of his victories, he laid out a new forum of magnificent proportions, erected a triumphal arch and reared that splendid memorial pillar, called the Column of Trajan. On the outer surface, the principal events of his Dacian campaign were carved in relief, and the summit was crowned with a colossal statue of the victorious Emperor.

For several years Trajan continued to re-

side at the capital, spending his energies and resources in the improvement and decoration of the city. To meet the expenses of his public works he was not, like his predecessors, driven to the criminal expedient of confiscations. His foreign conquest furnished him ample means. Not only in Rome, but in many of the provincial cities, the same liberal hand was seen in the erection of public buildings and commemorative trophies.

In A. D. 114, Trajan set out for the East.



STATUE OF THE EMPEROR TRAJAN.—Naples.

It was his purpose to wrest Armenia from the Parthians, and perhaps to reduce that warlike race, now long victorious in the eastern parts of what had constituted the Persian Empire, to submission and dependence on Rome. Chosroës, the Parthian king, fearing his antagonist, attempted conciliation. Trajan advanced into Asia. Reaching Armenia, he compelled Prince Parthamasiris, nephew of Chosroës, to make an absolute submission. He was obliged to cede his country to Rome; and the belief prevails that, after he had granted all the demands of

the conqueror, he was waylaid and slain by the orders of Trajan. The latter retired to Antioch; but at that place his plans were frustrated by the occurrence of the great earthquake, which ruined the city and came near destroying himself.

After the reduction of Armenia the Roman army was led against the Parthians. Pursu-

Persian Gulf, and might, but for his age and the revolt of Seleucia in his rear, have extended the Roman borders to the limits of the dominion of Alexander.

Returning to Ctesiphon, the Emperor appointed a governor over Parthia, and settled the affairs of the kingdom. The eastern limit of the Empire was established, for a brief



ARCH OF TRAJAN, ROME.

ing the same route which had been taken by the ill-starred Crassus, the Emperor drove all before him, established his head-quarters in Adiabene, and before the end of the year organized a vast Roman province beyond the Tigris. The winter of A. D. 114–115 was spent by Trajan at Edessa. In the following spring he descended the Euphrates and reached Ctesiphon. The king of Parthia fled into Media. His empire collapsed. Trajan advanced to the

time, beyond the Tigris; but almost as soon as Trajan returned to Antioch, the region was again in revolt, and renounced the authority of Rome. In the year A. D. 117 Trajan attempted to return to Italy, but was taken sick *en route*, and died at Selinus, in Cilicia. His reign had covered a period of nineteen years, being the longest since the days of Tiberius. Without the literary culture of his predecessors, Trajan had surpassed them all in wisdom,

prudence, and devotion to the interests of the state. His liberality and generous conduct well deserved the fame which was accorded to him by his own and after times, and his title of *the Best* was a not undeserved recognition of his great merits as a ruler.

The Empire passed peaceably to PUBLIUS **ÆLIUS HADRIANUS**, commonly called Hadrian. He was a son of the late Emperor's cousin, and the favorite of the Empress Plotina, through whose influence he was preferred as the heir and successor of her husband. People and Senate readily accepted the choice, though there had been much expectancy that the lot would fall on Lusius Quietus, the ablest of Trajan's generals. In the mean time the body of the dead Emperor was brought home from the East and deposited under the beautiful column bearing his name.

At the time of his election to the throne Hadrian was with the army in Asia. Less ambitious and perhaps more wise than his predecessor, he determined to withdraw his forces from the fields of recent conquest and revive the policy of Augustus. For some time he was occupied in the settlement of affairs according to his notions of what was demanded by the interests of the state, and then in 117 repaired to Rome, where he was received with great enthusiasm.

The beginning of the new reign was auspicious. The popularity of the monarch was enhanced by a remission of tribute, and by the modesty of the pretensions of the prince. He had on the whole greater abilities and acquirements than any of his predecessors since Julius Cæsar. His activity was tireless and wisely directed. He traversed all parts of the Empire, and left behind him the tokens of his good will in the shape of public buildings and improvements. Meanwhile the conquests of the late Emperor began to bear their legitimate fruits in the hostility of the barbarians. On the frontiers of the Dacian province, so lately wrested from savagery, the nomads of Sarmatia made daring incursions, which were stayed rather by gifts and subsidies than by the terror of the Roman arms. In order to repress these dangerous movements Hadrian began an expedition into the disturbed region,

but hardly had he left the capital when a conspiracy was formed against him by some disaffected senators and he was obliged to suppress the plot by force. The legions were soon afterwards recalled, and the wave of barbarism rolled hitherward again to the banks of the Danube. Even the bridge of Severin was broken down lest the hordes beyond should precipitate themselves into the Empire.

As soon as tranquillity was restored at the capitol the Emperor set out for Britain. In the north of that island the Caledonians were making havoc along the frontier established by Agricola. To plant a barrier against the encroachments of this warlike people Hadrian built a wall across the country from the Tyne to the Solway frith. The seat of government was transferred to Eburacum, the modern York, and additional fortresses were built for the protection of the border. Having accomplished these works in Britain the Emperor next proceeded into Gaul and Spain. He

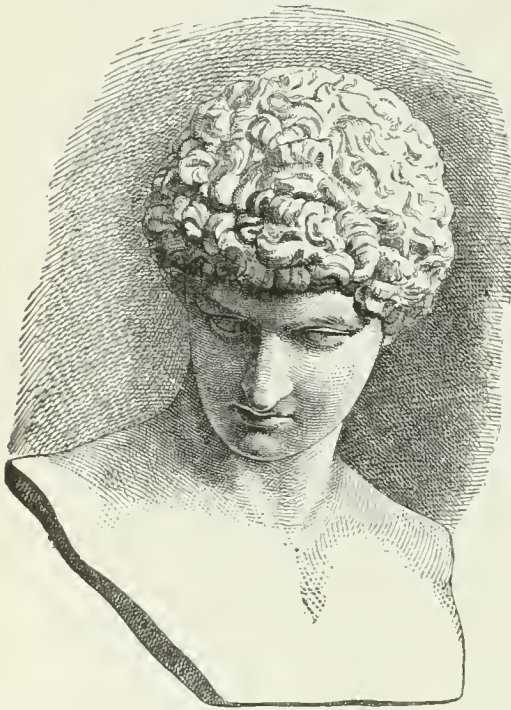


HADRIAN.—Rome, Vatican.

then visited Africa, and finally repaired to Asia. There he compelled Chosroës in a personal interview to pledge himself that his acts of hostility and intriguing schemes should end forever. Hadrian then returned to Athens, which even yet was in some sense the mistress of the human mind. Afterwards we find him at the capital, enjoying for a season the applause of the Senate and people. Again he made a tour of the East, going by way of Athens to Antioch and Alexandria, where he arrived in A. D. 131.

At this epoch a revolt of the Jews broke out with great violence. One might well think

that the country which sixty years previously had been depopulated by the sanguinary vengeance of Vespasianus and Titus would not again engage in a foolhardy rebellion. But the Jews had increased in numbers and strength, and far more than by this fact were they encouraged by a new Christ who came this time in the person of Barchochebas, surnamed the "Son of the Star." He it was who was now to deliver his country from bondage and restore the house of David. Going forth from the school of Tiberias, he incited the fa-



ANTINOS.—Rome, Vatican.

natical people to rise against the Romans. The hatred of the Jews was already inflamed with the belief that Hadrian, who had himself been regarded as a proselyte to Judaism, had become an apostate and persecutor. They rose on every side and flocked to the standard of Barchochebas, only to be beaten down and destroyed by the legions of Hadrian. The leader was finally pent up in Bethar, which place was taken by storm, and the revolt extinguished in blood. Palestine was again depopulated, and the miserable remnant of the people sold into slavery. Jerusalem was colonized by the

Romans, and received the name of *Ælia Capitolina*. A shrine of Jupiter was set up among the ruins of the temple of Jehovah, and another was dedicated to Venus on Mount Calvary.

The genius of the Emperor Hadrian was curious in matters of learning and philosophy. At Athens and Alexandria he gave way freely to his inquiring disposition, and became himself learned in the things about which men, since they know nothing, dispute the most. In Egypt, however, it was the antiquities, rather than the speculations of the scholastics, that more particularly elicited the Emperor's interest. The country, moreover, bore an important relation to Rome, in that it was the principal granary of the Empire; and this fact was not less interesting to the rulers of the world than were the cats, bulls, and crocodiles, so sacred to the faith of Egypt.

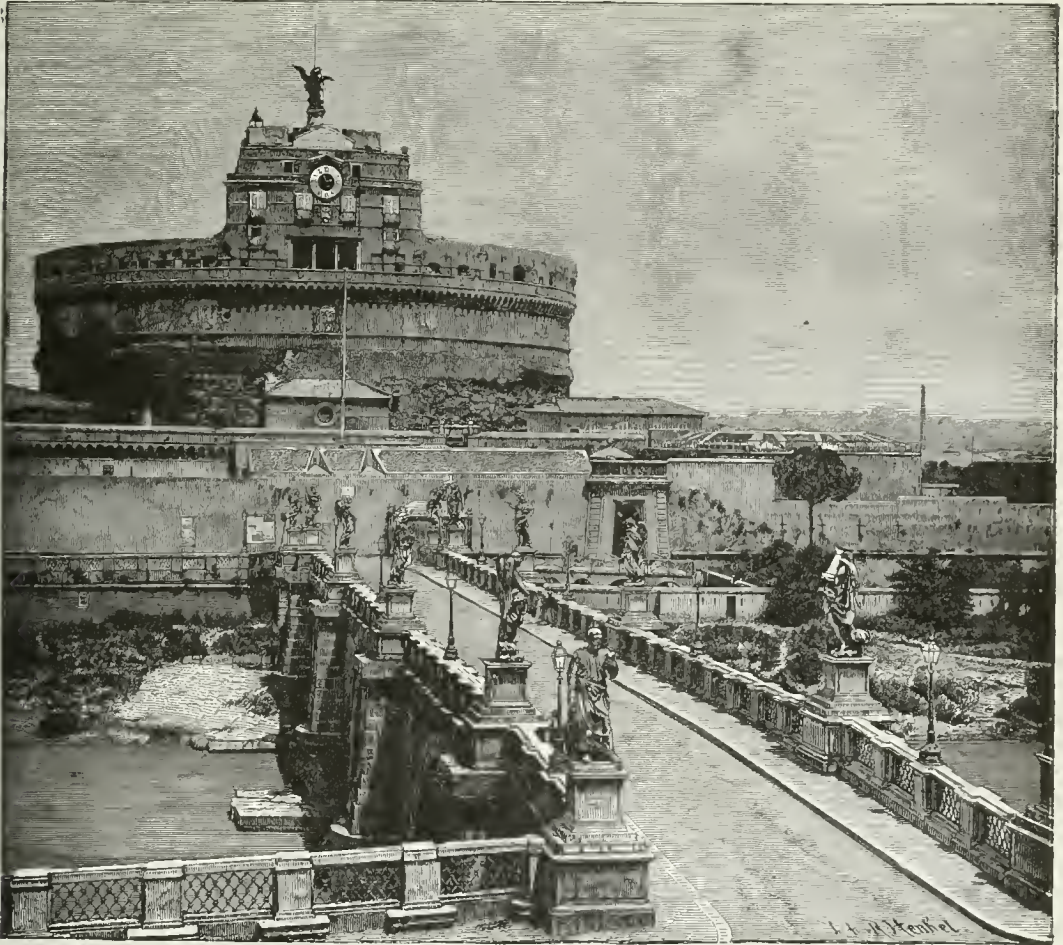
It was during Hadrian's sojourn in this country that his favorite, the beautiful Bithynian named ANTINOS, cast himself for his master's sake into the Nile, and was drowned. It appears that the oracle at Besa had informed the Emperor that impending calamity could be averted only by the self-sacrifice of the one whom he most loved. Antinous believed himself to be designated as the offering, and accordingly gave his life to the river. The Emperor was in great grief for the loss of his friend, and in order to perpetuate his memory established in his honor the memorial city of Antinoöpolis, near Besa. A new star which had recently appeared was named for the heroic youth, and at Mantinea mysteries were established in his honor.

In Syria, Hadrian was unpopular. At Antioch, which he again visited on leaving Egypt, he was received with much disfavor, and the scandal was freely circulated that he owed the Imperial diadem to the unlawful love of Plotina, the late Empress. His only resentment for this insult was a negative expression of contempt for the city, to which he contributed no public building or other mark of his favor. He next visited Athens, and returned to Rome in A. D. 134.

Having now established his residence in the capital, he undertook a series of public

improvements. To this epoch of building belongs what was perhaps the most magnificent religious edifice that ever adorned the city—the Temple of Roma. The genius of the mistress of the world was personified, deified, and worshiped somewhat after the manner of Pallas Athene at Athens. For the deposition of his own ashes the Emperor reared the im-

prudent insight into the fitness of the nominee. A certain youth of noble rank, but small capacity, named *CÆONIUS COMMODUS VERUS*, was presented to the Senate as the Imperial choice. Any expectancy which may have been entertained of his fitness was doomed to a speedy disappointment. Verus was unable to assume any of the more serious burdens of the state.



THE MAUSOLEUM OF HADRIAN AND THE BRIDGE OF THE ANGEL, ROME.

mense sepulcher known as the Mausoleum of Hadrian, still standing as a memorial of its builder. With more generosity and less jealousy than had marked the characters of many of his predecessors, he carefully restored the memorial buildings of other reigns, such as the Pantheon, the temple of Augustus, and the *Thermæ* of Agrippa.

In the choice of a successor Hadrian displayed his personal preference rather than a

He was assigned to the command of the military forces in Pannonia, but presently fell sick and died. The public was little grieved at the calamity.

The second choice of the Emperor was more fortunate. The lot fell on *TITUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS*, and as a precaution against the possible contingency of having to nominate a third colleague Aurelius was required by the Emperor to adopt two heirs. *MARCUS ANNIUS*

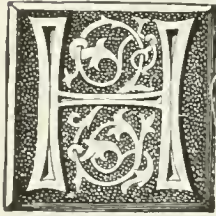
VERUS and LUCIUS VERUS—the former the nephew of Aurelius and the latter a son of that Verus who had recently died in Pannonia—were accordingly adopted as a kind of grandsons of the Empire.

In A. D. 138 Hadrian died. His last years were passed in bodily affliction, which finally soured his temper and led to several acts of cruelty. It is said that he abandoned himself to the quacks and star-doctors, in the vain hope of finding relief; but, disappointed of all succor, he gave way to despair and be-

sought his friends to take his life. Nor is it certain whether his decease was to be immediately attributed to natural or to artificial causes. In his dying hour he addressed to his departing spirit those celebrated verses which even the genius of Byron but half grasped in translation:

“Ah! gentle, fleeting, wavering sprite,
Friend and associate of this clay,
To what unknown region borne
Wilt thou now wing thy distant flight,
No more with wonted humor gay,
But pallid, cheerless, and forlorn?”

CHAPTER LXIV.—AGE OF THE ANTONINES.



HERE we enter upon the full noon of what is known in Roman history as the “Age of the Antonines”—the brightest of all the epochs from the founding to the downfall of the city. TITUS AURELIUS acceded to the throne in his fifty-second year, and entered upon a long and virtuous reign. He was a scholar, a philosopher; as a man, refined in his tastes; as a ruler, inclined to peace. It was from his library on the Palatine rather than from the military council chamber that he ruled the vast Empire. His accession was cordially received by the general public of Rome, though a meager senatorial conspiracy against him was presently discovered and suppressed. He was honored with the title of Pius, and perhaps deserved the epithet. His administration was preëminently mild and benign. He refused the stipend, which was customary on the coronation of a new monarch, and limited the expenses of his household to things necessary rather than luxurious. When the treasury of the state ran low, he replenished it by the sale of articles collected in the basilica by the extravagance of preceding rulers. He kept faith even with the dead, being careful to complete according to promises made to Hadrian many of the unfinished buildings of Rome.

With the exception of slight tribal agita-

tions on the borders of the Empire the foreign relations of the government were undisturbed. On the line of the Danube the public peace was constantly menaced by the Dacians and the Alani, but the frontier was easily maintained. In Britain a revolt of the Brigantes was suppressed by LOLLIVS URBICUS, who completed the unfinished wall of Agricola from the Forth to the Clyde, and many additional Roman colonies were established in the country. Meanwhile the civil authority of the Empire was stretched to the uttermost limits of the provinces, and the voice of the Emperor was heard with respect even beyond the borders of civilization. It was no unusual thing for the tribute sent in by barbarian tribes, anxious to secure their own interests by establishing relations with the Empire, to be returned by Antoninus rather than entangle himself in unpleasant ways abroad. By the judgment of his own and after times the Emperor ruled the state with an eye single to the maintenance of public order, and to secure the happiness of the people. In literature the energies of the human mind were not so much directed as in the Augustan Age to great imaginative productions, but rather to certain useful essays intended for the diffusion of knowledge among men. To this epoch belong the valuable works of the geographer Ptolemy; of Antoninus himself, to whom is attributed the celebrated *Itinerary*; and of Ar-

PARTHIA.

6. Reign of Chosroes I.
17. Reign of Parthenaspates.
34. Reign of Vologeses II.

89. Reign of Vologeses III.

17. Reign of Adrian.
18. Persecution of the Christians.
Age of Tacitus and Plutarch.
35. Suppression of the Jewish insurrection.
37. Adrian rebuilds Jerusalem.
38. Accession of Antoninus Pius.
Epoch of peace.

61. Accession of Marcus Aurelius.

He makes war with the German nations.

80. Commodus succeeds to the throne.

93. Reign of Pertinax.

Epoch of Galen.

Accession of Septimius Severus.

He overthrows Niger and Albinus.

Severus builds a wall across Britain.

12. Artabanus V.

23. Artaxerxes, a Persian who had revolted,
dethrones Artabanus V., and founds a new dynasty.
72. Hormisdas I.
72. Varanes I.
76. Varanes II.

PERSIA.

26. Sassanidæ.

Sapor I. flays, alive, the emperor Valerian.

44. Philip. 54. Valerian, put to death by Persian king.

49. Decius. 61. Gallienus, noted for debauchery.

51. Gallus. 68. Claudius, II, wise and valourous defeats, Goths and Heruli.

54. Æmilianus.

70. Aurelian, a great victor over Goths and Germans.

73. Defeats and takes Palmyra, prince.

11. Caracalla and Geta, sons of Severus, reign.

12. Caracalla murders Geta in his mother's arms.

17. Himself assassinated.

75. Tacitus.

76. Florianus.

77. Probus.

17. Macrinus, murdered.

82. Carus.

18. Heliogabalus, a monster of cruelty and vice, murdered.

83. Carinus.

22. Alexander Severus, a mild, beneficent, and enlightened prince, murdered.

84. Diocletian.

86. Assur.

35. Maximinus, a giant, slain.

92. Theodosius.

38. Maximus and Balbinus reign.

Co.

38. Gordian takes the throne.

Ch.

ROMAN

EMPIRE

Longinus, Greek ph.

Pestilence begins, and rages until 270.

2. Severus issues his edict for the
Fifth Persecution of the Christians.

Between the years 250 and 300 no
than thirty tyrants usurped
throne, and were proclaimed in
ferent parts of the empire: they
were all defeated, and, with
two or three exceptions, slain.

Tertullian at Carthage; originally a
pagan, but afterwards embraced Christianity,
and became one of its ablest defenders.

Porphyry, ph., writes
against the Scriptures.

Authority of the bishops by this time considerably increased;
various new officers in the Church.

26. Sixth Persecution.

77. Heresy of the
Manichæans.

Origen, after having been presbyter
of Alexandria, suffered martyrdom
in 254.

50. Seventh Persecution. To avoid
Paul the Hermit retires to the
deserts of Egypt, which is the origin
of the monastic life.

53. Celebrated dispute between
St. Stephen, and those of the
School of Antioch.

St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage,
baptism conferred by heretics.

57. Eighth Persecution.

62. Paul, bishop of Samosata,
denies the divinity of Christ.

73. Ninth Persecution.

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART

No. III.

DECLINE AND FALL

—OF THE—

ROMAN EMPIRE,

—FROM—

THE AGE OF THE ANTONINES TO THE BARBARIAN

CONQUESTS.

PREPARED BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL. D.

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The SCOTTISH MONARCHY is supposed to
have been founded 330 B. C. by Fergus I.;
the history of his successors is very insignificant
till Eugene I.

SCOTLAND.

9. **Sapor II.** reigns 70 years; a proud, ferocious prince. He resumes war against the Romans; is for some time successful, but is at length surprised by Galerius, and his army cut to pieces.
 40. Horrid persecution of the Christians; co
 43. **Strigate**—Sapor defeats the Romans.
 59. He renews the war and takes
 63. **Julian** pursues Sapor II.
 84. **Sapor III.**;
 89. **Varan**

6. **Constantine I.**, **Licinius Severus II.**, and **Maximinus II.**
 7. Severus is killed.
 12. Maximinus defeated by Licinius, who had formerly submitted
 12. **Constantine the Great** alone. He is said to have seen the luminous cross with the inscription "Conquer by this;" soon after he became the friend of Christianity, and is called the first Christian Emperor.
 30. **Seat of the empire** removed from Rome to Byzantium, afterwards called Constantinople.
 31. Sapor renews the war with the Romans, and is vanquished by Constantine.
 36. **Constantine II.**, **Constans**, **Constantius II.**, and except Constantius, who has a weak and

31. **Julian** the Apostate; he decides in favor of Paganism; attempts to rebuild Jerusalem, but fails.
 63. **Jovian**. 79. **Theodosius the Great** emperor of the East; a zealous supporter of Christianity; defeats the Goths.
 64. **Valens**, emperor of the East.
 92. Emp

64. **EMPIRE DIVIDED.** 92. United.
 95. Per

2. Tenth Persecution, the last and greatest.
 13. The Edict of Constantine and Licinius, which puts an end to the tenth persecution and gives peace to the Church.
 The Donatian Controversy.
 16. **Arius** propagates his doctrine denying the unity of the Godhead.
 25. **First General Council**, held at Nice; Osinus, bishop of Cordova, presides; the Nicene Creed composed, and the doctrine of Arius solemnly condemned.
 30. The emperor and court favor the doctrine of Arius, and multitudes embrace it.
 35. **Athanasius**, bishop of Alexandria, exiled by the Arians.
 42. Returns. 55. Is again exiled.
 41. Public churches begin to be built.
 55. **Liberius**, bishop of Rome, banished by the emperor.
 58. Having signed an Arian creed, he is permitted to return to his see; he soon after acknowledged his fault.
 60. Macedonian heresy.
 62. **Persecution of Christians**; martyrdom.
 66. The orthodox experience triumph from the emperor, entirely devoted to the Basil, surnamed THE GREAT, of Caesarea.
 Eusebius, bishop of Samosata.

31. **Second General Council**, held at Constantinople, against the Macedonians and other heretics.
 Gregory Nazianzen, patriarch of Constantinople.
 81. **Siricius**, bishop of Rome.
 He is the first exists wherein name given pr bishops indisc of Rome after selves.

The time from this to 700 in Church history may be called the period of
ECCLESIASTICAL CATHOLICISM.

Charges of Rome, headed by
 ca, and Asia, headed by
 age, concerning the validity of

Indigertes.
 He concludes a peace of 100 years with the Romans.
 18. Persecution of the Christians begins, and continues 50 years.
 continues 40 years, until the death of Sapor.
 20. **Varanes V.**
 several cities.
 41. **Indigertes II.** or **Varanes VI.** into the very heart of his kingdom, but is mortally wounded.
 he governs with wisdom.
 82. **Obalus.**
 es IV.

50. **Marclan**, a Thracian of abilities.
 57. **Leo the Thracian.** War with the Goths.
 76. **Zeno.** Makes Theodorice the Ostrogoth his general.
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two nephews; they are all slain in a few years, unfortunate reign.
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 63. **Jovian**. 79. **Theodosius the Great** emperor of the East; a zealous supporter of Christianity; defeats the Goths.
 64. **Valens**, emperor of the East.
 92. Emp

64. **EMPIRE DIVIDED.** 92. United.
 95. Per

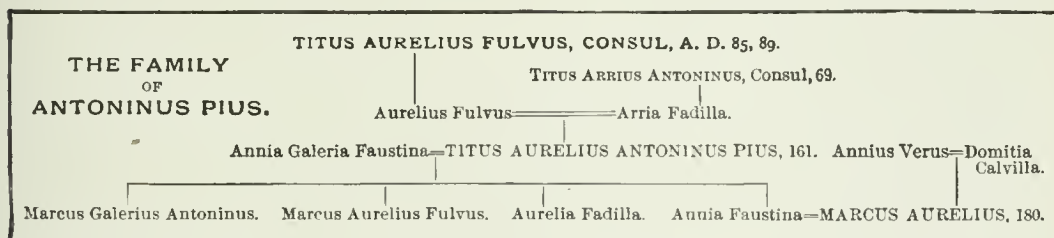
rian, who composed the *Periplus* of the Euxine and Erythrean seas.

During the twenty-three years of his reign, Antoninus never left Italy. He gave much attention to the work of education, not neglecting the girls and the poor children of Rome, for whom he founded schools. The internal improvement of the Empire was promoted in a spirit of commendable liberality. At the city of Nîmes, in Gaul, were constructed a splendid amphitheater and an aqueduct, which still survive in ruins. The harbors and roads, not only of Italy, but of the provinces, were improved and multiplied. The arts of peace and humanity were substituted for the arts of destruction and war.

At the age of seventy-five, Antoninus Pius died at Lorium, A. D. 161. He had lived the life of a philosopher. The long exercise of almost unlimited authority* had wrought no

his colleague and insisted that the honors bestowed on himself by the Senate should be equally divided with Verus. To the latter accordingly were given the high titles of Augustus and Cæsar; so that for the first time the throne of the Empire was occupied by two Augusti of coequal authority; that is, so far as law and edict could make unequals equal.

Meanwhile destiny had provided for the new reign insurrections and rebellions. The British præfect, STATIUS PRISCUS, was proclaimed Imperator by the people in that island. The Germanic Chatti made a furious incursion into Gaul. The Moors made an expedition into Spain, and the Lusitanians revolted. Affairs on the eastern frontier again assumed a threatening aspect from the hostility of the Parthians. Verus was sent thither, but was disastrously defeated. Afterwards, however, the fortune of war was restored, and the contested



change in his moral character. In him were concentrated the best elements of paganism—a mixture of rational indifference derived from the Stoics, and the idea of the supremacy of human happiness gathered from the doctrines of Epicurus. He died, as he had lived, in peace, and left to his guard as a watchword and motto the word “Equanimity.”

It will be remembered that, in accordance with the will of Hadrian, Antoninus had adopted two heirs—Marcus Annii Verus and Lucius Verus. Pius, however, had greatly discriminated in his treatment of the two princes. On Marcus Annii he conferred his own name of Aurelius and his daughter in marriage. On Verus, who was regarded not without good reason as a weakling sprung from an incompetent ancestor, no public trusts or responsibilities were imposed. But when Antoninus the Elder died, Marcus Aurelius, inspired with sincere regard for his brother, made him

territory recovered by the Romans. Ctesiphon and Seleucia were taken by AVIDIUS CASSIUS, and peace was concluded with honor to the Empire.

The army of Verus then returned in triumph to Rome, but brought with it the germs of some eastern malady, which broke out in the form of a pestilence and desolated the city. Presently afterwards there came a scarcity of food and Rome was menaced with famine. Then followed fires in divers places, and then an earthquake shook the peninsula. Intelligence next came that an insurrection had broken out on the Danube. What should be the cause of these multiplied disasters prevalent and impending? Perhaps the gods of ancient Rome were offended. Doubtless the progress which was making by the new sect of Christians in undermining the old-time faith of the city had provoked the displeasure of heaven. So thought Marcus Aurelius, who,

though a philosopher, gave his assent to a cruel persecution of the new religion and its adherents. Having purified the city with a solemn lustration, the Emperor then set out to the northern frontier to try the fortunes of war with the barbarian nations. The name of Rome was still a terror to the tribes of the Danubian border. The Marcomanni and the Quadi, recently so brave in their expeditions, quailed before the advance of the Emperor; the former fell back into their own territory,

and the latter sought peace by accepting a Roman governor.

Soon after the return of the army to Italy, in A. D. 168, Verus, the associate Augustus, died—an event for which, though the Romans decently mourned, few felt any profound sorrow. The Empire was left to the sole direction of Aurelius, whose reign was thenceforth almost constantly troubled with foreign wars. The nations of the North could



STATUE OF LUCIUS VERUS.
Rome, Vatican.

not be restrained except by the repeated blows of the legionaries. The Germans, the Scythian, and the Sarmatians combined in their efforts to break in the borders of the Empire. Aurelius established his head-quarters at Carnutum, and devoted himself with as much energy as a scholarly philosopher could be expected to exhibit to the destruction of the barbarians. He chose, however, to rely principally upon able subordinates for the success of his arms. It was in his war with the Quadi—when the latter had surrounded his camp and cut off the

supply of water—that a great and supposedly miraculous storm of rain, thunder, and lightning burst over the camp, pouring upon the Romans an abundant deluge of water and terrifying the enemy with the roar of the blazing clouds. Some said that the miracle was the work of an Egyptian magician who was in the camp; others that the Almighty Jove had sent the tempest; and still others that the salvation of the army had been accomplished by a regiment of praying Christians. Aurelius himself piously ascribed the phenomenon to Jove, the guardian of the Roman race.

No sooner were affairs on the northern frontier brought to a settlement than Aurelius was alarmed by the report that his general, Avidius Cassius, a descendant of that Cassius who had led in the murder of Julius Caesar, now commanding the army in the East, had raised the standard of revolt and was claiming the Empire. To this course, it was said he had been instigated by FAUSTINA, the wife of Aurelius, a dissolute and abandoned creature, the extent of whose faithfulness consisted in her being a truthful reproduction of a worse mother. Nevertheless the Emperor retained her in his confidence, and in A. D. 175 she accompanied him on his expedition against Cassius. The latter, however, was put to death by his own soldiers, and Faustina suddenly died at a village near the foot of Mount Taurus. Her memory was fondly cherished by her blinded husband; she was enrolled among the goddesses, and a medal was struck in her honor, bearing for its inscription the mocking word, *Pudicitia*.

Before returning from the East, Aurelius became an initiate in the Eleusinian mysteries. On arriving at Rome he celebrated his triumph over the Sarmatians—an honor which his magnanimity ascribed to his son Commodus rather than to himself. Not long, however, was he permitted to enjoy the respite which he so much coveted. The Sarmatians, as if to satirize their alleged subjugation, again rose in revolt. The three German races of the Marcomanni, the Quadi and the Hermunduri also took up arms; and Aurelius, now growing old, was again confronted with the uncongenial duties and perils of foreign war.

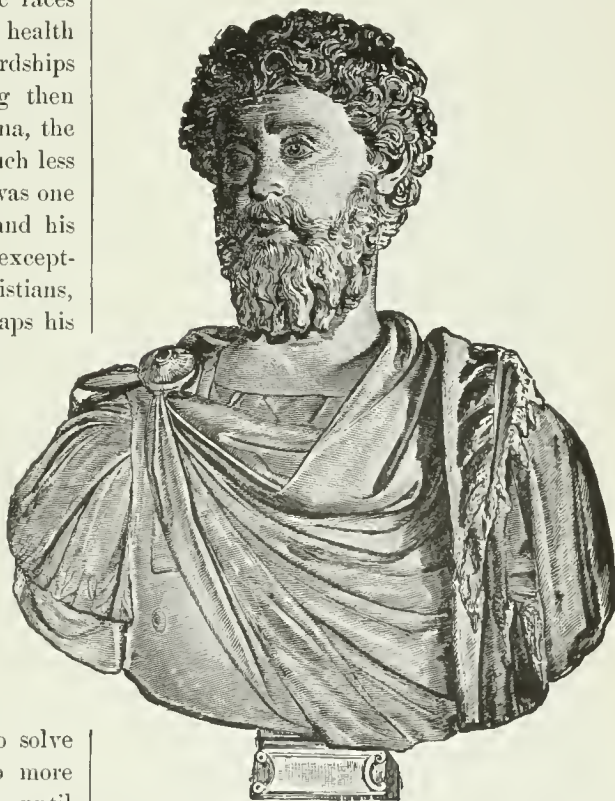
fare. The resources of the Empire, moreover, were less abundant than when his first campaigns against the Northern nations were undertaken. The plague, too, had greatly reduced the population of Italy, and those who survived were discouraged with the prospect of endless warfare with the barbarians. Nevertheless, for three years, Aurelius resolutely prosecuted the war, and his arms made considerable progress in reëstablishing the northern frontier. But before the Germanic races could be driven again to submission, the health of the Emperor gave way under the hardships of soldier life, and in A. D. 180, being then in his sixtieth year, he died at Vindobona, the modern Vienna. His reign, though much less peaceful than that of his predecessor, was one of the most noted in Roman history, and his personal reputation was unblemished, excepting always the persecutions of the Christians, to which he gave his consent, and perhaps his encouragement.

In philosophy he was a Stoic, being the last of the Roman Emperors who accepted the doctrines of that remarkable sect. His principles of conduct and his views of life are well set forth in his work entitled *Meditations*, wherein with the skill of a casuist he analyzes his own moods, motives, and hopes. The book, as well as the life of him who penned it, were the products of the expiring agonies of that old pagan rationalism which, unable to solve the riddle of existence, had given up more and more to the despair of indifference, until at the close of the second century it had reached in the Occident the level of that Nihilism which in the Orient had ended in the Nirvana of the Buddhist. Meanwhile the belief in Christianity, nurtured by its own blood, pruned with the knife of persecution, and bursting into leaves from the gory jaws of the lions in the arena, prevailed more and more in the capital of the world, until it was now ready to enter the contest for dominion over the human mind.

At the death of Marcus Aurelius the Roman Empire hung for a moment, as it were, in suspense before beginning its long descent

towards the abyss of barbarism. The incidental circumstance which now tipped the scales and inclined the colossal fabric towards its doom was the character of the reckless and dissolute prince **COMMODUS**, the chief element of whose historical reputation consists in the fact of his succeeding Marcus Aurelius.

The father seems to have been unaware of the peril to which the Empire of the Cæsars was exposed through the folly and



MARCUS AURELIUS.

wickedness of the youth whom he had nurtured. Commodus, however, was peaceably accepted alike by army, people, and Senate. He at once made haste to purchase a peace which his father had already half conquered on the Danubian frontier, and then sped to Rome. Outwardly for three years he preserved the constitutional forms which had become so thoroughly fixed during the wise administrations of his immediate predecessors. But in the retreats of the basilica his own life and the manners of the court were, from the first, given up to the wildest excesses. It is

not possible to determine how long this state of affairs might have continued but for the sudden development by the provocation of a conspiracy of the criminal instincts of the Emperor. The ambitious Lucilla, widow of that Verus who but for his premature death would have come to the imperial purple, fretting under her disappointments, concocted a plan of revenge to be obtained by the assassination of Commodus. The murderer who



COMMODUS.

struck the blow at the Emperor exclaimed as he did so: "This from the Senate!" But the assassin was frustrated in the attempt. His expression, however, was accepted as the truth by Commodus, who conceived the most malignant hatred of the senatorial order. He revived the old band of informers and began the extermination, one by one, of those whom he regarded as his enemies. Presently the government was practically devolved upon a favor-

ite named Perennis, an unprincipled parvenu who had attached himself to the royal court. This worthy was soon detected in a plot against his new master, and was overthrown to make room for the freedman, Cleander, as minister of state. A second insurrection, headed by a certain Maternus, was also detected and suppressed. About the same time the Asiatic pestilence again broke out, and the feverish, half-starved multitude attributed the recurrence of the plague to Cleander, whose head they demanded. The Emperor granted the request, and the blind Dagon of superstition was appeased.

For sixteen years Rome continued to groan under the vices and tyranny of Commodus. The Senate was terrorized in its individual membership and silently endured what it had not the spirit or power to cure. The Emperor became the chief *roué* of his times. The vices of the city ran as usual to the circus for gratification. The shows of the arena were multiplied and made more bloody. The fame of Nero disturbed the slumbers of Commodus. To be applauded by the multitude for the slaughter of wild beasts was greater praise than to receive titles and honors at the hands of the effete Senate! So the Emperor entered the arena. A hundred African lions fell before an equal number of arrows from his quiver. Then the people shouted and Rome was great. Seven hundred and fifty times he fought as a gladiator, and as many victims lay bleeding before his victorious sword. "Habet" cried the delighted multitude. But it was not long until *habet* resounded from another quarter. This time it was Commodus himself who *had it*. Marcia, one of his concubines, plotted with Electus, the chamberlain, and Lætus the prefect of the prætorians, to destroy him before whose jealous caprices they all stood trembling. Marcia herself administered a poison to her noble lord, but the drug worked slowly, and the gladiator, Narcissus, was called in to finish him by strangling.

The conspirators had carefully considered the succession. They immediately named PERTINAX, a man of senatorial rank, then prefect of the city. It was a good choice by bad electors. The nominee was cordially accepted,

although the caucus was not such as to commend him to public favor. The Senate was surprised to find one of its own members again named for the throne, and the prætorians were well satisfied to have their old commander assigned to the Imperial station. The new Emperor was experienced in the camp and the campaign, and was also well versed in the affairs of the state. His civil life, however, was more recent than his military. He had been a municipal officer under the recent government, so that the loyalty of the prætorians was remote rather than immediate. Pertinax had, therefore, deemed it desirable to stimulate the loyalty of the prætorians by a large donative or bounty on his accession. As a matter of fact the Prætorian Guard had now become the *bête noire* of Rome. Every element in Roman society trembled before the apparition of this passionate, licentious, half-disciplined soldiery.

The first administrative act of Pertinax was the recall of the exiled noblemen who had been driven out of the state by Commodus. To them their estates were returned and such reparation made of their fortune as was possible under the circumstances. Measures were next silently but firmly adopted with a view to improving the discipline and subordination of the prætorians. Under these wise procedures the prosperity of the city immediately began to revive. Public credit was restored and every thing promised a quiet and beneficent reign. A specter lurked, however, in the shadow of the prætorian camp. Lætus, the præfect of the guard, was offended by want of recognition on the part of him whom he had helped to raise to power. A. D. 193, in less than three months from the death of Commodus, the prætorians rose in arms, attacked the basilica, listened for a moment to the courageous rebuke which Pertinax attempted to deliver, then fell upon and slew him with fury and indignity. His head was cut off and carried to the camp. In the audacity of their triumph over law and order, the prætorians then offered the Empire to him who would pay the largest donative. Thereupon an aged senator named Sulpicianus, himself the father-in-law of Pertinax, offered a tempting sum.

The bargain was about to be closed when it occurred to the leaders of the guards that a still greater sum might be extorted from some one who was burning with the lust of power. Accordingly they went upon the rampart of the camp and openly offered the crown of the Roman Empire at public auction to the highest bidder! Thereupon another Senator named DIDIUS JULIANUS went boldly to the camp, outbid his rival by offering a thousand dollars to each of the twelve thousand prætorians, and was declared the purchaser by the hilarious guards! Julianus was accordingly proclaimed and accepted even by the helpless Senate.

As soon, however, as the news of these events was carried to the provincial armies there was hot indignation among the legionaries. Those on the Euphrates proclaimed their own commander, Pescennius Niger, as Emperor. The legions of the Rhine conferred the diadem on their general, Clodius Albinus; while the army of the Danube made proclamation of Septimius Severus. The latter was the ablest of the nominees. He at once anticipated the movements of his rivals by a hurried march towards Rome. Drawing near the city, the Senate spoke out in his behalf by proclaiming Julianus a public enemy. The prætorians, knowing themselves to be no match for the veteran legions, abandoned Julianus, who was put to death after a reign of two months.

Thus came SEVERUS to the throne of the Empire. It was a dangerous eminence. From the far East he was menaced by Niger, and from the Rhine, by Albinus; while in the city the treacherous and venal prætorians made every thing insecure. Severus, however, was a man of large abilities and no scruples. He at once adopted the most vigorous measures for the overthrow of his enemies. To this end he suddenly turned upon the prætorians,



PERTINAX.

degraded and disarmed them, and sent them a hundred miles from the city. A new national guard of fifty thousand men was organized in place of the prætorian body. Having thus made solid his support in Italy, Severus advanced against Niger in the East. The latter was beaten partly by stratagem and partly by force of arms, and pursued from the Hellespont into Cilicia, where he was captured and slain. The year 194 was occupied with the siege of Byzantium, which yielded at last to famine rather than the Roman battering-ram; and the triumph of Severus in the East was



SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

thus completed. In the West he overthrew Albinus at Lugdunum, and crowned his triumph by putting him to death. Returning to Rome, he set up his savage winnowing-fan in the Senate House, and forty members of the ancient body went to assemble there were executed on suspicion or proof of disloyalty. The rest were glad to escape from the rough and conscienceless soldier who had thus broken like a wild boar into the halls of the depraved city and carried off the Imperial diadem on his bloody tusks.

At the first Severus chose Plautianus as his minister of state, but he was soon distrusted

and deposed to make room for the celebrated lawyer, Papinian. To the latter was intrusted the civil management of the state; while the Emperor, not to be weaned from his old habits of warfare, sought opportunity for the exercise of his faculties, first in Asia Minor, and afterwards in Britain. In the latter country he penetrated the wilds of Caledonia, and determined to conquer the entire island. He afterwards decided, however, to make the northern limit of the Empire the line which had been previously established by Hadrian. A second chain of defenses, parallel with the earthworks already constructed, was drawn across the country from the Tyne to the Solway frith. Having thus strengthened the northern border of the Roman dominion, the Emperor began to look for another field of operations, when he was taken sick and died in the camp at Eburacum. When about to expire he gave to his attendants—acting after the manner of his predecessors—the word *Laboremus* as a motto, an expression not out of keeping with the activity and energy of his own character.

In determining the Imperial succession, a woman was again the most important agent. The late Emperor had taken for his queen a certain Julia Domna, who being Syrian by birth possessed the gift, or at least the reputation, of magic. One might well suppose, judging from the character of the two princes whom she bore to Severus, that her claims to be regarded as one of the mistresses of the Black Art were

not unfounded. The name of the elder son, to which he himself added that of Antoninus, was Bassianus; but the title by which he is almost universally known was the pseudonym of Caracalla, or Spotted Jacket, being so named from the style of Gallic tunic which he introduced into Rome. The younger brother was called Geta. Both of them were taken by the father on his military campaigns, but neither had any taste for the soldier life. They were vicious youth, even under the savage surveillance of Severus. After the Emperor's death, they sped to Rome, quarreling *en route*, camping apart and entering the city in undis-

guised hostility to each other. The mother, Julia, undertook to effect a reconciliation between her darling scions, whereupon the elder in vindication of his filial love, stabbed the younger in his mother's arms and killed him. The same delightful quietus was extended to the friends of Geta, several thousand of whom are said to have been murdered by Caracalla's orders. Thus perished Fadilla, the daughter of the Emperor Aurelius; the remaining son of Pertinax, and the jurist Papinian, whose crime consisted in refusing to defend the assassination of Geta.

Caracalla soon established his reputation as the greatest monster ever clad in the Imperial purple. The compressed beastliness of Caligula, Nero, and Commodus together was equaled in the horrid kennel of Caracalla's animality. He soon left the capital to practice his debauches in the provinces of the Empire. Nor is it likely that his reign could have been protracted for six years, had it not been for its removal from place to place. In Egypt, being gibed at for his beastly visage, he ordered a frightful massacre of the people. Without pretending to assume the command of the army, he wandered from one city to another, until at last, in A. D. 217, he was struck down by a private soldier on the borders of Syria.

The assassination was procured by MACRINUS, one of the præfects of the city, who was now proclaimed Emperor, and at once assumed the purple. He did not return to Rome, but remained with the army in the East. His first work was an attempt to improve the discipline of the legions, and thus to control the force by which he had been raised to the throne. The soldiers—though the Emperor did not at first direct his efforts to the veterans of the service—quickly perceived and resented the interference of the Imperator. Meanwhile a second train of causes had been prepared for one of the strangest revolutions ever witnessed in the Empire. A certain Julia Mæsa, sister of the empress Julia, dwelt now at Antioch, where Macrinus had established his headquarters. This princess, now aged, had by her two daughters, who, like herself, were widows, two grandsons named Bassianus and Alex-

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ander. The former, guided by his mother, had become a priest of the Sun at Emesa. Here was stationed a strong division of the Roman army. Bassianus had become well known to the soldiers, and by his personal beauty and accomplishments had won their favor and applause. When they learned that Macrinus was pursuing a course which tended manifestly to the destruction of their power in the state, they proclaimed the Sun-priest Emperor. The soldiers at Antioch abandoned Macrinus and joined their brethren at Emesa. The prætorians—for by that name the new guards organized by Severus were still known—remained



CARACALLA.

loyal to the reigning Emperor; and in a battle which followed between them and the legionaries, victory at first inclined to the side of Macrinus; but he himself presently fled and the prætorians were routed. The fugitive Emperor and his son were pursued and put to death. Opposition to BASSIANUS ceased and he ascended the throne with the Imperial titles of Antoninus and Severus. These names, however, as well as that given him by his parents, were quickly supplanted by the title of ELAGABALUS, the same being the name of the Syrian Sun-god whom he served.

So the black stone symbolizing the Sun in the tradition of Syria was introduced among

the statues and emblems of the gods of Rome. Elagabalus came to the capital wearing the costume of the Oriental priesthood. He appeared in the streets, where for seven hundred years the Roman toga had been worn as the proudest garb by the proudest men, wearing the loose and high-colored garments in which the hierarchs of the East were wont to clothe themselves. All this might have been borne—for Rome was now effeminated and debauched—had Elagabalus possessed the virtues requisite in manhood or even the abilities to command.



ELAGABALUS.

But his disposition was debased by superstition, and his mind was a stranger to the moral forces. So like, however, in these respects were the people to the ruler whom the army had imposed upon them that they accepted him as a necessary evil to be tolerated rather than destroyed. So great, indeed, had been the influx of foreign elements into Rome, and so high had risen the vices of corruption and dissipation, that the people were no longer capable of any heroic indignation on account of the vices of their sovereigns. Elagabalus confined himself for the most part to the basilica,

and his disgraceful excesses were thus in a measure hidden from public gaze.

At length popular dissatisfaction began to express itself in the mutterings of approaching insurrection. Julia Mæsa again became a servant of the state. She secured the appointment of her other grandson, Alexander Severus, to be the colleague of the Emperor, and so amiable was the character of this young prince, that public opinion was at once directed to him as the promise and good omen of the state. Elagabalus was filled with distrust and jealousy at be-

holding the affections which were lavished on his cousin; but the latter waxed more and more, and the former was despised for his vices and worthlessness. At length the prætorians rose in mutiny and went over to the side of Severus. It appeared that in this instance their preference was for the deposition rather than the death of Elagabalus; but the latter, having by his conduct still further excited the anger and contempt of the guards, was soon overthrown and assassinated. The youthful ALEXANDER SEVERUS then reigned alone, being directed for a season in the affairs of

the government by his mother, the princess Maurea.

Among the long list of Imperial names, that of Severus shines with peculiar luster. During his reign the prosperity of the Empire was recovered. The foreign wars of the epoch were few and unimportant. The great interests of peace were again promoted, as in the time of Antoninus. The work of Papinian, under whose auspices a digest of the Roman law had been undertaken, was carried forward by Ulpian, the minister of Alexander, one of the most distinguished jurists of the age. The

youthful Emperor was for a while directed by his mother, a woman not devoid of craft and ambition. Under her influence some injudicious acts soiled the reputation of the earlier years of his authority. The first serious difficulty of the reign arose from the camp of the prætorians. Offended at the restraints imposed upon them by Alexander, and charging the same to the minister Ulpius, the mutinous guards burst into the palace, and the aged lawyer was assassinated. For a short time the Emperor himself was in peril of his life; but he presently brought the prætorians to submission, and had Epagathus, the leader in the recent mutiny, executed for his crime. Alexander also succeeded in quelling the legionaries who had rebelled against their officers, bringing them to submission by Cæsar's expedient of addressing them as citizens.

The amiable Emperor was by no means a stranger to literary culture. Without the great abilities of the elder Antonines, he possessed talents sufficiently great to appreciate and admire the works of the poets, orators, and philosophers of Rome. Without becoming actively identified with any of the philosophic schools, he chose a moderate eclecticism, as furnishing the best refuge for thought and speculation. He is represented as having possessed a profound admiration for the great religious teachers of the world, and to have expressed his respect for the sages by setting up in the palace the statues of Orpheus, Abraham, and the Christ. His reign was free from persecutions, and a healthful and temperate spirit was diffused from the throne throughout the Empire.

The later years of Alexander's reign were disturbed by a war in the East. The star of Persia had again emerged from the clouds by which it had been so long obscured. In A. D. 220 a certain Artaxerxes, claiming to be a descendant of Darius Hystaspes, rose against the Parthians, called the followers of Zoroaster to arms, and after a six years' conflict overthrew their empire in the great battle of Hormuz. Thus on the ruins of the Parthian power was established the great monarchy of the Sassanians. It was with this new monarchy that the Romans were now brought into

conflict. Alexander made a campaign into Mesopotamia, and was reported by his eulogists to have gained a great victory over the Persians; but the subsequent narrowing of the borders of the Empire in the East indicates that his alleged triumph must be accepted with many grains of allowance.

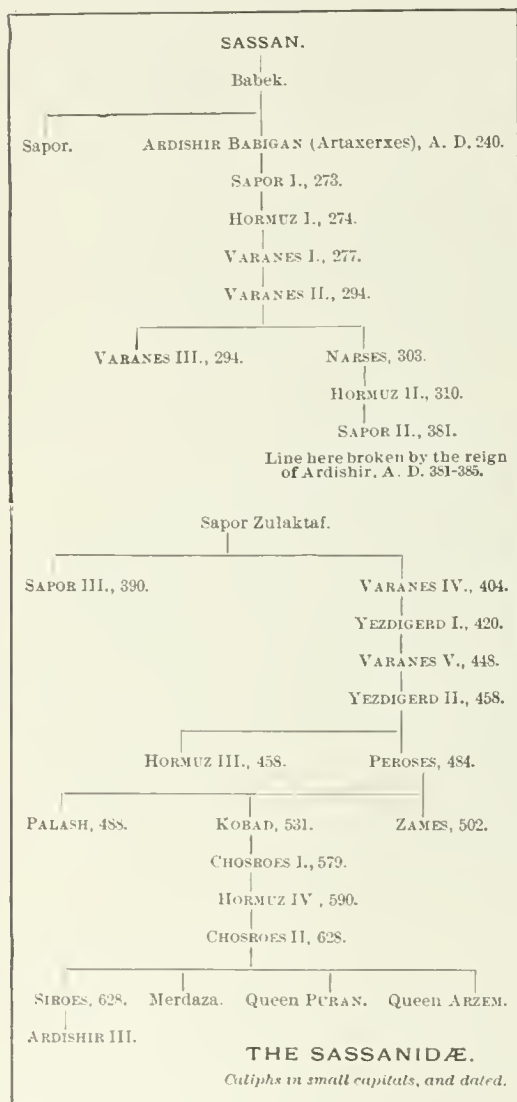
Returning to the West, the Emperor was called to the Danubian frontier to resist the encroachments of the Germans and Sarmatians. But before he had achieved any signal success in this quarter his life was, in A. D.



SEVERUS.

235, taken in a mutiny of the soldiers. A certain Thracian peasant, named MAXIMINUS, a huge giant more than eight feet in stature, who wore his wife's bracelet for a finger-ring, whose modest appetite was satisfied with forty pounds of meat a day, and who by great personal prowess and distinguished bearing had risen to be an officer of the legion, and had won the favor of the Emperor by his daring and activity, was proclaimed by the admiring soldiers as successor to Alexander. The distinguished barbarian accepted the trust and donned the Imperial purple.

From this epoch forward the barbarian nations, hovering in ominous clouds along the north-eastern frontiers of Rome, exhibited un-wonted commotion. Anon, the scattered tribes beyond the Rhine and the Danube were gathered into three principal confederations. Beyond the Lower Rhine the tribes of the



Chatti, the Chanci and the Cherusci were united in a league for purposes of offense and defense against Rome. These nations, afterwards known by the general name of *Franks*, will reappear as turbulent and powerful factors in the history of the Barbarian Age. On the Upper Rhine a similar aggregation of tribes

occurred, embracing the powerful Suevi, the Boii, the Marcomanni, and the Quadi, all known in subsequent history by the common name of *Alemanni*. These were the peoples who in the times past and present of the Empire made frequent and daring incursions into Rætia and Pannonia, and kept Cisalpine Gaul evermore in alarm. In the year A. D. 272 the Alemanni burst through the passes of the Eastern Alps, and advanced into Italy as far as Ravenna. Here they were absorbed rather than conquered, but not until thoughtful men of Rome had been led to see that another barbarian expedition somewhat more audacious than the last might penetrate to the capital itself, and there repeat the work of Brennus.

The third division of the tribes beyond the border included the Goths and the Getæ on the Lower Danube. These people were justly noted for their courage and persistency. After the trans-Danubian province of Dacia had been resurrendered to its original populations, the Goths made almost yearly excursions across the river, or, passing down that stream and crossing the Euxine, laid waste the coasts of Asia Minor. In the East, Persian power was now fully revived under Sapor, the second of the Sassanidæ and successor of Artaxerxes. Such was the strength of the new kingdom that the whole Roman dominion in Asia was threatened with extinction. In the direction of Palestine and Egypt the borders of the Empire were now for the first time harassed by those wandering tribes of Arabs known as Saracens or Men of the Desert. In the mountain lairs of Isauria bands of brigands and pirates were again gathered as in the later days of the Republic. The outlook was any thing other than auspicious for the further development and glory of Rome. It remains to sketch as briefly as possible the careers of the Emperors who pass in rapid and inglorious succession, beginning with Maximin and ending with Carinus.

The assumption of the Thracian giant was received with indignation by the Senate. The time called for a leader, and he was found in the aged senator, Gordianus, præfect of the province of Africa, now commanding the legions in that country. No sooner was the

news of Maximin's usurpation carried across the Mediterranean than Gordian was proclaimed by his soldiers. This movement was heartily seconded in Italy, where measures were immediately adopted for the overthrow of Maximin. Gordian had in the mean time associated with himself his son, also a commander in Africa, and it appeared that the two able and popular rulers might on their return to Italy restore some degree of order to the distracted Empire.

Meanwhile, however, before they could set out from Africa, the governor of Mauritania rose in revolt and slew the younger Gordian in battle. So great was the despair of the father on hearing of the death of his son that he committed suicide. Great was the consternation when the intelligence of these calamitous events was carried to Rome. The Senate, unable to recede from its declared hostility to Maximin, immediately proclaimed as Emperors two of its own number, named Maximus and Albinus. A popular insurrection ensued in favor of the grandson of the veteran Gordian, and the Senate was obliged to appease the tumult by associating the youth with the two Augusti already proclaimed. To Maximus was intrusted the command of the senatorial army, which, in A. D. 238, marched to the north to encounter Maximin. The latter had, meanwhile, advanced to the head of the Adriatic and laid siege to Aquileia. Here, however, his troops broke into mutiny and put him to death. MAXIMUS and ALBINUS took up their residence in Rome, but a few months afterwards a band of malecontent soldiers attacked and slew them in the basilica. The youthful GORDIAN was thereupon taken to the camp of the prætorians, and the Senate was obliged to acknowledge him as sole Emperor.

The new ruler had the good fortune to choose for his minister of state the able and virtuous Misitheus. For five years (A. D. 238-244) constant improvements were shown in the manners of the palace and the reviving decency of the city. Then Misitheus died and was succeeded in his office of præfect by Philip, the Arabian. The latter soon proved treacherous, incited the army of the Euphrates to mutiny, and Gordian was slain by the soldiers. PHILIP was at once proclaimed in his

stead. The chief event of his reign belongs to the year A. D. 248, which was fixed upon by the Emperor as the thousandth anniversary of the city. It was determined to celebrate the event by an elaborate performance of the Secular Games. But the glory of the occasion was marred not a little by a mutiny of the soldiers on the Mæsan frontier, who set up a certain Marinus as Emperor. Against him was sent an army under the command of Decius, who, having put down the revolt, was



ALBINUS.

himself proclaimed by the legionaries as ruler of the Empire. Philip went forth to meet him, but was defeated and killed in a battle at Verona.

The accession of the new Augustus was in the nature of a reaction towards the old paganism which had once made Rome glorious. DECIVS went back in his religion and philosophy to the gods of the ancient city. He exacted of the Christians a strict compliance with the rites and ceremonies prescribed by the old-time formulæ; and when they refused

to worship the pagan deities a storm of persecution broke out, more severe and general than any that had preceded it. When the bloody business had about run its course the Emperor appointed Publius Licinius Valerianus censor of the city, and himself departed on a campaign in Mæsia. After three successful expeditions into the enemy's country Decius fell in battle, being the first of the Roman Emperors to perish in the field.

The Senate at once appointed the experienced general Gallus as his successor in the Empire. The nomination was accepted by the army; but when the new Emperor proceeded to purchase peace of the barbarians dissatis-



DECIVS.

faction took the place of content. Æmilianus, commander of the army on the Danube, led his forces against Gallus, and in A. D. 253 the Emperor was slain. Thereupon Valerian, who had been left behind as censor of Rome, marched against Æmilianus; but the latter was assassinated by his own troops, and VALERIAN assumed the purple. With him was associated in the government his son Gallienus as the next successor to the Empire.

At this epoch the north-eastern frontier was many times assailed by the Franks and the Goths. In the East the Sassanian Sapor, having overrun Mesopotamia and Armenia, stood in a threatening attitude on the Euphrates. Valerian, leaving the defense of the

West to Gallienus, led a large army through Asia Minor, and encountered the Persians at Edessa. The Romans were disastrously routed. Valerian was taken prisoner, and was subjected by his captor to every conceivable indignity. Sapor compelled him to prostrate himself as a foot-stool from which to mount his horse. When the Emperor died he was carefully flayed; the Imperial skin was tanned, dyed purple, stuffed to its natural proportions, and hung up in a temple. The victory and its results left the whole of Asia Minor at the mercy of the Persian; but the half-barbarian king was satisfied with the spoils of Antioch and a horde of slaves.

Nothing was to be expected of GALLIENUS in the way of restoring the honor of the Roman arms. The only recovery was made by Odenatus of Syria, who conducted a successful defense of Palmyra against the Persians. The Emperor himself had small reputation for any thing but vice. He indulged his appetites, wrote trivial verses, conversed with the insignificant philosophers of the epoch. Meanwhile no fewer than nineteen different aspirants were proclaimed in various parts of the Empire, only to be hewn down by each other or by the generals who remained loyal to Gallienus. The whole brood was exterminated except Odenatus, whom the Emperor had the good sense to summon to Rome and associate with himself in the government. In A. D. 268 Gallienus went forth to meet a certain Aureolus, who was in the north of Italy, but was slain *en route* in his own camp. In his dying moments he nominated as his successor MARCUS AURELIUS CLAUDIUS, a man of remarkable abilities, especially in the field, who might but for the degeneracy of his times have revived the waning energies of the Empire. As it was, he could only maintain some of the pristine glories of Rome by successful war. In the great battle of Naïssus, fought in A. D. 269, he overthrew the Goths, whose three hundred thousand soldiers were scattered to the winds, leaving fifty thousand of their number dead on the field. For this memorable victory he was rewarded with the surname GOTHICUS. Soon afterwards he prepared for a great campaign against the Persians; but

while collecting his forces on the Danube he fell sick and died, leaving the diadem to his general LUCIUS DOMITIUS AURELIANUS, son of an Illyrian peasant. The latter had won the pseudonym of *Manu ad Ferrum*, or Sword-in-Hand. His nomination was ratified by the Senate, and the Emperor soon justified the wisdom of the choice by notable successes over the Goths.

Having secured quiet on the Danubian frontier, he turned attention to the Orient. There in Palmyra, the beautiful ZENOBLA, not improperly called the Queen of the East—for her husband Odenatus was now dead—was attempting to uphold the freedom of her capital and country alike against the Persian and the Roman. During the last two reigns she had successfully defended herself against the armies of Gallienus and Claudius, but in 272 she was defeated by Aurelian and driven into Palmyra. Here she made a vigorous defense. When the city was driven to the point of surrender, she made her escape and fled as far as the Euphrates. Being captured and brought back to Aurelian, she was asked why she had taken up arms. Her reply was worthy of her Arab blood: "Because," said she, "I disdain to consider as Roman emperors an Aureolus or a Gallienus; you alone I acknowledge as my conqueror and my sovereign." She was taken by Aurelian to Rome to grace his triumph, but such was the native dignity of her character that she won the respect even of a Roman Emperor. She was given an elegant villa on the Tiber, and here her daughters, when grown to womanhood were sought in marriage by the most honorable noblemen of the city. As late as the fifth century, her descendants were still held in esteem as an element in the best society of the ancient capital.

In the last year of his life, A. D. 275, Aurelian disgraced his reign by organizing a savage persecution of the Christians; but before the butchery began, he was himself, while starting on a campaign against the Persians, murdered by a secretary whom he had offended. His soldiers speedily and signally avenged his death, and then by a singular freak of subor-

dination waited for six months on the Senate to declare a successor. That body chose for the imperial office the venerable MARCUS CLAUDIUS TACITUS already more than seventy years of age. Although unfitted for the duties of the camp he courageously undertook an expedition against the Alani, but before he could bring the campaign to a close he yielded to old age and exposure, and died A. D. 276, after a reign of but a few months' duration.



GALLIENUS.

The next Emperor was AURELIUS PROBUS, officer of the army of Germany. He was chosen by the legions, and recognized by the Senate. A certain Florianus, brother of Tacitus, had in the mean time assumed the purple without recognition by either the civil or the military power; but presently finding himself abandoned, he made an end by suicide. Probus, who was a soldier and man of worth, was thus left in undisputed possession of the throne. His reign of six years was almost wholly occupied in war. In his first campaign

he defeated the Goths, whom no reverses could long restrain from incursions across the Danube. The Emperor next proceeded to the East, where he gained such signal successes over the Persians that he was enabled to dictate an honorable peace. He then gave some attention to civil affairs, using his army for the commendable work of draining marshes and planting orchards. He issued a rescript abrogating the monopoly hitherto possessed by



PROBUS.

the wine-growers of Italy, and making free the cultivation of the vine in the countries beyond the Alps. These useful measures, however, soon aroused the enmity of the soldiers, and the Emperor was slain in a mutiny.

Next came CARUS, chosen by the legions of Gaul. The Senate, as usual, accepted the nomination, and the nation had little cause to regret the choice. The new Emperor had many of the tastes and virtues of his prede-

cessor. The son, Carinus, whom he associated with himself in the government, was of far less admirable temper, and the people of Italy had cause to regret that to him was assigned the government of the West. The Emperor himself assumed command of the legions and began a great campaign against the Persians. He crossed Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, left behind the frontier post of Ctesiphon on the Tigris and penetrated the enemy's country to a greater distance than had ever before been reached by the Cæsars. Fate, however, laid an early limit to his progress. He met a doubtful death in the camp; for it was said by some that he was struck by lightning; by others that he died of disease; and still by others that he was assassinated by his lieutenant, Aper.

Numerian, the son of Carus, a youth of promise, who by his oratorical gifts and culture had won the esteem of the Romans, was present at his father's death, and on him, by proclamation of the soldiers, was devolved the command of the army. Marching hastily towards Rome to place himself in authority, he, too, was killed, and the command passed to a certain Diocles or Diocletianus, a Dalmatian by birth, already an officer of the legions.

To him a Druidess had already promised the Imperial dignity, but before reaching the purple he must slaughter a boar. He now chose to regard Aper, the murderer of Carus, as the prophetic beast which he must slay. The vicarious sacrifice was accordingly performed, and it remained for Diocletian and Carinus to decide by arms the possession of the Empire. In several engagements the latter was successful, but the assassin's dagger was again to determine the conflict. Carinus had led astray the wife of one of his subordinates, who now sought revenge by the murder of his imperial rival. The dominion of the world was thus, in 284, left to DIOCLETIAN, whose reign was so distinguished as to constitute an epoch in the history of the Empire.

CHAPTER LXV.—EPOCH OF DIOCLETIAN.



OW it was that the spectral shadows of the old Republic, which, out of deference to the past, had still been allowed to haunt the Capitol, disappeared forever. The names of consul, tribune, Senate ceased to be heard in the nomenclature of the administration. The government became a monarchy without republican accessories. The offices were filled henceforth by appointment. It was the purpose of Diocletian to reestablish in Rome a central authority whose edicts should be again felt not only in Italy, but throughout the provinces of the Empire. Instead of being merely a military commander, directing the movements of the legions in some quarter of the horizon, the Emperor was again to become a civil ruler, whose Imperial edicts were to command obedience in every part.

In the choice of a colleague Diocletian named Maximianus, an Illyrian peasant by birth, a soldier by profession. On him, in 236, was conferred the title of Augustus. The two sovereigns also assumed the respective names of Jovius and Herculius. Meanwhile a certain Carausius had raised a revolt in Britain, and was advancing his claims to the throne. Against him Maximian directed the army in Gaul, and the pretender was overthrown. About the same time the insurrectionary spirit manifested itself in the eastern provinces of the Empire, and Diocletian undertook in person the pacification of the rebellious countries.

But before setting out for the East the Emperor inaugurated a new system of government, which consisted of a subdivision of the administrative prerogatives among two Augusti and two Cæsars, the latter being respectively subordinate to the former. Thus in A. D. 292 Constantius Chlorus was appointed Cæsar under Maximian in the West, while Galerius was put in like relation with Dio-

cletian in the East. To give solidarity to the system, the daughters of the Augusti were married to the respective Cæsars. The supreme sovereignty of the state was still nominally lodged in Diocletian, who established his court in Nicomedia, and retained for his personal government the provinces of Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. The Cæsar Galerius was stationed at Sirmium, and to him was committed the duty of maintaining peace on the Danubian frontier. The court of Maximian was fixed at Milan, and to his immediate supervision were intrusted the home provinces of Italy, the islands of the Mediterranean, and Africa. The Cæsar Constantius was established at Treves, and the defense of the Rhenish frontier and of Transalpine Gaul, Spain, and Britain was committed to his valor.

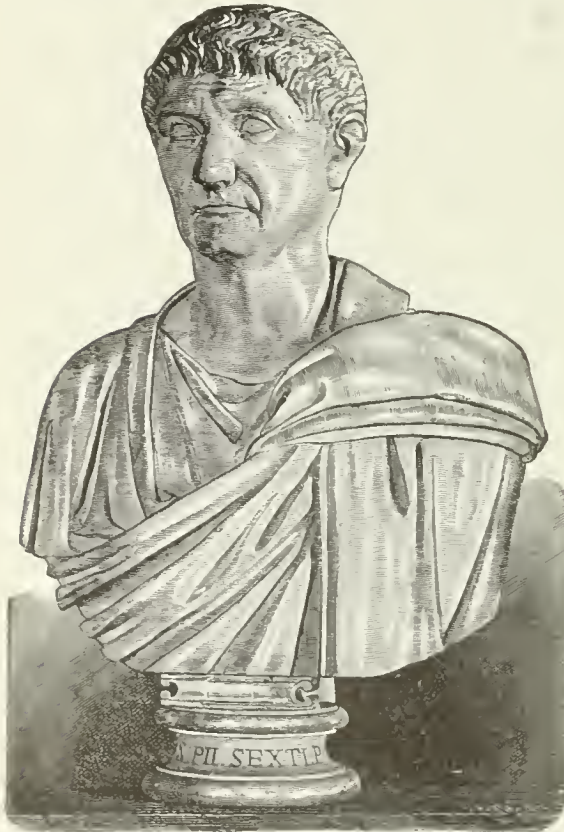
For a season the system thus instituted brought favorable results. The Egyptian rebellion was suppressed by Diocletian. Maximian reduced Mauritania to submission. Constantius overthrew the Alemanni, and then defeated the pretenders, Carausius and Allectus, in Britain. Galerius routed the Persians from the borders of Syria. After twenty years of victorious warfare Diocletian returned to the ancient capital of the Empire, and there celebrated a triumph in honor of his own successes and those of his colleagues.

A novel episode occurred soon afterwards. In A. D. 305 the Emperor, being then in his sixtieth year, journeyed to Morgus, in Mæsia, and there on the first day of May, on the spot where he had been proclaimed, resigned the crown. On the same day Maximian—acting either in emulation of his colleague or by his direction—also resigned his authority. The Imperial power was thus left in the hands of the two Cæsars, who now became Augusti by succession. Such was the plan of Diocletian.

After his abdication the late Emperor retired to private life, and, tempting fate no further, sought in the cultivation of his garden

a complete forgetfulness of the cares of state. When he was urged by an embassy to re-assume the duties of sovereignty he invited the envoys to admire the size and symmetry of some of the vegetables which he had lately produced. The god Hortus smiled in the face of Mars, and the latter retired in astonishment to think that a mind should find more pleasure in radishes than bloodshed.

During the reign of Diocletian the Empire



DIOCLETIAN.

was disturbed not a little by labor-insurrections. The old system of slavery in Italy still existed without legal modification; but the importance of the slave population had relatively declined. A new class of society, known as *coloni*, had in great measure taken the place of the chattel slaves. The *coloni* were free peasants, but were so attached to the estates on which they lived as to become serfs. Upon this class of population the exactions of the Empire rested most heavily. Every

colonus was registered, and any escape from the horrors of the tax-gathering system adopted by the Roman governors was next to impossible. In vain did the mayors and councilmen of cities, the *curiales* and *duumvirs*, struggle to save their people from perennial robbery.

The first insurrection of the *coloni* occurred in Gaul. Short crops and merciless exactions had left the country in a state of semi-famine. The peasants rose and took by force the means of subsistence. Politically the movement had little significance. For several years the larger part of Gaul was ravaged by her own peasant banditti. The chief objects of attack were the towns; for in these were accumulated whatever stores the tax-gatherers and sycophants had not taken away. After the insurrection had exhausted itself it ceased rather from the natural subsidence of the mobs than from the repression of force. The principal damage done by the insurgents was inflicted in the sack of Autun, then the principal seat of the culture and art of the Gallic nations.

The Christian Fathers assume in their writings that the *coloni* had accepted the new faith, and that the severity with which they were treated both before and after the revolt was attributable to the fact of their renunciation of paganism. It is, however, the opinion of Merivale and others that the position is untenable, and that the *colonic* revolt originated in social rather than religious conditions.

But it is undeniable that the time had now come when the question was to be decided whether Christianity should rule the Empire, or the Empire Christianity. The

followers of Christ had greatly multiplied in Italy, and indeed throughout the Roman dominions. They had been winnowed by many preceding persecutions. Those who adhered became more and more defiant, more and more intolerant of the doctrines of paganism. To Rome, paganism was essential. There was thus an irrepressible conflict. The two *Augusti* and the two *Cæsars* of the era which we are here considering, took up the question of extirpating the new belief by exterminating its upholders.

Diocletian was long reluctant to undertake the bloody work, nor is it certain that the persuasions of Maximian and Galerius would have prevailed with him but for the firing of his palace in Nicomedia, by incendiaries who were represented to him as Christians. Hereupon he gave his assent to the persecution, and soon outdid his colleagues in the fury and bloody spirit with which he hunted to their last retreats the panting fugitives. Constantius, however, refused to join in the proscription, and the Christians of Gaul were saved from the fate of their brethren in other parts of the Empire. At the date of Diocletian's abdication, the persecution still raged; but eight years after his retirement, the struggle was given over, and an edict, issued by the court of Milan, granted a legal existence and freedom of worship to the new religionists. It was an act which sealed the fate of paganism.

In retiring from power, Diocletian made a serious mistake in violating the principles of the Cæsarian system which he had himself established. Instead of permitting the two existing Cæsars, now recognized as Augusti, to nominate each his own associate, the ex-Em-

peror insisted that his son-in-law Galerius should choose both the new Cæsars. The favored Augustus accordingly named an Illyrian peasant called Daza, who now took the appellation of Maximinus, to be colleague in the East, and then instead of nominating Constantine, the son of Constantius, as Cæsar of the West, he passed by that popular prince and chose a favorite named Flavius Severus.

At this time CONSTANTIUS, the Western Augustus, was in Britain, nor is it doubtful that Galerius, by ignoring his associate Emperor, intended to open the way for his own assumption of undivided sovereignty. But the popularity of Constantius was so great that the scheme could not be carried out. The people of Britain and Gaul, both pagan and Christian, rallied to his support; and when he died at York, in the former country, the soldiers at once proclaimed his son CONSTANTINE as Emperor. Galerius durst not oppose the movement, but gave a seemingly cordial assent to the proclamation, insisting, however, that the prince should be a Cæsar only, and be regarded as the junior member of the Imperial college.

CHAPTER LXVI.—CONSTANTINE AND HIS SUCCESSORS.



Here come to another evolution in the destinies of Rome. It is the age of the decadence of paganism, and the institution of Christianity. At the first it was prudent

for the new Emperor to assume a satisfaction which he did not feel. Concealing his ambition, he contented himself for six years (306-312), with the government of the Cæsarian provinces of the North. In his administration in Britain he exhibited great energy. The island was more completely reduced and better defended than ever before. As soon as this work was accomplished he hastened to the Rhenish frontier, where the barbarians, hearing of the death of Constantius, had

risen in rebellion. Great were the military abilities now displayed by Constantine. In a terrible battle with the Germans on the Moselle he gained a decisive victory. Here, too, began to be revealed those cold and indifferent elements of character for which he was ever noted. He ordered a massacre of his German captives for no better reason—as it would appear—than that the death of the prisoners was the easiest method of disposing of a troublesome burden.

Of religious convictions Constantine had none. But he possessed an intellect capable of penetrating the condition of the world. He perceived the conclusion of the great syllogism in the logic of events. He saw that Destiny was about to write *Finis* at the bottom of the last page of paganism. He had the

ambition to avail himself of the forces new and old which, playing on the minds and consciences of men, were about to transform the world. As yet the Christians were in the minority, but they had zeal and enthusiasm. The enthusiasm of paganism, on the contrary, had yielded to a cold and formal assent quite unlike the pristine fervor which had fired to human action in the time

“When the world was new and the gods were young.”

So, for policy, the Emperor began to favor the Christians. There was now an *ecclesia*, a Church, compact, well organized, having definite purposes, ready for universal persuasion and almost ready for universal battle. Against this were opposed the warring philosophic sects of paganism. While biding his time, watching the turns of the Imperial wheel, and awaiting the opportunity which should make him supreme, he was careful to lay hold of the sentiments and sympathies of budding Christendom by favoring and protecting the sect in Gaul.

The fragment of the old Senate had in the mean time convened, and with the enthusiasm of second childishness had conferred the title of Augustus on Maxentius, son of the late joint-emperor Maximian. The latter, who, like Diocletian, was living in retirement, now issued forth and attempted to uphold the cause of his son. He also invoked the aid of Constantine, to whom he gave his daughter in marriage. But Maxentius proved to be an ingrate; for no sooner did he feel the afflatus of power than he proceeded to expel his father from Italy. The ex-emperor fled to Constantine, in Gaul, and that superb son-in-law received him on condition of a second abdication in his own favor! In A. D. 310 the Imperial Ishmaelite engaged in a conspiracy against Constantine, and the latter, when the plot was broken up and Maximian captured, mercifully consented that his father-in-law might save himself from a worse fate by committing suicide!

In the following year Galerius, who, in 305, had returned from the East, died from a loathsome infection; nor did the Christians fail to perceive in the fact and manner of his death the hand of offended heaven. Severus,

the Western Cæsar whom he had nominated, was already dead, and his successor, Licinius, held command in Illyria. The Empire was thus again left to the sway of four men—Maximin, Constantine, Maxentius, and Licinius; but such had been the nature of their elevation to power that none would acknowledge another as superior. All claimed the title of Augustus—none would accept the modest name of Cæsar.

Licinius soon made a league with Constantine against Galerius, but held aloof from the conflict which now ensued between the Augusti of Italy and Gaul. Crossing the Alps, Constantine bore down on his enemy, defeated him in three battles, and in 312 entered the capital. The intense dislike of the people for Galerius turned into praise of Constantine. Already two parts of the divided Empire were reunited.

In the same year of his triumph the Emperor issued from Milan his famous decree in favor of the Christian religion. The proclamation was in the nature of a license to those professing the new faith to worship as they would under the Imperial sanction and favor. Soon afterwards he announced to the world that the reason for his recognition of Christianity was a vision which he had seen while marching from Gaul against Galerius. Gazing into heaven he had seen a tremendous and shining cross with this inscription: *IN HOC SIGNO VINCES*—“Under this Sign Conquer.” The fiction subserved the purpose for which it was invented. As a matter of fact, the double-dealing moral nature of Constantine was incapable of any high devotion to a faith either old or new. His insincerity was at once developed in his course respecting the Roman Senate. That body was the stronghold of paganism. Any strong purpose to extinguish heathenism would have led Constantine into irreconcilable antagonism with whatever of senatorial power still survived. Instead of hostility, however, he began to restore the ancient body to as much influence in the state as was consistent with the unrestricted exercise of his own authority. In order further to placate the perturbed spirits of paganism he himself assumed the office of Pontifex Max-

imus; and when the triumphal arch was reared commemorative of his victory, he was careful to place thereon the statues of the old gods as well as the emblems of the new faith.

After the alliance of Constantine and Licinius had been strengthened by a second marriage, which made each of the two Augusti both the father-in-law and son-in-law of the other, they attempted in vain to gain the countenance of the aged Diocletian, still living at Salona. Soon afterwards, in A. D. 313, Licinius conducted a campaign against Maximian, whom he defeated in three battles, and drove to suicide. The edict in favor of Christianity was posted on the walls of Nicomedia, and the anti-pagan party throughout all Asia Minor went over to the support of the Emperors of the West.

The wary and watchful Constantine was touched with jealousy at the successes of Licinius. Affecting to believe that the latter was fomenting a treasonable conspiracy against himself, he came down out of Gaul with a select division of troops, and attempted to capture Licinius by a *coup de main*. When this failed the two friends again pledged their faith, which, strange to say, remained unbroken for the space of nine years.

To this epoch belong the great activities of Constantine. He was indefatigable in promoting what he deemed to be the reforms demanded by the times. The bottom questions which he had to confront were essentially religious. His great principle of action looked to the union in one body of the Christian and the pagan populations of the Empire. In this work he was soon confronted by what seemed to be insuperable obstacles. Not only did the Christians refuse to tolerate the doctrines of paganism, but they themselves divided into sects and refused to be reconciled. The bishops who headed the various parties in the new religion appealed to Constantine to settle their disputes. The latter, in A. D. 314, convened a council at Rome, and afterwards at Arles, to which bodies were referred the conflicting doctrines and disputed discipline of the church. A decision was rendered against the sect of the Donatists, and they, having refused to accept the judgment which had been rendered,

were visited with the arm of secular power. A persecution broke out, in which one body of the Christians became the persecutors of the other. The bloody bitterness of paganism was paralleled by the intolerance born of fanaticism among the believers.

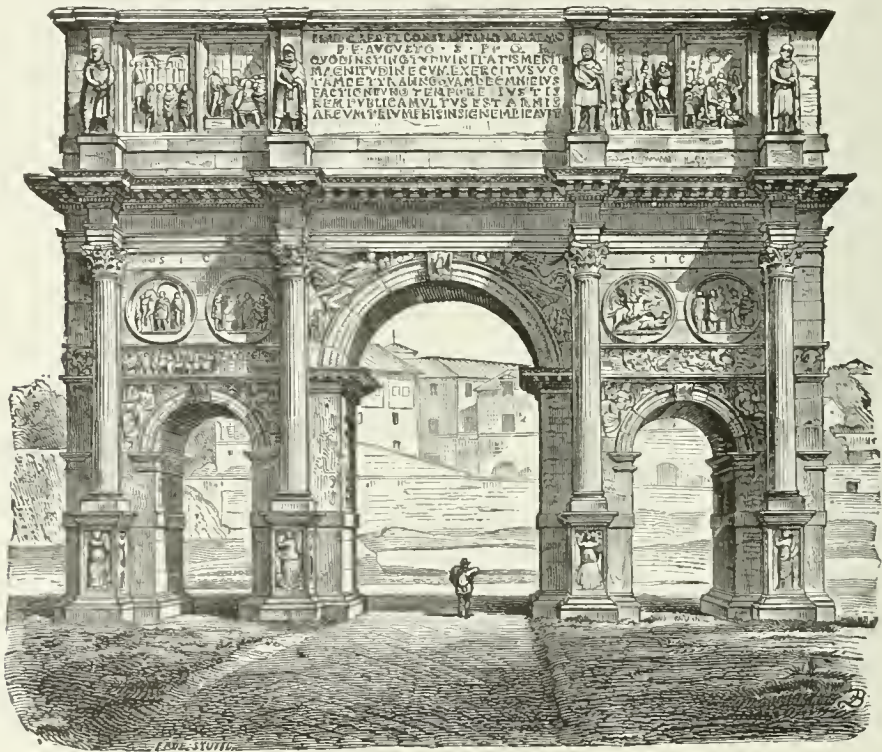
In matters of legislation, the reign of Constantine appears to a better advantage. So many constitutional reforms were enacted as to constitute an epoch in the history of Roman jurisprudence. At the same time the reformatory movement was carried out in the army. This dangerous and hitherto all-powerful body was once more brought into subordination to civil authority. The military forces of the Empire were broken up into small divisions. The legion was reduced to fifteen hundred men. Slaves were accepted as recruits; and the policy was adopted of officering the regiments as far as practicable with barbarian commanders—this for the double purpose of securing valor and discouraging political ambition in the army.

As yet there was little appearance of any definite religious convictions on the part of Constantine. The legislation of the Emperor shows in some of its parts the impress of the Christian doctrine. In the year 321 a statute was enacted forbidding all secular employment and civil procedures on Sunday, and to this law was appended the notable exception that the manumission of a slave should be held valid though performed on the first day of the week. On that day, moreover, soldiers were permitted to leave their ranks to join the body of worshipers. All these concessions, however, to the principles and practices of Christianity were granted by the Emperor rather with a view to securing the religious solidarity of the Empire than from any positive preference on his part for the doctrines of the new faith.

Meanwhile Licinius in the East looked with alarm and jealousy on the proceedings of his colleague. Himself more of a pagan than a Christian, and disliking the whole tendency of consolidation which Constantine had so diligently fostered, he sought to undo the political and religious fabric which his colleague was rearing around himself in the West. War broke out between the rival Emperors in A. D.

323; and it was soon apparent that the conflict was essentially a battle between paganism and Christianity. Constantine, with a hundred and thirty thousand men, set out for the East. He inscribed on the banners carried at the head of the legions the monogram of Christ and gave to the soldiers the battle-cry of "God our Savior!" The forces of Licinius numbered a hundred and sixty-five thousand. The two armies met at Adrianople, where Licinius was completely routed. The remnant of his

completed his campaigns in the East, he returned to Italy and undertook the reconstruction of the government on an Oriental basis. The Empire was divided into prefectures after the manner of the satrapies of Persia. The basilica became the scene of intrigues and crimes, such as rivaled in number and character the deeds of Caligula and Nero. The queen mother Helena and the wife Fausta were deadly rivals. The brothers of the Emperor were excluded from the palace and for-



ARCH OF CONSTANTINE.

forces was driven into Byzantium, but the fortress was soon taken by the fleet of Constantine. For a brief season the cause of the pagans was upheld in Asia Minor by a certain Martinianus, but he was pursued, taken, and put to death. Soon afterwards Licinius shared his fate, and the undisputed sovereignty of the world was left to Constantine.

From this time forth the Emperor, who was now honored with the title of *the Great*, began to show still greater favor to the Christians and more pronounced symptoms of hostility towards his pagan subjects. Having

bidden to appear in public. His son Crispus, by whose energies as commander of the fleet the siege of Byzantium had been brought to a successful conclusion, became the victim of his father's jealousy, and was suddenly ordered to execution. Then Fausta, the queen, was for no better reason sent to a similar fate. Crime followed crime until the bloody mind of Constantine became haunted with specters. Not even the absolution which was freely given to their champion by the Christian priests could allay the remorse or quiet the distemper in his nature. He became a devotee to the

new faith, and again undertook a reconciliation of the conflicting parties. In A. D. 325, he convened a great council at Nicæa, the modern Nice, in Bithynia; and here was undertaken the work of unifying the dogmas of the faith. Constantine himself, supported by a body of soldiers, presided over the deliberations. He heard the testimony of the various priests and bishops as to the traditional beliefs which they had received and taught. Judgment was rendered on the questions at issue between the conflicting parties, and a standard of orthodoxy established for the future government of the Christian world!

To the reign of Constantine must be referred the origin of those movements which resulted in the establishment of an Eastern and a Western Empire. The Emperor had never been favorably disposed towards the city of Rome. He had fixed his capital in Gaul, first at Treves, and afterwards at Lyons; and though out of courtesy to the past, he chose to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of his accession in the Imperial City, yet he never consented to a permanent residence in the home of the earlier Cæsars. After securing for himself the undivided sovereignty, he began to look for a suitable capital for the Empire, and Byzantium soon suggested itself as the one place recommended by geography and the position of the provinces east and west as the chosen seat of government. The court was accordingly transferred to this city from Nicomedia. The engineers of the Emperor were ordered to lay out the capital anew and to establish a line of ramparts for the defense of the Imperial residence. The space included within the walls was as great as the area of Rome. A new Senate was established and many of the nobles of the Empire were required to take up their residence in the new capital. Within less than a decade after its foundation, CONSTANTINOPLE had become the principal city of the Empire. Rome—though her senate and nominal rank as a capital city remained as before—immediately declined in importance and took her position as a provincial metropolis along with Alexandria, Antioch, and Treves.

Constantine continued on the throne till

the year 337. During his reign there was a revival of the industrial and financial interests of the Empire. Literature began again to be cultivated, and a quiet was diffused throughout the dominions of Rome. The ambiguous and somber character of Constantine remained dominant to the last. Not until he was laid upon his bed of death did he finally consent to be baptized into the Christian society. So feeble was his identification with the believers in the new doctrine that his successors hesitated not to enroll him among the divinities of paganism.

With the establishment of the capital of the Empire at Constantinople, a great tide of population set in thitherward from the West. The Imperial court drew to itself the wealth, the rank, the luxury which had previously centered at Rome. Great was the gain from an administrative point of view of the transfer of the seat of government. Rome was far displaced from the geographical center of the Imperial dominions. Constantinople was a natural focus. Around her lay the provinces of the Empire. Within her walls was gathered the remaining culture of the Greeks. Three continents lay at her feet.

The reign of Constantine covered a period of thirty-one years. He died at Nicomedia, in A. D. 337, leaving the Empire to his three sons, Constantine, Constans, and Constantius. The army promptly ratified the will of the Emperor, and made it sure by destroying all competitors except only Gallus and Julianus, the sons of the late sovereign's younger brother.

In the division of the provinces CONSTANTINE II. chose the West, and established his capital at Treves. CONSTANTIUS, the second son, succeeded his father at Constantinople; while CONSTANS, the youngest, received for his portion Italy, Illyricum, and Africa. In a short time Constantine from his capital in Gaul demanded of Constans the cession of Italy, and when this was refused went to war to obtain it by force. A bloody battle was fought, A. D. 340, between the two brothers at Aquileia, in which the elder was slain, and Constans became the undisputed master of the West. He fixed his capital in Gaul, where for ten years he gave way to an indolent and half-

vicious disposition, until he was slain in a mutiny headed by Magnentius. The latter was proclaimed Emperor by the soldiers in Gaul; but the Illyrian légions declared for their own commander, Vetranio. These disturbances gave a fine opportunity to Constantius, who was now engaged in a war with the Persians, to assert his supremacy over the whole Empire ruled by his father. Having recently achieved some marked successes over his enemy in the East, he turned his attention to the pretender Vetranio, who on his approach broke down and threw himself at the Emperor's feet, begging for pardon. A reconciliation was at once effected, and Constantius advanced against Magnentius, whom he encountered at Mursa, in Pannonia. Here was fought one of the bloodiest battles recorded in Roman history. The army of Magnentius was routed and driven into Aquileia. Expelled from this city, the usurper fled into Gaul, but was followed by the victor, again defeated, and slain. Thus, in A. D. 353, Constantius found himself sole ruler of the dominions held by his father.

This great success of the Emperor in the West was but an episode in his conflict with the Persians. This warlike people, thoroughly revived by the energy of the Sassanian kings, held out stoutly against the veteran legions of the Empire. Nearly the whole reign of Constantius, covering a period of more than forty years, was occupied in an unintermitting struggle with Sapor II., who for seventy-one years upheld the honor of his country.

In A. D. 354 Gallus, cousin of the Emperor, who had been honored with a high command in the East, rebelled against the government, but was soon defeated and put to death. Only Julianus, his brother, remained as a possible rival of Constantius. The latter now determined to pay a visit to Rome. It was an occasion of far greater pomp than had been witnessed in the ancient capital since the days of Diocletian.

It is opportune at the present point to explain the rapid growth during the fourth century of the power and influence of the bishops of Rome. The withdrawal of the Emperors to Constantinople, and even before this movement their residence in Gaul and at other dis-

tant points in the Empire, had left Roman society more and more to the dominion of local influences. They who had been members of the Imperial government—consuls, censors, prætors, *et id omne genus*—became merely the officers of a municipality. The wealthier classes of citizens generally professed the ancient paganism. The aggressive and popular elements of society had for the most part turned to Christianity. The pagan priesthood receded and fell away, together with the decline of the secular powers with which it was associated. The new priesthood rose in influence and was borne along with those tendencies which, stimulated by the ambiguous support of Constantine the Great, grew rapidly and luxuriantly when Rome was finally left to herself. In the absence or decline of secular influence in the Imperial power in the Eternal City there was the most favorable opportunity for the assumption of power by the young and vigorous hierarchy; and at the head of this hierarchy as representing its unity of nature and purpose stood the bishop. The disputes between the pagans and Christians of Rome concerning the person of God and the destiny of man had become more interesting, more vital to the Romans than any other questions of the day, and the bishop became at once the arbiter of debate and the father of society.

Such was already the high rank which this functionary had attained that even Constantius, himself unorthodox (for he had become a follower of Arius), took counsel with Liberius, the bishop of Rome, respecting the deposition of Athanasius from the see of Alexandria. The pope—for this name may now be properly used of the Roman pontiff—at first assented to the excommunication of Athanasius, but afterwards received him and was himself won over to orthodoxy. In the disputes which followed between the Emperor and the Holy See the tone assumed by Liberius indicated in an unmistakable way that *an* Empire had risen within the Empire which would no longer down at the Imperial bidding. Constantius was obliged to content himself with calling a council (A. D. 359) at Ariminum, in which the doctrines of Arius were reâffirmed and those of Athanasius condemned. Two years

afterwards the Emperor died, and the crown descended to his cousin, Julianus, brother of Gallus. He was accepted without opposition in the year 361.

JULIAN, surnamed the Apostate, had been bred in the Christian faith. On his accession to power he made his head-quarters in Antioch, and from that place began to prepare for a renewal of the war with Persia. Here, however, he became acquainted with the pagan philosophers, who at this time prevailed in Antioch, and was soon enamored of their teachings to the extent of renouncing Christianity. By nature the Emperor was a man of severe and simple habits; and the somewhat lax, even luxurious, proceedings of the Church at Antioch attracted him less than did the austerity of the old faith, especially as viewed through the lenses of stoicism. He deliberately turned from Jehovah to Jupiter, and from Christ to Plato. The Christian fathers bitterly resented this apostasy, and gave Julian an unenviable reputation with posterity. They devised an epigram which began with, "Long live Cæsar!" and ended thus: "But if he lives long all we must perish!"

As a military leader Julian led a brief but brilliant career. Collecting a large army, he set out on an expedition against Persia. He besieged Ctesiphon, and afterwards, in A. D. 363, advanced into the country of the enemy whom he could not bring to battle. When his supplies failed and his troops were discouraged the Persians gave battle, but were severely repulsed. Julian, leading the pursuit, was killed,¹ after a reign of but two years' duration, and one of his generals, named JOVIAN, was proclaimed Emperor.

The religious policy of the Apostate was at once reversed by his successor. Christian rites were immediately substituted in the army for those which had recently prevailed under sanction of Julian. As a general Jovian belied his name. He retreated from the enemy's country, and left a large part of the eastern provinces exposed to the assault of the Per-

sians. Professing orthodox Christianity he reinstated Athanasius in the see of Alexandria, but was at the same time careful not to persecute the followers of Arius. While still on his way to Constantinople the monarch fell sick and died, having worn the purple for the brief space of seven months.

The legions next chose a Pannonian captain named VALENTINIAN as Emperor. His reputation was wholly military, and his merit as a ruler consisted altogether in the application of military methods to the management of the affairs of State. On arriving at Constantinople his first civil act was one of the vastest importance, being no less than the final division of the Roman Empire. The eastern provinces, with the city of Constantinople for their capital, were assigned to VALENS, brother of Valentinian; while the West was retained by the latter as his part of the dominions. He fixed his capital at Milan, and was from the first occupied with the defense of his northern frontiers against the Alemanni and other



JULIAN.

nations of Germany. The whole force and energy of his character, as well as his military talents, were brought into requisition in beating back the barbarian invaders. In A. D. 375 he associated his son Gratian with himself in the government and soon afterwards died while conducting an expedition against the tribes on the Danube.

Several years before this event the Pope Liberius passed away, and his death was followed by an unseemly and bloody contest among the aspirants for his place. The pontificate had now become the principal office in Rome. Every element in the lust of power whetted the appetite of him who sought the place of chief bishop of Christendom. Wealth,

¹ A tradition of the Church Fathers has it that Julian was struck by lightning on the battle-field—the bolt being hurled from heaven in punishment of his apostasy.



DEATH OF JULIAN THE APOSTATE.

honor, luxury, the devotion of man, the adoration of woman, every thing which could contribute to inflame the ambition and dazzle the vision of a vain-glorious devotee, appealed to the imagination of the ecclesiastic contending for the prize. Two candidates, Ursinicus and Damasus, presented themselves for the suffrages of the church. Both claimed to be elected. Violent tumult ensued. The parties armed themselves and rushed to the conflict. The præfect of the city exerted himself in vain to maintain the peace. For several days the riot continued unabated until what time the ladies of Rome, with whom Damasus was a favorite, interfered in his behalf and brought him off victorious.

The death of Valentinian left the Empire subject to a disputed succession. The two sons of the Emperor might both claim the Imperial diadem. GRATIAN, the elder, had already been associated with his father in the government, but his mother had been repudiated, and VALENTINIAN II., son of a later and more favored wife, might well dispute his half-brother's claim to the throne. The soldiers, however, gave their allegiance to Gratian, and he was recognized as the legitimate ruler of the West. He, however, declared himself the friend and protector of his younger brother, whom he introduced into the Flavian family. On the occasion of his accession to power Gratian, who had been educated in the Christian faith by Ambrose, bishop of Milan, set at defiance the precedents of four centuries by refusing to don the pontifical robe, presented to him by the envoys of the Senate. To the Emperor the distinguishing garment of the pontifex maximus appeared to be only the vestment of expiring paganism, which it was sacrilegious for a Christian Emperor to wear.

The act was so significant as to alarm and anger the party of the pagan. A certain Maximus appeared as a champion of the old cause against the new, and the declaration was put forth that if Gratian would not accept the office of pontifex maximus he should not reign as Emperor. But this movement proved to be no more than the vaporings of a faction whose vitality had run to the lowest sands.

Soon after these events another Imperial act still further excited the adherents of the ancient religion. From the time of Julius Cæsar the Roman Senate had been accustomed to hold its sessions in the forum, in a place called the Curia Julia. Here was placed an altar of victory, and before the altar a statue of the goddess who had come to be regarded as the tutelary divinity of Rome. In the time of Constantius this image had been removed, but had been replaced by the apostate Julian. It was the custom of the senators before beginning a session to burn—each in his turn—some grains of incense upon the altar. Regarding this ceremony and even the presence of the altar and the statue as a relic of heathenism, Gratian issued an edict for their removal. The famous emblems of the old belief were accordingly taken from the forum, but not until a deputation representing a large majority of the Senate had pleaded in vain with Gratian for the abrogation of the edict. The contest was afterwards renewed, but the petitioners were confronted and again defeated at the Imperial court by Saint Ambrose of Milan.

In A. D. 383 a rebellion broke out in Britain, led by MAXIMUS, who was proclaimed Emperor by his soldiers. The insurgents crossed the Channel into Gaul, where they were joined by the legions of Gratian. The unpopular Emperor, thus left naked to his enemies, fled towards Italy, but on reaching Lyons was seized by his pursuers and assassinated. Meanwhile Valens, in the East, had been killed at Adrianople, A. D. 378, and had been succeeded by THEODOSIUS the Great. The latter, from his head-quarters at Thessalonica, had waged four successful campaigns against the Goths, the last being in the year 382. To him Maximus, the usurper of the West, now made proposals for a settlement of the affairs of the Empire. It was agreed that the sovereignty of the country beyond the Alps should be confirmed to Maximus, that Valentinian should retain Italy, together with Illyricum and Africa, and that Theodosius should reign in the East.

Of the three rulers among whom the Roman world was thus again divided the weakest and

most amiable was Valentinian. He fixed his capital at Milan, at this time the most orthodox city in Italy. The young Caesar, however, was an Arian in belief, having been so trained by his mother Justina. This diversity in faith brought on a conflict between him and Saint Ambrose, who, in the endeavor to correct the Emperor's views, went so far as to set at nought his authority. In order to sustain himself in his attitude of defiance he produced a series of alleged miracles which, appealing to the superstition of Valentinian, kept him par-

victory left Theodosius master of the Roman world; but instead of assuming the sole sovereignty of the Empire he restored Italy and the West to Valentinian. Meanwhile Abrogastes, an officer in the army of the latter, had broken with his master and declared himself independent. When Valentinian, after the departure of Theodosius, undertook to reduce his refractory subject to obedience, he was himself captured and executed. The rebellious chief, however, instead of seizing the throne for himself, conferred it upon a certain grammarian named EUGENIUS, recently secretary of the Imperial household.

With the last revolution came a fitful revival of ancient heathenism. Eugenius, as well as Abrogastes, was a pagan, and he made haste to revolutionize the existing order by restoring the ancient temples and reinstituting the temple of the gods. Once more the Vestal Virgins were seen ascending the hill of the Capitol to perform the sacred rites according to the usage of antiquity. So complete was this temporary triumph of the pagan party that the statue of Victory was replaced before the Curia Julia and news was sent to Saint Ambrose that the principal Christian church in Rome was about to be converted into a *stable*! Theodosius, hearing of these high-handed proceedings, again marched to the west, gained a passage through the Julian Alps, and in A. D. 394 won a complete victory over Eugenius. The latter was captured and put to death. Abrogastes killed himself. The images of the gods were knocked from their pedestals. The Victory was again removed from the Forum. The temples were shut up, and sacrifices interdicted. Pagan worship was prohibited throughout the Empire; nor is the tradition wanting that the Senate by a formal resolution declared Christianity to be the religion of Rome.

In the year following these events Theodosius died. In the mean time the Goths, who during the larger part of the century had been beating against the borders of the Empire, had at last obtained a foothold south of the Danube. It appears to have been the policy of the Emperors from Diocletian to Theodosius to encourage the establishment of



GOLD MEDAL OF THEODOSIUS.

alyzed. The pagans appealed to him to restore to the forum the statue and altar of Victory; but an army led by Valentinian came down upon Italy, and he and his mother flying to the East put themselves under the protection of Theodosius. They were kindly received, but on condition that their faith should be conformed to the orthodox standard. Theodosius then espoused their cause. Advancing against Maximus he defeated him at Siscia, on the Save, and drove him into Aquileia, where he was taken and put to death. The

a Gothic kingdom on the right bank of the river. It was believed that by such a measure a barrier could be built up against the barbarians who roamed at large through the forests of Dacia, beyond the Danube. A division of the Gothic nation into Ostrogoths and Visigoths was effected; the latter name, signifying West Goths, being applied to the civilized and Christianized inhabitants who by permission of the Emperors had become fixed in Hither Dacia; and the former designating the native tribes that spread out from the left bank of the Danube to the steppes of Scythia.

Such was the condition of affairs when the Asiatic HUNS, a vast and barbarous horde, crossed the Volga and the Don, and about the year 374—driving the Alani before them—fell upon the dominions of the Goths, now ruled by their great king HERMANARIC. The latter was defeated and slain. His subjects were driven pell-mell before the hungry savages of the North-east. Thus, by the sheer force of barbarian pressure in the rear, vast masses of Ostrogoths were flung across the Danube and precipitated, *volens volens*, upon their former countrymen, the Visigoths of Dacia. The latter were thus agitated, displaced, forced from their settlements upon other districts of the Empire. By these great movements the passes of the Danube fell into the hands of the barbarian nations; and Valens, then Emperor, attempting to regain what was lost, was himself, in A. D. 378, disastrously defeated by the Goths. The flood of barbarism then spread over Thrace and Macedonia, and even Constantinople was threatened with capture.

On the accession of Theodosius the Great, he at once attempted to recover the lost territories and to restore the line of the Danube. Nor were his efforts unattended with success. As much as military force could do to repress the barbarian hordes was accomplished during the reign of this distinguished prince. But no power short of a counter deluge could effectually overwhelm the swarming tribes that kept beating upon the Danubian frontier.

Before his death Theodosius had designated his two sons, ARCADIVS and HONORIUS, as his successors in the Empire. The line dividing the Imperial dominions into an East and a West

was drawn through Illyria. The Western division was assigned to Honorius, while the Eastern was retained by Arcadius. The latter at his accession, A. D. 395, was but eighteen years of age; the younger brother, eleven. It was the bad fortune of the former to select as his minister a certain Rufinus, who presently proved disloyal; but Honorius selected as his main reliance in the state a man of different character. A certain Stilicho, son of a Vandal officer who had served with distinction in the army of Valens, had been appointed by Theodosius as guardian of his younger son, and the latter on his accession to the throne of the West had the good sense to retain the veteran general as his minister.

The first care of the latter was to strengthen the northern boundaries of the Empire intrusted to his ward. To this end he added fresh garrisons to the fortresses on the Rhine, and reëstablished the Wall of Severus in Britain. Soon afterwards he suppressed a revolt in Africa, headed by a rebellious governor named Gildo. This being done he turned his attention to the East, where his rival, Rufinus, was in the ascendant. The latter had been suspected, not without good grounds, of having procured by intrigue the invasion of the Eastern Empire by the Goths. Nor could his suppression and death by Stilicho have been justly condemned, but for the fact that his taking off was by the hand of an assassin.

The year 396 was marked by the great Gothic invasion conducted by the celebrated king ALARIC. The inter-Danubian Goths had been so badly treated by the government of Arcadius that they beckoned to their kinsmen across the river to come to their aid, and then with united forces swept down upon Macedonia and Greece. It was, so far as the remaining monuments of Greek art were concerned, a bitter business; for the Gothic Christians regarded every statue as a relic of that paganism which they had been led to abhor. The devastating flood had already rolled into Peloponnesus before Stilicho, taking up without authority the cause of the East, succeeded, in 398, in checking and turning back the tide. Alaric withdrew into Epirus, where he established himself, and was soon employed by the

jealous Areadius to hold the frontier against his brother.

After a few years spent in consolidating the Gothic kingdom, Alaric, in 402, undertook the conquest of Italy. The defense of the country was intrusted to Stilicho, who mustered his army in Gaul. The Goth advanced into Lombardy and came upon Milan. Honorius sought refuge in Ravenna. Stilicho, having withdrawn his legions from other parts, concentrated his forces in Milan, and Alaric was obliged to retreat. Following up his foe, the Roman fell upon him at Pollentia and again at Verona, inflicting on the barbarian army a terrible overthrow and rout. Alaric, the "All-King," barely escaped to the mountains.

The victory over the barbarians was celebrated by the last triumph ever witnessed in Rome. The walls of the ancient capital had been repaired, and the city was now regaled with the sight of one of those old time spectacles of victory, such as the consuls of the great Republic had been wont to present to the shouting multitudes. The whole ceremony, in which the Emperor himself was a conspicuous figure, was conducted after the pagan fashion; nor might the observer for the time suspect that the old gods were not again triumphant in their ancient abodes.

In the year 404 an event occurred in Rome worthy of note as illustrative of the changes which had now become possible in the sentiments of Roman society. It must be understood that at the first the outer life of the people of the city had been but little influenced by the acceptance of Christianity. After a season, however, the priests began to insist on a more rigid application of the doctrines of the new faith. They declared that cruelty was no part of the Christian system—except, of course, when practiced against the enemies of Christ. The humanitarian spirit grew, especially in times of peace. The Christians became offended at many of the bloody practices which the still abiding paganism of Rome not only tolerated but delighted in. Among these practices the gladiatorial shows held a prominent place. These shows were patronized by the mass of Christians who had no conscience

on the subject. After many expressions of opposition to the spectacles, affairs were at last brought to a crisis by the act of the monk Telemachus, who, when a combat was just beginning in the arena, rushed between the swordsmen and commanded them in the name of Christ to desist. He was instantly cut to pieces, but the spectators were so shocked by the occurrence that the games were closed and presently forbidden by an edict of the Emperor.

The great victory of Stilicho over Alaric was one of those events the results of which disappoint all superficial expectation. In order to repel the invasion, the Roman general had had to withdraw almost all the legions stationed on the frontier. Britain was stripped of defenders, and so were the provinces of the Rhine. This denudation of the border occurred, moreover, at the very time when the barbarians across the exposed frontier were unusually active. All the Germanic nations were in commotion. They shook—comparing great things to small—like bees ready to swarm. No sooner did the tribes discover that the frontier was no longer well covered by the Roman legions than they rose as if from the earth, and under the lead of the terrible chieftain RADAGÆSUS burst upon Italy. The invasion of Alaric was thrown into the shade by the new irruption out of the North. Rome fell into a panic. The pagans began to sacrifice; the Christians went to prayers, and Stilicho mustered his army. With indefatigable industry he gathered and equipped a force sufficient to cope with his enemy. Radagæsus advanced as far as the hill-country of Fiesuke, where with his more than two hundred thousand barbarians he was brought to battle, A. D. 406. Once more the discipline and invincible courage of the Romans prevailed over the naked intrepidity of the men of the North. The German horde was utterly routed. Radagæsus was killed and his Teutonic warriors taken in such numbers that their value as slaves was less than that of cattle.

What, however, did it signify that Stilicho beat down army after army? The flood-gates of barbarism were opened wide, and no power

could avail against the resistless streams that poured in ever-increasing volume upon the South. Gaul was devastated, and Italy awaited her fate. The passages of the Vosges and the Cevennes were seized and held by the barbarians. The feeble Honorius shut himself up at Ravenna, and appealed alternately to the

Olympius. The latter gained an ascendancy not only in the court but over the army. Stilicho sought to save himself by flight. Finding himself abandoned by the soldiers, he took refuge in a church at Ravenna; but his enemies succeeded in enticing him from the altar, and put him to death. His son also was slain,



STILICHO PARLEYING WITH THE GOTHs.

Drawn by H. Leutemann.

church and to Stilicho to save him and the Empire. At this juncture the great general, as it would appear not without good reason, fell under suspicion of disloyalty. He was detected (so it is alleged) in a plot to seize the royal power and confirm the succession to his son. He was deposed by Honorius, who in A. D. 408 conferred the place of minister on

and the estates of the family confiscated. Thus in darkness and ignominy was put out the light of the greatest general of his age.

In the mean time Alarie had again gathered an army, and was preparing for a second descent on Italy. While the cloud hovered ominously in the horizon of the Alps the Emperor, growing smaller with age, was busy with questions

of theology. He issued an edict, in a fit of zeal, for the discharge of all pagan officers from the army. Genserides, the best general of the legions, was thus deposed at the very time when his services were most needed. When, however, the resolute Alaric, descending from Cisalpine Gaul, marched directly on Rome, leaving the puny Emperor shut up in the marshes of Ravenna, the edict was hastily revoked and Genserides restored to his command.

The condition and moods of the intellectual life of Rome in the fifth century are well illustrated in the events that followed. The people knew not whither to turn for help in the great emergency now upon them. Alaric was rapidly advancing from the North. The city had no adequate force of defenders. As the invader swept down through Etruria many fugitives fleeing before him sought safety where it was least likely to be afforded—in the capital. Several of these perturbed spirits of the old Etruscan stock rushed to Pompeianus, prefect of the city, and told him how the gods of Etruria when properly worshiped had rescued a town from the foe. Lightning, blazing out of the skies, had flashed into the faces of the sacrilegious enemy. The prefect gulped down the morsel, and Innocent, the bishop of Rome, gave his assent that the same pagan formula might be tried for the salvation of the imperiled city, but that Christendom must not be scandalized by a *public* celebration of the heathen rites! The Etruscan magi, however, would not yield the point. The rites, to be of any avail, must be public. The Senate must ascend the Capitol in solemn procession, and every thing be done just as the sphinx of antiquity should dictate. The bishop said nothing. And so the ceremonies were performed. The living emergency was postponed while the ghost of Etruscan superstition led the Roman Senate to perform its mummeries on the Capitoline Hill. Meanwhile Alaric sat down with his hosts before the city and waited for famine to open the gates.

When starvation began to gnaw at her vitals the humiliated metropolis sent out an embassy to purchase peace. When Alaric stated his demands and the ambassadors in

despair asked him what he would leave them he coolly answered, "Your lives!" The stern barbarian fixed the price which he would accept in lieu of the surrender of the city at five thousand pounds of gold, thirty thousand pounds of silver, four thousand silken robes, three thousand pieces of scarlet cloth, and three thousand pounds of *pepper*! In order to raise the required ransom the idols of the city were despoiled of their gold and silver trappings to the everlasting mortification of the pagans.

No sooner had Alaric withdrawn than Honorius began to act in bad faith, inasmuch that in the following year (A. D. 409) the Goth returned to Rome and again invested the city. This time he refused a ransom, but insisted on the renunciation of Honorius and the substitution of Attalus in his stead. The latter assumed the offices of pontiff and consul, and Alaric again withdrew in the direction of Ravenna. Later in the same year the anti-pagan party gained the ascendancy and Attalus was obliged to fly for his life. Hearing of the contempt thus shown to his officer, Alaric speedily returned and for the third time fell upon the city. The hour of doom had struck. It was August of A. D. 410, just eight hundred years from the date of the capture of Rome by the Gauls. An attempted defense by the people proved to be worse than futile. The city was taken. For six days the soldiers of the North were loosed among the remaining palaces and temples of the once imperial capitol. Still the city was not destroyed as in the days of Brennus. There was no burning except of separate buildings and for particular reasons. Many persons were killed—men in defense of their homes, women in defense of their honor.

After twelve days of pillage Alaric and his army left Rome and continued their course into Southern Italy. Town after town was sacked until little remained to appease the vengeance or satisfy the greed of the invaders. The social system of Italy was completely broken up. The estates and villas of noblemen were reduced to a ruin; their slaves liberated; themselves reduced to beggary. As to Alaric, he had little skill in statecraft. His

energies were aroused under the stimulus of war, but subsided with the fact of conquest. While meditating to what country he would next turn his arms he fell sick and died at

Consentia. In order that his body might be saved from the gaze of the vulgar and the rage of his foes, he gave direction that it should be buried in the bed of the river Busentinus.



ALARIC BEFORE ROME.—Drawn by A. de Neuville.

The barbarians soon afterwards withdrew from the peninsula. For the present no leader arose capable of wearing Alaric's mantle. The sack of Rome was made the occasion of the promotion of the Christian cause. The pious pagans had tried their sacrifices and incantations as a means of defending the city; but the gods were either sick or on a journey. The Etruscan performance on the Capitol

apocalyptic Babylon, on which for her crimes the wrath of heaven was now poured out from the buckets of barbarism. Under these multiplied assaults paganism went to the wall; for nothing fails like failure.

Alaric, being himself an Arian Christian, had interposed to save Rome from destruction. The city, though pillaged, still survived. With the recession of barbarism the old popu-



THE BURIAL OF ALARIC IN THE BED OF THE BUSENTINUS.

Drawn by H. Leutemann.

seemed to have no visible effect on the Goths outside of the walls. All these failures did the Christians turn to good account. Not only did the event furnish them an opportunity to point to the impotency of pagan ceremonies and to assert that if *they* had been intrusted with the defense of the capital the barbarians would have perished as did the army of Sennacherib, but the zealous believers proceeded to demonstrate that Rome was the

lation in great measure returned and began the work of restoration. **ATAULPHUS**, the Gothic chieftain who succeeded to the command, refused to continue the destructive assaults which had prostrated civil authority in Italy. This somewhat refined barbarian had taken to wife Placidia, the daughter of Theodosius, and by her his resolution to end the war was encouraged. He accordingly left Southern Italy, retired into Spain, and established a

capital at Barcino. He also fixed a head-quarters at Narbo, in the south of Gaul. He took to himself the title of King of the Visigoths, but at the same time was careful to observe his conscientious scruples by remanding Italy to Honorius. That monarch was still maintaining the show of a government in his hiding-places at Milan and Ravenna.

While the Visigoths were thus disposed to settle into quiet and enter the pale of civilization the great regions beyond the Rhine and the Danube were still in a state of violent eruption. Hordes of Suevi, Alani, Vandals, and Burgundians came pouring from a seemingly exhaustless source upon whatever remained of the wealth and culture of the South. They spread themselves into the regions already occupied by the Visigoths. The years 406-412 were occupied with a series of revolts against Honorius. Gratianus and his son Julianus, in Britain, Maximus, in Spain, Heraclianus, in Africa, and Jovinus on the Rhenish frontier, each in his turn organized an insurrection only to be beaten down and destroyed by the captains of Honorius. In Spain the Visigoths succeeded in building a kingdom in the northern provinces, but in the south the Vandals found a footing and gave their name to the modern Andalusia. By the middle of the fifth century the authority of Rome in the Spanish peninsula was utterly extinguished.

When the Gothic king, Ataulphus, died, his widow, Placidia, was sent to the Roman court at Ravenna. One of the generals of the Empire named Constantius received her in marriage, and of this union was born a son who, in A. D. 423, succeeded Honorius, under the title of Valentinian III. The late reign—if reign that might be called which was more a governed than a governing force—had covered a period of thirty-seven years. As a ruler Honorius had become celebrated for his defeats and distinguished for his littleness. After a kindly death had released him from cares and duties which he was never qualified to bear his power—whatever it was—passed without a contest to Valentinian, who was recognized by Theodosius II. The latter had succeeded his father, Arcadius, on the throne

of the Eastern Empire. The Empire of the West had contracted to a narrow compass. Spain and Gaul were hopelessly lost. Pannonia and Illyria were under the heel of the Goth. The Roman supremacy in Britain was tottering to its downfall, and Africa was threatened by the Vandals. The army of the Empire was composed of barbarians.

At this time the leaders of Valentinian's adherents were Aetius and Boniface. The latter was governor of Africa, and was a man of loyalty as well as ability. Aetius, however, poisoned the mind of the court against him, and Boniface, finding that he was on the verge of a downfall, appealed to Genseric, the Vandal king of Spain. The latter at once led his host into Africa, but Boniface, learning that the slanders of his rival at Ravenna had come to naught, reasserted his loyalty and undertook the defense of the African province against the Vandals. For nearly five years the governor, aided by the court of Ravenna, maintained the contest; but Genseric triumphed more and more, and in A. D. 435 Valentinian was obliged to make to him a cession of the whole province from the Atlas to the Great Syrtis. Continuing his conquests the Vandal king subdued the islands of the Mediterranean. He attacked the exposed districts of both the Eastern and the Western Empire. He entered into alliances with the Ostrogoths, the Visigoths, and finally with the Huns; so that what remained of the Roman dominions began to be pressed between two weights of barbarism, the one bearing from the north and the other from the south.

The time had now come for the ferocious Huns, who had accumulated in the trans-Danubian provinces, to lay their terrible hands on the remnants of civilization. Quite unlike the half-civilized Goths and mild-mannered Vandals were these wild Asiatics, who by the impact of their hordes had projected the Gothic tribes into the Empire. This first movement had been accomplished under their king RUGILAS, who was contemporary with Honorius. After the death of the king of the Huns his power descended to his two sons, ATTILA and BLEDA. The first was destined soon to achieve the reputation of being the most terrible har-



GENSERIC'S WARRIORS PLUNDERING A CAMP.

Drawn by A. de Neuville.

barian warrior of all time. He established his court in a stockade on the river Theiss, in Pannonia, which now became Hungary. Here the savage monarch delighted in cultivating the arts of ferocity. He announced his purpose to be the destroyer of the nations, and gladly accepted the title of the "Scourge of God." He first fell upon the outlying provinces of Theodosius. He overthrew the armies of that monarch, and compelled him to pay

the Rhine, carried every thing before him. At Orleans, however, his progress was arrested. Unable to capture the city, he began a retreat; but was followed by the Imperial army, swollen by great accessions of auxiliaries, and was routed in a great battle at CHALONS. He then continued his retreat out of Gaul.

The king of the Huns now became ambitious of an Imperial marriage. In A. D. 452 he demanded the hand of Honoria, sister of



ATTILA IN BATTLE WITH THE VISIGOTHS.

Drawn by H. Vogel.

tribute. He then made war upon the tribes of the Elbe and the Baltic; then turned to the Tartars beyond the Don and the Volga; then wheeled again, and fell upon Thrace and Illyria, destroying seventy cities.

Theodosius and Valentinian now made a league for the purpose of staying the ravages of the infuriated Hun. The latter was induced to turn upon the Visigoths in Gaul. All the nations now united against Attila, who, crossing

the Emperor of the West. Being refused, he undertook an invasion of Italy. The cities of Aquileia, Padua, and Verona were destroyed, and their inhabitants driven into the islands of the Veneti. Here the Huns were unable to pursue them. Perceiving the advantage of the situation, the fugitives began to build, and thus were laid the foundations of Venice. The Huns, continuing their ravages, overran Cisalpine Gaul, but forebore to make an imme-

diate descent into the peninsula. Taking advantage of the lull, Pope Leo the Great went in person to the camp of Attila and interceded for the salvation of Rome. The mind of the barbarian, unawed by mortal terrors, stood respectfully in the presence of the Holy Father,



THE HUNS IN THE BATTLE OF CHALONS.

Drawn by A. de Ne / ille.

and was influenced not a little by his warnings. Valentinian also, quaking with dread, now promised his sister to the king of the Huns as the price of his forbearance. The latter consented to withhold his hand from Italy, and to retire beyond the Alps. In A. D. 453 he returned to his stockade on the Theiss, and came to a mysterious end. He was found on the morning after his marriage with a certain captive named Ildico, stretched on his bed, bathed in blood.

The remaining energy of the Empire of the West had, during these events, been chiefly centered in the minister Aetius. Valentinian himself had little ambition and less ability. He had been obliged to rely upon his counselor and Pope Leo for protection. Scarcely, however, had Attila gone beyond the mountains when the utter meanness of the Emperor's character was shown in the assassination of Aetius, whose only offense consisted in having provoked the jealousy of his narrow-minded master. The latter did not long survive the crime. A senator named Maximus repaid him with the same fate which he had sent to Aetius. The murderer of the Emperor then, after the manner of Richard III., sought the hand of Eudoxia, the widow of his victim; but she, of a different mettle from the Lady Anne, would not be so wooed by the fresh assassin of her lord. Instead of so yielding, she sent a hasty message to Genseric, king of the Vandals, to come over to Italy and avenge her wrongs. To this he readily assented. An enormous host, borne in transports, was landed on the Tiber's banks and directed against Rome. The Pope Leo again undertook, as in the case of Attila, to use the terrors of religion to stay the terrors of barbarism. But Genseric had himself advanced beyond the green stages of barbaric life, and was not to be frightened from his purpose. He merely agreed with the great prelate that the lives of the people should be spared. The latter had in the mean time—hoping by such a course to appease the Vandal king and satisfy Eudoxia—stoned Maximus to death; but nothing would avail. The city was taken, and for twelve days given up to pillage. Fires were kindled in various parts; nor was the

pledge to spare the blood of the citizens observed—as indeed it could not be under the mutual provocations incident to the sacking of the city.

Never before, since the days of old Brennus, had Rome been so terribly despoiled. The gilded tiles were stripped from the Capitol. The Forum was robbed of its ornaments. Barbaric vessels were heaped with gold and silver treasures. The trophies which the ages of victory had hung up in the temple of Peace and the Capitol were snatched down and thrown into the heap of spoils. The Jewish treasures, including the golden candlestick of Solomon's temple, were added to the accumulated plunder with which the Vandals loaded themselves before their departure. Eudoxia and her daughters were taken to Africa, and Genseric insisted that one of the princesses should be given to his son in marriage.

The family of Theodosius the Great was now extinct. As for Rome—

The Niobe of nations! there she stands
Childless and crownless in her voiceless woe,
An empty urn within her withered hands,
Whose holy dust was scattered long ago!

After the retirement of Genseric from Italy the nobles, finding no further legitimacy in the line of the Cæsars, and having little use for a legitimacy which if found, could protect them no longer, called upon AVITUS, a Gaulish patrician of Auvergne, to accept the crown of the Empire. The invitation was accepted, and this foreign nobleman became for the nonce Cæsar of the West. It was not long, however, until the Romans tired of their choice and sent for RICIMER, king of the Suevi, to come and expel the alleged Emperor from the alleged throne. Avitus promptly retired to his own city, but the prominence which had thus been thrust upon him was too great to be borne, and he was presently assassinated.

It appears that Ricimer was more anxious to bestow the crown than to wear it. After an interval of nearly a year, he nominated for the vacant throne another Sueve named MAJORIAN, who, to the astonishment of all, began to diffuse a new life into the more than half-dead body of Rome. The army was reorganized and directed successfully against the as-



PILLAGE OF ROME BY THE VANDALS.

Drawn by H. Vogel.

sailants of Italy. A great expedition was undertaken against Genseric, and an immense land and naval force was sent into Spain. Genseric, however, succeeded in destroying the fleet in the harbor of Carthage, and Majorian was driven back. Ricimer became jealous of the influence which the Emperor had acquired, and contrived his overthrow. In A. D. 461, Majorian was driven from the throne, and in a few days afterwards died, with the suspicion of poison as the cause.

Another creature of Ricimer, named SEVERUS, was now advanced to the so-called throne. About the same time some young pagans at Rome, amusing themselves with the speculation that the reinstitution of heathendom was the thing demanded by the times, set up a certain MARCELLINUS as Emperor. This amusing specter, playing among the shadows, managed, in default of opposition, to gain possession of Dalmatia and hold it for a brief season as his "Empire." He was Cæsar!

Presently the other shadow—Severus—died. For two years Ricimer, who still forebore to become Emperor himself, ruled as chief patrician of Italy. The actual limits of the Western Empire were now contracted to the peninsula, which was the native seat of Roman glory. After an interregnum the Suevian leader nominated a certain ATHEMIUS to the throne of the West. This movement was favored by the party of Marcellinus, and the belief is prevalent among historians that the new Emperor was the representative of the pagans, who, in the general demolition of institutions, had gained a brief ascendancy over the Christians.

Athemius, like Majorian, began to show signs of strength and independence. He obtained the daughter of Ricimer in marriage. He sought the favor of the Emperor of the East, by whom he was recognized. He promoted the reorganization of civil government in Italy. But these abilities and their exercises aroused the jealousy of his father-in-law, who, unable to control the movements of his *protégé* by legitimate means, called from the never-failing source beyond the Alps a new army of barbarians. The horde bore down on the city, and in 472 appeared before the gates.

Athemius, in the mean time, had called to his assistance a certain GILIMER, the Vandal governor of Gaul, who readily accepted the summons and came to the relief of Rome. Between him and the Suevians a battle was fought before the city, and Gilimer was routed. Rome was taken, and for the third time pillaged by the barbarians. Athemius was captured and executed.

Ricimer, having thus reasserted his authority, next called to the throne a nobleman named OLYBRIUS, to whom, by the command of Genseric, Eudoxia had given her second daughter in marriage. The shadow of legitimacy was thus again seen in the court of Ravenna. In a short time, however, both Genseric and Olybrius died. GLYCERIUS was proclaimed by the army of Ricimer, but he resigned almost immediately in favor of JULIUS NEPOS. In the following year (A. D. 475) the latter was also to lay down his authority.

Meanwhile death had cut short Ricimer's career as a king-maker, and his power was transferred to a Paunonian, named ORESTES, who had passed a part of his life in the stockade of Attila. It was this Orestes who, with his title of patrician, compelled Nepos to retire from the throne of Ravenna. Following the example of Ricimer, he forebore to take the throne for himself in order to confer it upon his son, who now at the ripe age of six flourished under the tremendous name of ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS. With him the farce, so long protracted, was destined to come to an end.

Now out of the North came ODOACER, king of the Heruli, a nation of Germans—joined as he was by many other tribes—and demanded that his soldiers (for he had recently been in the service of the Empire) should receive as their reward one-third of the lands of Italy. Orestes refused compliance with this demand, and appealed to the Emperor of the East.

The latter could give no aid. The crisis was at hand. The great clock in the tower of fate sounded solemnly from the direction of the Alps and was heard to the coast-lines of Bruttium. The ghosts of Cæsar's victims rose from the earth, and hovered in dense clouds along the north. Then the apparition became real. Orestes fled behind the walls of Pavia. The

barbarians were already at the gates. In August of A. D. 476 the place was taken by storm. Orestes was seized and put to death. Paulus, his brother, was also executed. The boy Augustulus, too feeble a thing to excite even the anger of contempt, was spared; and he was led away to find a quiet retreat in

with imperious pride upon the wealth and culture of the world. It was the ghost of THE WESTERN EMPIRE OF THE ROMANS! The colossal fabric planted of old time by the patrician fathers, strengthened and made great amid the bloody struggles of the Republic, transformed by the genius of Julius Cæsar,



ODOACER COMPELS AUGUSTULUS TO YIELD THE CROWN.

Drawn by B. Moerlins.

the villa of Lucullus, on the shore of Surrentum. He was followed by a gigantic specter, the skeleton of a shadow tall and gaunt, whose low-fallen jaw had once given out the word of command to the nations from the banks of the Tigris to the chalky cliffs of Britain, whose eye-sockets had once shot lightning into the fierce visage of barbarism, and whose hanging right hand had once been laid for centuries

and disgraced and degraded by the licentiousness of the later Emperors, fell prostrate in the dust and expired. On the broken statue of Victory in the Forum a Gothic soldier sat whetting his sword, and a Gaulish mercenary for the sport of his companions thrust a barbarous spear-head into the nostril of the statue of Jupiter Capitolinus. The god did not resent it.

It has been the custom of most historians to cite the downfall of the Western Empire, in the year 476,¹ as marking the division between Ancient and Modern History. The question is embarrassed with peculiar difficulties. There is such a thing as a line of demarkation between the ancient and the modern world, but it is not easy to be drawn. Like a natural sunset in a region of valleys and mountains, so the orb of antiquity declined on the world. The light still lingered on peaks here and there long after the lowlands were immersed in the shadows. The last peak was not Rome, but Constantinople.

The circumstances of the division of the Empire by Theodosius the Great, in the year 395, will be readily recalled. After that event the forces of the old civilization flowed in two channels. There appears to be no good reason for saying that ancient civilization is at an end until *both* of these currents have sunk into the sand. The Greek Empire having its capital in the City of Constantine, was just as certainly the product of the old forces as was the Roman Empire with its capital in Italy. Why, therefore, should Ancient History be limited by the downfall of the West more than by the downfall of the East? Why should the reigns of the line of sovereigns, beginning with Honorius, be traced to a conclusion in the overthrow of Romulus Augustulus, and not the reigns of the sovereigns of the East, from Arcadius to the final collapse under Constantine XIII.? It would seem necessary, indeed, to the unity and completeness of Ancient History that the course of the Greek Empire should be followed to its close, and included with its natural antecedents in antiquity. To stop with the end of the shorter line of the bifurcated dominion of Rome and leave the longer projected into Modern History would be to mar the unity of both volumes by substituting an artificial for a natural division.

It is therefore decided to resume the narrative from the reign of Theodosius II., in the East, and to trace the history of the Greek Empire down to the capture of Constantinople by the Mohammedans as the natural limit of the

First Volume of the present work. The decision has been reached after full consideration of the fact that the Second Volume must be begun by returning to the establishment of the barbarian kingdom of the Heruli in Italy, and with proper regard to the other fact that in subsequent parts of the work frequent references must be made to the progress of the Eastern Empire, lying, as it does, like a huge anachronism across the earlier ages of Modern History.

In the year 450 the younger THEODOSIUS, who had succeeded his father, Arcadius, on the throne of Constantinople, fell from his horse into the river Lycus and died from his injury. He was succeeded by his sister PULCHERIA, who was the first woman ever raised to the rank of Empress among the successors of Augustus. She owed this distinction, in no small measure, to the influence of the clergy, with whom she was a favorite. Foreseeing, however, the perils to which she was exposed on account of her sex, and distrusting the ability of her friends to support her in the sole sovereignty of the Empire, she determined to take a husband for a colleague. The choice fell upon MARCIAN, a senator sixty years of age, who was at once invested with the purple and associated with his wife in the government.

After a brief joint-reign of three years' duration, Pulcheria died, and Marcian became sole Emperor. He occupied the throne until 457, when he died, after an uneventful reign, and was succeeded by LEO of Thrace.¹ He it was who accepted Anthemius as Emperor of the West, and joined with him in the attempt to overthrow the dominion of Genseric in Spain and Africa. In 466, Dacia was invaded by the Huns, but they were defeated in a great battle by Leo's generals. Two years later a fleet of a thousand ships, under command of Basiliscus, was sent against the African Vandals. The armament reached the bay of Carthage; but was there attacked by night with fire ships, and the whole fleet was either de-

¹ Hereafter the letters "A. D." will be omitted in the citation of dates as being unnecessary.

¹ Leo was crowned by Anatolius, patriarch of Constantinople. The event is noteworthy as being the first instance in which a bishop figured as the chief personage in the coronation of an Emperor.

stroyed or dispersed. The Emperor was seriously embarrassed in his government by the schemes of an Arian leader named Aspar, who intrigued with the Count Ricimer in Italy, and was thought to have instigated an invasion of Thrace by the Goths.

The reign of Leo the Thracian was made memorable by a series of natural disturbances of a sort to alarm the people, and in some measure to chill the prosperity of the country. In the year 458, the city of Antioch was destroyed by an earthquake. In 465, a great part of Constantinople was wrapped in a conflagration. Two years afterwards, rains fell in such a deluge that the river valleys were overwhelmed with floods. Finally, in 472, occurred a great eruption of Vesuvius, which made the earth tremble *as far as Constantinople!*

In 474, the Emperor died, and the crown fell to his grandson, whose barbarous name of Trascaliseus was exchanged for the more musical one of ZENO. He had already held the office of consul, and had been the agent by whom the assassination of Aspar and his sons was procured. Soon after his accession to the throne he was driven out of the kingdom in a revolt headed by Basiliscus, who, notwithstanding the bad fame acquired in his African expedition, was proclaimed Emperor. Zeno, however, succeeded in buying over Harmatius, the nephew of Basiliscus, and by his support came back to power. He then appointed Illus as consul and minister of state, and gave himself up to an ignominious career of ease and pleasure.

The year 478 was marked by an invasion of the Goths, but the Emperor secured their retirement with the payment of money. In the following year a serious insurrection in the city was suppressed by the bribery of the troops. A second Gothic incursion was warded off by the same means as the first, and in the third the leader of the Gothic nation was induced to take service in the Empire. In 484 he was appointed consul, whereupon Illus revolted, and was put to death. This leader of the Gothic tribes, now raised to such high influence in the state, was Theodoric the Great, soon to become the Ostrogothic king of Italy.

To Zeno is attributed the beginning of the

movement by which the chieftain of the barbarians was raised to power in the West. The Eastern Emperor quarreled with his consul, and then in order to save himself from the anger of Theodoric, persuaded him to lead the Ostrogoths into Italy. The result was the overthrow of the kingdom of the Heruli planted by Odoacer in that country, and the establishment of the Ostrogothic kingdom in its stead.

It is narrated that Zeno met a horrible fate. His wife, Ariadne, who had been faithful to him in his exile, proved unfaithful in his prosperity. Having conceived for her lord an intense dislike, she had him buried alive while drunk. It appears that the Empress was already engaged in an intrigue with ANASTASIUS DICORUS, a captain of the guard, who, on the decease of her husband, in 491, was proclaimed Emperor of the East. A certain Longinus, brother of Zeno, immediately organized a revolt, and a struggle ensued, in which Anastasius finally came off victorious. Other rebellions followed, and these were aggravated by earthquakes, plagues, and famines. At times the Empire seemed to totter, and the people were reduced to the greatest extremity. The closing years of the fifth century were still further disturbed by the aggressions of the Persians, who, under their king Cabades, invaded the Empire, and for a while threatened its extinction. In 505, however, Anastasius procured the withdrawal of the Persians by the payment of enormous tribute.

Scarcely had the eastern invader returned to their own country when the Empire was distracted by religious heresy, the work of the priests named Eutyches and Nestorius. The former became the founder of the sect known as the Monophysites, who maintained the singleness of the nature of Christ. His doctrines had been condemned as early as the year 448, in a council at Constantinople; but the party survived, and the heresy was espoused by Anastasius. For this he fell under the ban of the church, and was anathematized by Pope Symmachus.

Meanwhile a war broke out on the Dacian frontier. This province, though within the boundary of the Eastern Empire, had been

taken under the protection of Theodoric, by whom the Dacians were supported in their rebellion. In the great battle of Margus, fought in 505, the Goths and Huns were completely triumphant, and the army of the Emperor was almost annihilated. In order to be revenged on Theodoric, Anastasius sent out a squadron of two hundred ships to assail the coasts of Calabria and Apulia. The ancient city of Tarentum was taken, and the trade of the southern provinces broken up—all this while Anastasius and Theodoric were nominally at peace. The Ostrogothic king soon organized a fleet, and was able to dictate an honorable peace.

The discovery had now been made that the Empire in its eastern parts was exposed to the inroads of the Persians. The cupidity of that hardy people was inflamed by the wealth and luxury which, having their center at Constantinople, were diffused in the adjacent parts of Europe and Asia. Appreciating their own weakness, the Emperors devised many means of protecting the capital against the incursions of a foe whom they dreaded. Anastasius adopted the expedient of a rampart. A great wall, sixty miles in length, was built from the Propontis to the Euxine, and behind this the Emperor felt secure. He died in 518, after a reign of twenty-seven years, and was succeeded by JUSTIN THE ELDER, at that time commander of the Imperial guards.

The accession of this military veteran was accomplished by means of an intrigue. On the death of Anastasius, the chief eunuch of the court, having control of the treasury, undertook to elevate to the throne a certain favorite, named Theodatus. To this end he intrusted a large sum of money to Justin for the purpose of securing the support of the Imperial guards; but Justin employed the donative in his own behalf, and was duly proclaimed. He was already sixty-eight years of age, ignorant alike of politics and letters. The management of public affairs was committed to the quaestor Proclus; but the Emperor knew enough of the ways of men and the spirit of his times to adopt the usual methods of disposing of political rivals. Charges of conspiracy were brought against the chief eunuch, Anantius, and he was executed. Theodatus was first imprisoned, and then murdered. Vitalian, a Gothic chieftain, who had taken part in the civil war against Anastasius, and was held in too great esteem for his own welfare, was enticed to a banquet, and there assassinated. In looking for a successor the Emperor chose and adopted as his heir his nephew, FLAVIUS JUSTINIAN, surnamed the Great. The latter, unlike the reigning monarch—though the two were natives of the same village—was a man of literary culture, who combined in himself many of the qualities requisite in a successful sovereign.

CHAPTER LXVII.—AGE OF JUSTINIAN.



IN the year 527 JUSTINIAN succeeded his uncle on the throne. He was already married to the celebrated Theodora, a woman beautiful as she was unscrupulous, who had been a comédienne of low repute beyond the pale of decent society. In spite of public opinion and the opposition of his friends, Justinian persisted in legalizing his relations with this brilliant adventuress, and then in seating her on

the throne with himself. She was made his colleague in the government, and for twenty-two years her demoralizing influence appeared ever and anon in the affairs of the state.

Mention has already been made in the history of the institutions of Rome of the existence of factions in the theaters and circuses. The spectators at the games were divided into two parties, distinguished by badges and insignia. The contestants in a race or gladiatorial combat were applauded by their respective supporters. The same usages prevailed at Con-

stantinople. The partisans were known as the "Blue" and the "Green" faction, from the color of their badges. Nearly all the people of the city were adherents of the one or the other of these parties, and violent tumults were the not infrequent result of contentions engendered at the circus. The reigning sovereign and the members of the Imperial household condescended to participate in these unseemly broils. Justinian and Theodora were zealous partisans of the Blue faction, and that party was the upholder of orthodoxy in religion as against the schismatics and heretics.

Five years after the beginning of the new reign, the Green party gained a temporary ascendancy in Constantinople, and in the struggles which ensued for the mastery, a great part of the city was reduced to ashes. The insurgents proceeded to revolution, and a certain HYPATIUS, nephew of Anastasius, was proclaimed Emperor. The government, however, was saved from overthrow by the energies of BELISARIUS, who now appears on the scene as the greatest general of the age. The Blue party was restored to authority; the insurrection was suppressed, and Hypatius put to death.

In the foreign relations of the government, Justinian used both money and force. The Persians, under Chosroes I., had again begun the war, which had slumbered for a season. From them a truce was purchased, and then Belisarius was sent with a large army to suppress Gelimer, who had usurped the throne of the Vandals in Africa. The expedition was crowned with success. Carthage was taken and Gelimer was sent a prisoner to Constantinople. The Vandal kingdom was overthrown and the Arian heresy, of which Gelimer had been the defender, was suppressed.

These movements tended powerfully to restore the influence of the Empire in the West. Belisarius established stations in Spain and then carried his victorious arms through Sicily into Italy. In that country, Athalaric, the grandson of Theodoric the Great, was now dead; and after the regency of his mother, Amalasontha, the Ostrogothic throne had passed to THEODATUS. Belisarius conquered Naples and advanced on Rome, where the people rose

in revolt, deposed and killed Theodatus, and in 536 opened the gates to the army of Belisarius. Three years afterwards he reduced Ravenna, overthrew Vitiges, king of the Ostrogoths, and was on the eve of restoring the whole of Italy to Justinian, when the latter, filled with envy at the fame acquired by his great general, recalled him to Constantinople.

In 541 Chosroes was driven beyond the confines of Syria. A little later, when Totila, the successor of Vitiges, having restored the kingdom at Ravenna, was marching on Rome, Belisarius was summoned by his master and again sent into Italy; but the jealous fit soon returned, and the command of the army was transferred to Narses. In 552 the ancient capital, which had been already *four times* taken during Justinian's reign, again fell into his power. Totila was slain in battle, and his successor Teias, the last of the Ostrogothic kings of Italy, perished in the following year.

The Franks and Alemanni now poured down from the North, but Narses defeated them and established himself as "Exarch of Ravenna"—holding his fief subject to the Emperor of the East.

Chosroes I., king of Persia, had meanwhile renewed the conflict, and the war continued with varying successes until 561, when Justinian purchased a peace by the payment of an enormous annual tribute. The barbarians beyond the Danube were also bought off from their incursions, and the line of fortresses along the river was extended and strengthened.

In the administration of civil affairs there was little to be commended in the reign of Justinian. His methods were tyrannical; his habits luxurious. Corruption and bribery were the favorite means of attaining the ordinary ends of government. The public buildings of the time were ostentatious rather than grand. The church of St. Sophia, founded by Constantine in 325, was rebuilt and ornamented with extravagant expenditures. The disposition of the Emperor was fully illustrated in his treatment of Belisarius. This able veteran, after he was superseded by Narses, was driven into disgrace and privacy until the year 559, when an invasion of the Empire by the Bulgarians again made him necessary to Jus-

tinian. After gaining a great victory over the invaders, the old general was a third time disgraced and thrown into prison. It is narrated that his eyes were put out, and that he was turned a beggar into the streets of Constantinople, though this atrocious tradition has been denied by several historians, notably by the careful Gibbon.

The AGE OF JUSTINIAN, however, is and will always remain celebrated for another class of activities more honorable to the sovereign, more valuable to the world. It was the era in which the body of the Civil Law of the Empire was sifted from the rubbish of centuries and reduced to a code. It was now almost thirteen centuries from the founding of the city of Rome. The statutes, precedents and practices of the Republic and the Empire lay strewn along the course of Roman history all the way from the days of the Twelve Tables to the days of Justiu. The practice and administration of law had become almost hopelessly confused. A collection of the constitutions of the Empire had been undertaken by Theodosius, but the work was not satisfactorily accomplished. The task was now resumed under the patronage of Justinian. During his whole reign, indeed, much attention had been bestowed upon the study and practice of law in Constantinople, and an able body of jurists had grown up about the Imperial residence.

Ten of the most distinguished of these, with the quæstor, Johannes, and the great lawyer, Tribonian, at the head, were appointed as a commission to undertake a complete revision and digest of the laws and constitutions of the Empire. The Emperor himself gave instructions as to the nature and extent of the contemplated work. The commissioners were to

select and arrange all that was still vital in the preceding codes and to give to what was retained the briefest possible expression. Every thing which had been abrogated or had become obsolete with the lapse of time was to be omitted. Such alterations were to be introduced as were manifestly demanded by the altered conditions of political and civil society. The whole, when completed and ar-



BLIND BELISARIUS.

After the painting by F. Gerard.

ranged, was to be divided under appropriate titles.

After fourteen months of assiduous application the commissioners completed their task. The work was approved by Justinian and published in twelve Books. This great production, known as the *Codex Vetus*, or Old Code, is now entirely lost. Another work, however, known as the *Pandects*, prepared by a second commission from the writings, decisions, and

commentaries of the old jurists of the Empire, has been preserved and constitutes the basis of the civil law in most civilized countries. The compilation, consisting of fifty Books, was completed after three years of work on the part of the commission, again headed by Tribonian, and was published under the title of the *Digest and Pandects of the Eliminated Law collected from all the Ancient Law*. The work was intended as a practical compend so arranged and entitled as to make the practice of law in the Imperial courts easy and expeditious.

The record of Justinian's reign should not be closed without a brief reference to the introduction of the silk-worm into Europe. By the time of Justinian the Christian missionaries had penetrated to the corners of the known world. They had planted churches on the pepper-coast of Malabar and in the island of Ceylon. Others had penetrated China, and two Persian monks had taken up their residence in the city of Nankin. Here they saw with wonder and delight the work of the silk-worm. They easily learned by observation the whole process, from the hatching of the egg to the weaving of the web. Nor was the climate and vegetation of the region dissimilar to that of many parts of Europe. The monks perceived that the transfer of living worms to so great a distance would be impossible; but the eggs could be carried to any country, however remote. The Persian fathers accordingly hollowed out their canes, filled them with the precious eggs, and bore away in triumph a richer spoil than had been gathered by battle and conquest. The brood was easily hatched under direction of the monks; the young worms, nourished on mulberry-leaves, soon took to wing, and Europe had gained a butterfly which contained in her delicate body the treasures of the East.

In 565 Justinian died, and was succeeded on the throne of the Eastern Empire by his nephew, JUSTIN II. The latter owed his elevation to craft. While his cousins, the co-heirs of the Imperial crown, were absent fighting Justinian's battles, he remained in the capital courting the favor of the monarch, who as he grew old also grew susceptible of blandishments. Justin also knew how to as-

sume the possession of virtues which he had not; and by a parade of generosity he succeeded in winning the applause of the circus. Thus fortified, he easily maintained his claim to the throne, and was recognized as the legitimate successor of Justinian.

For a season the new Emperor ran well. He adopted a liberal policy. Offenders, political and other, were freely pardoned. The debts contracted by the preceding sovereign, who had been lavish in expenditure, were liquidated; and an edict was issued granting religious toleration throughout the Empire.

It was not long, however, until the claws of another beast appeared under the lamb-skin. The drama of blood began with the murder of Justin, cousin of the Emperor—his offense consisting in his kinship. Others met a similar fate. Then began a corruption of the administration. The public offices were sold to procure money for the further degradation of the service. Oppression and rapacity were resorted to as a means of quieting creditors, old and new. The government became odious. Private piques and personal hatred poisoned the capital, and then spat venom on the army. The Empress Sophia, disliking Narses, now the exarch of Ravenna, procured an edict for his deposition. But the old general was not to be so easily disposed of. He invited the Longobards, or Lombards, to descend from their native seats in the North and ravage Italy. In 568 they poured through the Julian Alps, under the lead of their great king Alboin, and devastated the country as far south as the Tiber. They chose Pavia as their capital, and gave the name of Lombardy to the valley of the Po. Narses was amply revenged; but the hope which he had cherished of being restored to the exarchy by the Lombards was blown away, and he is said to have died of despair.

While these events were fulfilled in the West, the Persians once more rose against the Empire in the East. They fell upon Syria, ravaged the country, and took the city of Dara. When the news of these disasters was borne to Justin his jealous and cruel brain was thrown into a fever of excitement, which presently ended in insanity. The government

devolved upon the Empress Sophia, who had already, in 574, procured the adoption of Tiberius, captain of the guards, as heir-apparent to the throne. In 578, a few days before the Emperor's death, TIBERIUS was proclaimed Augustus.

Bitter was the disappointment of the intriguing Sophia. She had confidently expected to become the wife of a second Cæsar; and indeed Tiberius had promised to make her his queen. After the manner of the world, however, he forgot his promise when the prize had been gained. When the factions of the hippodrome began to clamor for the proclamation of an Empress, Tiberius astonished the city by announcing the name of Anastasia, a wife to whom he had been secretly married. Sophia was retained at the court and loaded with honors. Albeit, Tiberius may have supposed that *these* could suffice for the baffled hope!

Soon he had cause to learn that the woman slighted is ever the same. Sophia accepted her honors, smiled and smiled—and made a conspiracy. She took into her confidence the general Justinian, son of Germanus, and him persuaded to disloyalty. He had recently achieved great fame in the ever-recurring wars with Persia, and the applause of the eastern army had filled his ears with the hum of ambition. The Emperor was at the time enjoying a respite in the country, when the ex-empress and her confederate attempted to consummate their plot. But Tiberius came to the windward of the scheme, returned to the city, and the conspiracy was easily overthrown.

Somewhat better—perhaps wiser—than his generation, the Emperor employed no harsh measures against those who had plotted his downfall. On the contrary, he contented himself with reducing Sophia to a humbler position in the state, and permitted Justinian to escape with a reprimand. The Emperor gave himself the name of Constantine, and would tain be regarded as the Marcus Aurelius of the Later Empire. Nor was his claim to be so considered without a valid foundation in fact. Humanity, justice, and self-restraint were the qualities exhibited in his life and character. The government at once reacted from its downward tendency, and began to show signs of

vigor and virtue. The war with Persia was prosecuted with more success than at any time since the days of Constantine. Great was the misfortune to the Empire when so prosperous a reign was so suddenly cut short by the death of the sovereign. In 582 the Emperor died, and was succeeded by the soldier MAURICE, whom he designated as heir to the throne.

Again the choice was a blessing to the state. The new Emperor had been disciplined in the army, and had greatly distinguished himself for valor and probity during the Persian war. After his accession his military renown was heightened by successful campaigns against the Avars of the Danube. In the East he dignified the name of the Empire, even at the court of Persia, where he restored to the throne Chosroes II., who had been deposed in a revolution. An alliance was effected between the king and his protector, and the eastern army could now be withdrawn to operate in the West.

It was an attempt of Maurice to carry the reforms already instituted in the civil administration into the army that led to his deposition and death. The legions of the Danube, impatient of salutary restraint, revolted under PHOCAS, one of the centurions, whom they proclaimed Emperor, and under whom they marched on Constantinople. When they neared the capital, a tumult arose in the city; for the mobocratic party there turned also against the virtuous Maurice, and joined with his enemies. The Emperor and his household fled to Chalcedon. Phocas entered the city in triumph, and the Green faction of the hippodrome was again in the ascendant. The Blues still adhered to the fortunes of Maurice, whose life soon paid the forfeit of their support. In 602 executioners were sent by Phocas to Chalcedon, and Maurice and his five sons were dragged from the sanctuary of Saint Antoninus and put to death with an aggravation of cruelty.

Great was the contrast between the virtues of the late and the present Emperor. Phocas was brutal and ignorant, regardless of law and the despiser of virtue. His conduct in the administration of affairs was despotic and degrading. If he spared the female members of

the family of his predecessor, the act was capricious rather than merciful. But Constantia, the loyal widow of Maurice, could not forget the virtues of her lord. With a purpose worthy of success she conspired against Phocas, but was taken and executed with her three daughters on the same spot where her husband and sons had perished.

These events brought about a reaction, which ended in a rebellion. The African legions, led by HERACLIUS, exarch of that province, marched on Constantinople. The patrician Crispus, son-in-law of the Emperor, was in the conspiracy. Between him and Heraclius messages were passed back and forth. Phocas was presently seized in his palace, stripped of his robes, clad like a peasant, thrust in a galley, and carried to Heraclius, by whom he was beheaded. The African exarch was then, in the year 610, invited by the Senate and people to assume the duties of government. With him the throne was shared by his wife Eudoxia, and a new dynasty was thus established over the Eastern Empire.

Meanwhile the Persian monarch Chosroes, offended by the murder of his patron, the Emperor Maurice, took up arms to avenge his death. The Persian banners were carried victoriously from city. After the accession of Heraclius the conquest was continued to Antioch, Casarea, Damascus, and Jerusalem. The latter city was stormed by the Persians. The tomb of Christ and the churches of Helena and Constantine fell into their hands, and were pillaged and destroyed. Ninety thousand Christians were killed in the course of the campaign. A second Persian army advanced against Chalcedon, and lay for more than ten years almost in sight of Constantinople. For the time being, the boundaries of the Persian Empire in the West were extended well-nigh to the limits reached by Cyrus and Cambyses. Suppliant embassies, sent by Heraclius to the Persian court, were dismissed with disdain. The Avars of the Danube, still unsubdued, now renewed the war; and, so far as the administration of legitimate authority was concerned the limits of the Empire were suddenly almost contracted to the walls of Constantinople.

In the midst of the great emergencies by

which he was pressed, Heraclius suddenly developed the qualities of a soldier. In six successive campaigns he retrieved the honor of the Roman name. North, east, and west the enemies of the Empire were thrust back to the borders. In order to meet the expenses of the expeditions, the already accumulated wealth of the church was borrowed with a promise of restoration at some future day. New levies were made, and the army enlarged proportionally to the dangers of the Empire.

In the year 622 a great expedition was led against the Persians. Heraclius entered Cilicia, and succeeded in drawing the enemy into a general engagement. A fierce battle ensued, in which the old-time valor of the Romans shone forth in its pristine glory. The Persians were disastrously routed, and the Emperor made his camp on the Halys. In the following year he penetrated the heart of the Persian Empire, where city after city was taken and province after province subdued. For nearly a year he disappeared from sight; but early in 624 his safety and continued successes were announced to the Senate. Soon afterwards a bloody battle was fought on the banks of the Sarus, in Cilicia, in which the Imperial army was again victorious. The Emperor then continued his triumphant course through Cappadocia to the Euxine, whence he returned, after three years' absence, to Constantinople.

In 627 the Persians, not yet satisfied with the results of the contest, again entered the field with an army computed at five hundred thousand men. Heraclius immediately advanced to the frontier, crossed the Araxes and the Tigris, and met the enemy on the plains of Nineveh. Here was fought one of the greatest battles which had occurred since the days of Julius Caesar. From the morning dawn to the eleventh hour the contest raged fiercely; but at the last victory rested on the standards of the Empire. Heraclius followed up his triumph by the capture of Dastagerd, then the royal seat of Persia, filled with the treasures of the kingdom. The coffers of the Oriental monarch were emptied into the bags of Heraclius, and the latter then made his way to Ctesiphon.

Great was the humiliation of Chosroes at

the destruction of his capital; but the stubborn king was little disposed to accept the overtures of peace made by his victorious antagonist. Already falling into the sere and yellow leaf, the aged monarch would confer the crown upon his son Merdaza. But a malcontent element now gained the ascendant in the government, and in 628 Chosroes was seized and thrown into a dungeon. His eighteen sons were put to death before his eyes, and he himself left to perish in prison. Hereupon a certain SIROES, son of a favorite wife of the late king, was raised to the throne, and with him a treaty of peace was presently concluded. The new monarch survived the murder of his father only eight months, and with his death the Sassanian dynasty, which had ruled Persia since the year 226, became extinct.

As the reign of Heraclius drew to a close he designated his two sons, Constantine and Heraclionas, as his successors; but they were directed to await the death of the Empress Martina. When Heraclius expired in 641 Martina attempted to assume the government alone, but she was soon obliged to descend from the throne and hide herself in the palace. Constantine III. was then proclaimed Emperor, but after a reign of only a hundred and three days was dismissed by poison. Martina reappeared to claim the throne, taking care, however, to exercise authority in the name of the surviving Augustus. The jealousy of the Senate, as well as the suspicions of the people, was now directed against the ambitious regent, and she was condemned to have her tongue cut out and to go into exile.

The young CONSTANS II., eldest son of Constantine III., was now recognized as Emperor. Jealous of his younger brother, Theodosius, he had him raised to the office of deacon in the church, thereby disqualifying him for the succession. Not satisfied, however, against the possibilities of ambition, he afterwards had his brother assassinated. The crime was so monstrous, so unprovoked, that in 662 the criminal was driven from the throne. He wandered into foreign lands, visiting Tarentum and Rome in Italy, and finally fixing his residence in Syracuse. Like Charles IX., he

was haunted with specters that menaced him with vengeance. His murdered brother's ghost stood before him holding in a shadowy hand a cup of blood, saying, "Drink, brother, drink!" At last Constans was killed in a civil tumult in Syracuse, in 668, after a nominal reign of seventeen years.

As soon as the news of this event reached Constantinople, CONSTANTINE IV., eldest son of the late sovereign, was proclaimed as his successor. The young monarch received the name of Pogonatus or the "Bearded." Going to Syracuse he overthrew a pretender who had arisen there after the death of his father. Notwithstanding the fact that the new sovereign was received with favor and was enthusiastically contrasted with his father, he soon became embroiled in difficulties, which continued during his whole reign of ten years. His two brothers, Heraclius and Tiberius, organized a dangerous conspiracy, but they were finally suppressed and captured. In the presence of the Catholic bishops then assembled in the sixth general council at Constantinople, the culprits were at once disgraced and punished by the cutting off of their noses.

In 685 Constantine IV. died and was succeeded by his son JUSTINIAN II. The young man, however, had few qualities requisite in a sovereign. His understanding was no more than commonplace. His intelligence rose to the level of being proud of his patrimony. He was of a cruel and passionate disposition, vindictive and revengeful, inflicting punishment rather from the love of it than from the ignominious motive of fear. For nearly ten years, despite the criminality of his reign and the consequent hostility of the people, he continued to disgrace the throne and persecute his subjects. At last, however, in 695, forbearance ceased to be a virtue, and LEONTIUS, the popular general of the guards, headed an insurrection for the overthrow of the tyrant. Justinian was seized and dragged into the hippodrome, where the people clamored for his life, but Leontius interfered in his behalf and the sentence was modified. The miserable Emperor was condemned to be cut off as to his nose and tongue, and to be banished to Tartary.

Notwithstanding his mutilation and disgrace, the exile still dreamed of a return to power. Nor were his hopes without a shadow of foundation. In the capital a certain Abismarus headed a revolt against Leontius, who had been proclaimed after the downfall of Justinian, and Leontius in his turn was subjected to the same punishment which he had inflicted on his predecessor. The successful rebel took to himself the name of Tiberius, and he was reluctantly accepted by the people.

The sympathies of the citizens were still with the House of Heraclius, notwithstanding the crimes which had been committed in its name. There were some even who could look to the exile Justinian as a possible relief from the ills inflicted by the usurper. That dethroned monarch had now escaped from the khan of Tartary, and was hunting through the East in the hope of some profitable alliance. He finally came back to Europe, where he made a league with the Bulgarians, to whose king, Terbelis, he gave his daughter in marriage. The confederates then marched on Constantinople. The city was besieged. Tiberius was overthrown, and Justinian again took the throne. For seven years he continued in power, where his character manifested some improvement. In vindictive fury against his old enemies, however, his passions burned as fiercely as ever. While returning home across the Euxine, though the ship at that moment was tossed in a fearful storm, he had sworn an oath that not one of his enemies should escape with his head. He now renewed his declaration. Leontius and Tiberius were dragged out into public view and put to death with torture. Their adherents were hunted down and executed. Every weapon which malice and revenge could invent were freely used against those who had contributed to his banishment. To Stephen, captain of the guards, appropriately surnamed the savage, was committed the duty of exterminating

those who had participated in the revolution of 695. His anger was especially directed against the inhabitants of the Chersonesus, who had insulted him during his banishment.

But it was not long until these proceedings bore the legitimate fruit of an insurrection. The provincials, many of whom were the descendants of exiled families, found a leader in a certain BARDANES, surnamed Philippicus, who was proclaimed Emperor. The Imperial guards turned from Justinian and joined the insurgents. The Emperor soon found himself abandoned of all. In the year 711 his enemies closed in upon his palace, and he was struck down by an assassin. He had lived without mercy to others, and now died without their regret. His young son, to whom he had looked as a successor in the Empire, fled for refuge to a church, but was pursued and killed. With his death the dynasty of Heraclius was extinguished, after having occupied the throne for a century.

After the death of Justinian, the insurgent Philippicus reigned for two years, but in 713 was assassinated in his chamber. Thereupon a certain Artemius, under the title of ANASTASIUS II., was elevated to the throne. Though having few antecedent claims to the Imperial authority, he began immediately to win by his virtues that recognition which he could never hope to attain according to the rules of legitimacy. But the spirit of insubordination and rebellion was now rife in the Empire, and a mutiny in the fleet soon robbed the state of a wise and prudent ruler. Anastasius finding himself pressed to the wall by the mutineers, resigned the scepter to his antagonist, who was proclaimed as THEODOSIUS III. The latter, however, had in his temporary ascendancy no abiding root of strength, and after a brief reign of a few months' duration, he was, in 717, compelled to submit to the superior claims of LEO, the Isaurian, general of the eastern army.

CHAPTER LXVIII.—THE ICONOCLASTS.



WITH the ruler who now ascended the throne with the title of Leo III. began a new dynasty. The Emperor's preceding reputation was wholly military, and his elevation to the Imperial office must be referred to the partiality of the soldiers. Nevertheless his accession to power was hailed with the general acclaim of the people. Such were his abilities that friends and foes alike were compelled to acknowledge the fortuitous wisdom of the army.

Now it was that the Saracens, frenzied with religious zeal, blown up like a cloud of locusts from the south, settled before Constantinople. For two years the city was besieged by Omar II., and it was falsely noised through the world that the Eastern Empire had been subjugated by a caliph; but this premature alarm was soon quieted by the destruction of the Arab fleet, which was defeated in two engagements, and consumed by the Greek fire discharged from the armament of Leo.

A great dispute now arose among the Christian sects relative to the use of images in the churches and religious services. The spirit of paganism had to a certain extent pervaded the thought of the Christian world. As the old statues of the gods were borne about by the processions of their worshipers, so the effigies of the Christ and his mother, of the saints and the martyrs, were given a conspicuous place by the ecclesiasts of the early centuries, and were received with devout adoration by the worshipers. This questionable tendency had been criticised and opposed not a little by the more zealous fathers of the church, and in some parts of the Empire the use of images had been interdicted. Christendom became divided into two parties: the image-worshipers and the purists, who would maintain the simplicity of a spiritual faith without the intervention of symbols. In many places the disputes waxed hot and violent.

The anti-image party became known as the Iconoclasts, or Image-breakers. The Emperor Leo himself was the head of the latter faction. In 726 he published an edict for the removal of the images from all the churches of the Empire. It was the beginning of the great struggle known as the War of the Iconoclasts, with which Christendom was distracted for a hundred and twenty years. The great leaders of the image-worshipping party were Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, John of Damascus, and John Chrysorrhoas, in the East; and Popes Gregory II. and III., in the West.

In the year 732 a great council at Rome condemned the Iconoclasts. The Emperor sent an army into Italy to enforce his edict; but the resistance of the Italian cities was so stubborn that the expedition resulted in nothing except the transfer of the exarchate of Ravenna to the kingdom of the Lombards. Even in the East, where the edict was more favorably received, there were many places where the opposite doctrine prevailed. The Peloponnesus and the Cyclades refused to honor the proclamation of Leo; and even in Constantinople a serious rebellion was organized by the image-worshipping party. The professors in the Imperial schools and the scholastic classes generally opposed the Iconoclasts, and for this reason the probably slanderous report was spread abroad that the burning of the Constantinopolitan library was the work of the Emperor. It was at this period, and owing to the unfavorable reception of his edict in Italy, that Leo now transferred Greece and Illyria from the spiritual dominion of the popes, and attached those countries to the ecclesiastical estates of the patriarchs of Constantinople.

In the latter years of the reign of Leo the Empire was again greatly disturbed by the aggressions of the Saracens. A certain adventurer named TIBERIUS, claiming to be the son of Justinian II., appeared on the scene and received the support of the Mohammedans as

the rival of Leo III. The pretender put on the purple and made a magnificent entry into the city of Jerusalem; but Leo seems not to have been greatly disturbed by the apparition or this shadowy Emperor on the eastern horizon. More serious by far was the invasion by the Arab general, Solyman, who, in 739, led an army of ninety thousand men into the territories of the Empire. Having penetrated into Asia Minor he was met by the army of Leo and defeated in a great battle in Phrygia. Solyman then retreated into his own dominions. In the next year after this event the Empire was afflicted with another earthquake, which cast down many cities and shattered the walls of Constantinople. After a successful, though troubled reign of twenty-four years, Leo died calmly in his palace in the year 741.

The next to wear the Imperial purple was CONSTANTINE V., son of Leo, and surnamed *Copronymus*. He began his reign by renewing the war on the images; nor were his proceedings marked by that kind of zeal which is tempered with knowledge. Such was the violence of his policy in the destruction of the effigies and his bitterness towards that half-Oriental and half-artistic taste which had combined to fill the churches of Christendom with the images of saints and virgins that the historians of the opposing party have blackened his name with all the unspeakable vocabulary of contumely and hatred. Nor does it appear that the charges which are heaped upon him of cruelty and dissoluteness were wholly unjust. He was, however, a sovereign of considerable abilities, whose success both in peace and in war was such as to merit for him a better fame. He was a patron of public works, and among other enterprises added to the prosperity of the city by the restoration of an aqueduct. He appears, too, to have had some care for the unfortunate. To him two thousand five hundred captives owed their return to liberty. Several cities in Thrace were re-peopled by colonization. In the field he commanded in person, and though his success as a conqueror was but moderate, yet in the East he maintained the frontier of the Empire against the Persians, and on the Danube vin-

dicated the Roman arms in conflicts with the barbarians.

In the year 775 Constantine died and left an undisputed succession to his son LEO IV. The latter took to himself the surname of *Khazar*, a title assumed in honor of his mother, who was the daughter of the Khan of the Khazars. While thus offering respect to his barbarian mother he chose for himself an Athenian wife named Irené, who, by her beauty and accomplishments, added greatly to the reputation of her husband's court. The reign, however, was brief and inglorious, but not uneventful. In her marriage vows Irené was obliged to abjure the worship of images, but she still at heart retained her zeal for the religious party with which she had been affiliated. In 780 Leo IV. died, having provided in his testament that his wife should hold the regency during the minority of his son CONSTANTINE VI., whom he named as his successor.

As soon as Irené was freed from the Imperial restraint of her husband she undertook the restoration of the images. In 786 she called a council of the church to consider the question of restoring the effigies of Christendom. This assembly, however, was interrupted in its sessions, but was reconvened at the same place in the following year. This time a decision was reached declaring that the veneration of images was conformable alike to the doctrines of Scripture and the teachings of the fathers.

The Iconoclasts, deeply humiliated at this defeat, undertook the recovery of their influence by making the prince Constantine, then sixteen years of age, the champion of their cause. He was induced to renounce the regency of his mother, and to enter into a plot for her banishment. But the Empress was vigilant, and the scheme was defeated. In a short time a mutiny occurred among the Armenian guards, and Irené was driven into the solitude of the palace. Constantine VI. was then proclaimed Emperor; but the dethroned mother, unwilling that the fires of personal ambition should be put out, plotted against the life of her sovereign son. In 797 a band of assassins rose upon him in the hippodrome, but he escaped alive, and fled into Phrygia.

Pretending ignorance of the conspiracy against him, Irené joined the Emperor abroad, and persuaded him to return: but on approaching the city they were, according to preconcerted arrangement, met by emissaries, who seized him and shut him up in the palace.

A council of state was now convened, and it was decreed that Constantine should be forever incapacitated for the throne by the loss of his sight. His eyes were accordingly put out, and Irené held undisputed sway for a period of five years. The court became splendid under her patronage. The Empress was driven in state through the city in her golden chariot, drawn by four white horses, and attended by a band of patrician eunuchs. One of these, the treasurer NICEPHORUS, treacherously conspired against his benefactress, and was himself secretly invested with the insignia of Empire. His co-conspirators gained possession of the palace, and Nicephorus was crowned in the church of Saint Sophia. Irené was seized and sent into banishment in the island of Lesbos, where, reduced to penury and compelled to maintain herself by spinning, she died within a year. The usurpation of Nicephorus was recognized by the Senate, and the Isaurian dynasty was at an end.

The character of the new monarch was such as to make him abhorred by the people. He is represented as a hypocrite, ingrate, and miser; nor were these odious vices in any wise redeemed by great talents or manly exploits. His reign of nine years was marked with disasters and humiliations. In a war with the Saracens the army of the Empire was vanquished; and in a conflict which presently ensued with the Bulgarians a still more ruinous defeat was inflicted. Nicephorus himself was killed, and his son STAUracius received a wound, of which he died after a reign of six months. In the mean time his sister Procopia had been married to MICHAEL I., who now ascended the throne, and reigned for the brief space of two years.

The abilities of this prince as a ruler were of a low order, and his reign was barely redeemed from contempt by the masculine valor and ambition of Procopia. These qualities in woman, however, were poorly appreciated by

the age, and especially by the Greeks. The soldiers were little disposed to obey or even respect a female commander. So great was the displeasure on the Thracian frontier that the army mutinied and marched on the capital with the purpose of dethroning both the Emperor and the queen. The spirit of Michael, however, was not of a temper to maintain supremacy by force and bloodshed. When the insurgents approached the city the patient sovereign, though backed by the clergy and the Senate, went forth and delivered to the mutineers the keys of the city and the palace. An act so unusual and magnanimous half won the loyalty of the soldiers, and the Emperor who could abdicate in order to avoid the destruction of human life was permitted to retain his own and his sight.

The crown of the Emperor now fell to LEO V., surnamed the Armenian, who at that time was general of the Asiatic army. He it was who had lately commanded in the Bulgarian campaign which resulted so disastrously to the arms of Nicephorus. Nor was the suspicion wanting that the disaster inflicted by the barbarians was partly attributable to the connivance of Leo, who was willing that the Emperor should be destroyed to make way for himself. An Asiatic prophetess had already foretold that Leo should wear the purple, and the prediction was now fulfilled. The new Emperor was a soldier by profession, and the methods which he employed in his government were military and exacting. In religious matters he espoused the cause of the Iconoclasts, but his opinions were so inconstant and changeful as to gain for him, at the hand of the church father, the epithet of the *Chameleon*.

It appears that the soothsayers of the East had included with Leo in the prophecy of greatness a certain other general named MICHAEL, and surnamed the Phrygian. On coming to power Leo remembered his companion in arms, and heaped upon him the favors of the court. But the ambitious Phrygian, in whose ear the call of destiny had already sounded, was dissatisfied with favors shown him by one greater than himself. He accordingly conspired to overthrow his benefactor and usurp the throne of empire. Leo was

warned of the intended treachery, but at first refused to credit the charges made against his friend. Afterwards, however, affection turned to resentment, and Michael was condemned to be burned alive. The execution was set for Christmas day, but the Empress Theophano prevailed on her husband not to profane the sacred anniversary by the execution of a criminal. The sentence was accordingly suspended, and the respite cost the Emperor his life. On Christmas day the adherents of Michael, clad in the garments of priests, were admitted with the procession which went to sing matins in the chapel of the palace. They had swords hidden under their cloaks; and when the Emperor joined the services, the assassins fell upon him with their weapons. Leo bravely defended himself with a wooden cross until he was overpowered and slain. The successful prisoner was thereupon proclaimed Emperor, with the title of Michael II. He received the surname of the *Stammerer*, on account of a defect in his speech. So sudden was his transfer from the convict's dungeon to the throne of the Empire, that for several hours he reigned as Cæsar before a smith could be found to break the fetters from his legs. The reign, which lasted for nine years, added no glory to the state, and the vices of the reigning sovereign disgraced the annals of the court.

Soon after the accession of Michael II. a certain Thomas, also one of the old veterans of the army of Nicephorus, undertook to snatch the crown from the head of the wearer. He brought an army of eighty thousand mercenaries and barbarians from the banks of the Tigris, and laid siege to Constantinople. The Emperor, however, successfully defended himself and an army of Bulgarians, now in friendly alliance with the Empire, came to the rescue of the city. An attack was made upon the camp of Thomas, and his forces were utterly routed. He himself was taken prisoner and delivered over to Michael, who ordered the hands and feet of the rebel captive to be chopped off. The mutilated body, dropping blood at every extremity, was mounted on an ass and borne through the city amid the jeering multitude. Meanwhile a fate had been

prepared by which the crown descended to another. Before his death, Constantine VI. had given to Michael II. his daughter Euphrosyne in marriage. No children, however, were born of the union, and the mother was obliged to be content with an adopted son, THEOPHILUS. The latter in the year 829 succeeded Michael on the throne.

From the first, the new sovereign was in favor with the zealots of the church. But his success in war was by no means such as to warrant a military reputation. By his own contemporaries he was very properly surnamed the *Unfortunate*. In five campaigns against the Saracens, he gained no more than dubious triumphs, and at the last was disastrously defeated. In his civil administration, also, he was neither fortunate nor wise. The cruelty of the age was intensified in the breast of the Emperor. His methods of punishment were such as might be well pleasing to the vindictive rage of an Oriental despot. Happy was the offender who escaped with the simple infliction of death. Many of the principal officers of the government, fallen under some suspicion of disloyalty, were dipped in boiling pitch or burned as a public spectacle in the hippodrome. The base and ignoble rabble applauded the *justice* of the sovereign from whose unspeakable cruelties they were themselves exempted only by their obscurity.

On the death of this tyrant in the year 842, the government was intrusted to the regency of the Empress Theodora during the minority of her son, MICHAEL III., then less than five years of age. As had happened in the case of every preceding reign when the influence of woman was predominant in the Imperial court, the cause of the Image-worshippers was now revived and made triumphant. The Iconoclasts were suppressed or exterminated. During her reign of thirteen years the images were restored to their places in the churches of Christendom. More wise than Irené, the Empress Theodora sought not to perpetuate her own power by the destruction of her son. When he arrived at age, his mother quietly retired from the responsibilities of government, and sought refuge in the solitudes of private life.

The new sovereign ascended the throne un-

der auspicious circumstances, but his character was such as to forbid the prosecution of those great enterprises on which the prosperity of a state depends. His theory of life was that of indulgence and pleasure. Like Nero, he would distinguish himself as the champion of amusement. Constantinople had now become as debased in its tastes as was the ancient capital of the West. The people were chiefly interested in the sports of the hippodrome. The two factions of the circus were multiplied to four. Michael himself aspired to be the greatest chariot-racer of the Empire. He assumed the insignia of the Blues; while the other habitués of the hippodrome were divided among the rival badges.

Tired at length of this Imperial folly, the degraded Emperor devised for his own and the amusement of the capital a profane mockery directed against the religious faith of his countrymen. A mountebank impersonated the patriarch of Constantinople. Twelve other characters were assumed with equal disregard to dignity or decency. The ceremonials of the church were performed in caricature. The

sacred vessels of the altar were used for drinking cups, and a disgusting mixture of vinegar and mustard was passed around among the drunken communicants as the holy sacrament of the church. The consequences of this disgusting profanity were soon apparent in the alienation of the people from the sovereign. A conspiracy was organized, headed by BASIL I., surnamed the Macedonian, and in 867 Michael III. was assassinated in his own chamber.

The chief conspirator at once assumed the purple. He was a native of Adrianople, and in his childhood had been sold into slavery by the Bulgarians. Afterwards being liberated, he took service in the army, and was subsequently adopted as a son by a wealthy matron named Danielis. His ambition rose with the occasion. He was introduced at court, and obtained the favor of Michael III., whose deposition and murder he afterwards contrived as above narrated. In order to placate the *manes* of his victim, he erected churches in his honor, and ordered them to be dedicated to *Saint Michael*!

CHAPTER LXIX.—MACEDONIAN DYNASTY.



REAT was the energy diffused into the government by the usurper Basil. Under the Macedonian dynasty, there was a revival of prosperity. The strong hand and liberal patronage

of the monarchs gave encouragement and success to those enterprises by which the glory of both the Roman and the Greek name was restored to some degree of its former luster. True, the Emperor might not claim the reputation which springs from warlike deeds. Still the army was augmented in numbers and improved in discipline. The success of the Imperial arms over the Saracens in the East was so marked as to make the Empire a thing to be dreaded again by the Mohammedan zealots.

It was, however, in the conduct of civil

affairs that Basil I. displayed his abilities most strikingly. By this epoch in the history of the Eastern Empire, the Greek language had gained a complete ascendancy over the Latin as the speech of the court and the city. It became necessary that the legislation and laws of the Empire should be translated into the prevailing tongue. The great body of legal lore produced in the era of Justinian—the *Institutes*, *Pandects*, *Code*, *Novels*—was now intrusted to a commission of scholars, digested in forty Books, and translated into the language of the Greeks. Great and well-merited, also, was the reputation of Basil as a builder. The *Basilica* of Constantinople, so grandly completed during the subsequent reigns, must witness to the energy and architectural taste of the reigning Emperor.

On the death of Basil I. in the year 886,

the crown was conferred in jointure upon his two sons, LEO VI. and ALEXANDER. The former, who was the eldest of four brothers, was practically the sovereign. He was honored with the title of the Philosopher, though neither his talents nor his learning were such as to have entitled other than a king to a name so honorable. The name of *Polygynæus* might have been better deserved; for in despite of the doctrines of the church which interdicted a third marriage and anathematized a fourth, Basil celebrated successive marriages, to the scandal of his times. The first three unions were fruitless of children, but the concubine Zoë presented her lord with a son.

With more decency than orthodoxy the Emperor then desired to legitimize his offspring by a marriage *ex post facto*. This, however, was strenuously forbidden by the patriarch Nicholas; and when the Emperor, over-anxious for a lawful heir, persisted in his purpose, he was excommunicated. The authorization of the marriage, however, was obtained from the church of Rome, and Nicholas was driven into exile. But such was the influence of the latter that after the death of the Emperor he was recalled from banishment, proudly reasserting the doctrine of the church against successive marriages. The very son, in whose interest Basil had so stoutly contended, was obliged, after his accession to power, to yield an implied acknowledgment of his own illegitimacy by agreeing to an edict condemnatory of fourth marriages.

In the year 911 the son of Basil and Zoë was acknowledged as Emperor, under the title of CONSTANTINE VII. He received the name of *Porphyrogenitus*, or "Born-in-the-Purple," the name being given from the porphyry room in the Byzantine palace in which the children of the Emperors were born. At the death of his father the boy was but six years of age, and it was deemed necessary that the royal seion should be supported by one stronger than himself. His uncle Alexander was accordingly given the title of Augustus and associated with the young prince in the government. The mother also was made regent during the minority of her son; and even this seeming not to be a sufficient stay for the Im-

perial sprig, a council of seven, likewise bearing the name of regents, was appointed for the ostensible purpose of watching over the interests of the state, but in reality to use and abuse the prince according to their interest or ambition.

The condition of the government under this system of management soon became so deplorable as to call for a heroic remedy. A deliverer was found in Romanus Lecapenus, then commander of the army and fleet on the Danubian frontier. Learning of the condition of affairs at the capital, this brave and popular officer sailed into the harbor of Constantinople, and was hailed as the liberator of the people. By an edict of the Senate he was honored with the title of Father of the Emperor, and was authorized to restore order in the state. He was also raised to the rank of Cæsar and Augustus; and in the year 919, having grown weary of playing sovereign in the name of another, he assumed the purple under the title of ROMANUS I. For twenty-five years he continued in the exercise of sovereign authority, and succeeded in raising his family to the dignity of a dynasty. His three sons, Christopher, Stephen, and Constantine VIII., were promoted to the same honor with their father. Porphyrogenitus was, at the same time, degraded to the fifth rank among the princes of the Empire. He lived in studious retirement and amused himself as a scholar and artist.

During the continuance of this multiplex sovereignty Christopher, the eldest son of Romanus, died; and his two brothers presently made a conspiracy against their father. Taking advantage of the noonday hour, when all strangers were excluded from the palace, they entered the apartments of Romanus with a hired band, seized the Emperor, put on him the garments of a monk, carried him away to an island in the Propontis, and left him in the hands of a community of religious zealots.

The conspirators, however, gained little by their exploit. The public mind turned suddenly to Porphyrogenitus. The two disloyal princes were seized and borne away to the same island where they had deposited their father. The old Cæsar met them at the beach, and with a sarcasm not to be mistaken offered

to share with them his royal food, consisting of radishes and water. Constantine VII., now in the fortieth year of his nominal reign, was called from his retirement to be, in reality, Emperor of the East. His reign continued for fifteen years; but his temper was little suited to the stormy arena of public affairs, and, leaving the management of the government to the Empress Helena, he sought the more congenial task of educating his son. In the year 959 he died, not without the suspicion of poison, and left the crown to his heir, ROMANUS II.

This prince, now in his twenty-first year, was suspected of having contributed to his father's death; but that criminal event must be referred rather to the wickedness of Theophano, the wife of Romanus, who was willing to go up to the Imperial seat over the dead body of her husband's father. The Emperor himself, however, was a ruler insensible to the opportunities of greatness. His ignoble ambitions ran to waste on hunting and the circus, while the government was left to his ministers. The chief distinction of his brief reign was due to the deeds of his two generals, Nicephorus and Leo, who waged successful warfare with the Saracens. At last Theophano wearied of her commonplace lord, and gave him a cup of poison. She then procured the proclamation of herself as regent during the minority of her two sons, afterwards BASIL II. and CONSTANTINE IX.

The wicked Empress, however, had no hold upon public confidence. Soon discovering the uncertain tenure of a throne obtained by the darkest crimes, she sought to make her present rank secure by a popular marriage. To this end she chose for her second husband the brave general NICEPHORUS PHOCAS. The latter was one of the most remarkable characters of his age. He combined in himself the dispositions of a soldier and a monk. Though greatly distinguished as a warrior, he chose to wear a gown of hair-cloth. He fasted. He adopted the priestly idiom and declared with doubtful truthfulness his wish to retire from the management of the state for the solitary pleasures of the cloister. He had been commander of the Oriental armies, but having gained the

ascendency over the other leaders his piety did not prevent him from marching on Constantinople and declaring his collusion with the schemes of the Empress. He was declared Augustus in the year 963, but the popularity which had been evoked by his religious zeal soon disappeared when the discovery was made that he was at bottom a miser and hypocrite. Nevertheless, Nicephorus conducted well the business of the state. His old-time skill and bravery as a general were exhibited yearly in contests with the Saracens. The revenues were carefully husbanded and applied to appropriate uses. The existing boundaries of the Empire were well maintained, and the martial spirit of the people considerably revived by the warlike deeds and recurring triumphs of the Emperor.

Meanwhile the event was contrived by which Nicephorus was to lose both crown and life. Next to himself the ablest general of the eastern army was an Armenian named JOHN ZIMISCES, a man of stunted bodily stature but heroic purposes. After aiding in the elevation of Nicephorus to the throne Zimisces was deprived of his command, and but for the intercession of the Empress, with whom he was a favorite, he would have been driven into exile. By her influence, however, he was retained in a subordinate office near the court. It was not long until an intrigue was concocted between Theophano and himself to dispose of Nicephorus and take the throne for themselves. In 969 the Emperor was murdered in his palace, and as soon as his gory head was exhibited outside John Zimisces donned the purple and had himself proclaimed as ruler of the East.

The coronation of the new Emperor was the occasion of a strange scene on the steps of the church of Saint Sophia. There the patriarch of Constantinople met the sovereign as he was entering and demanded that the wicked and ignoble Empress should be forever degraded and dismissed from the palace. Nor was the Emperor loath to comply with the demand, perceiving that he himself might soon be added to the list of her victims. Neither was he unwilling to add to his own popularity by the degradation of the despised Empress.

Theophano was accordingly driven into exile, and the public demand for vengeance was appeased.

It was well that Zimisceus was possessed of military experience and ability as a commander. The enemies of the Empire were busy on all the borders. The barbarians were active on the Danubian frontier, and the ever hostile Saracens renewed their aggressions from the south-east. The Emperor took the field in person and in two great campaigns overcame the Russians and the Mohammedans. While on his expedition into Syria, the Emperor observed that the better part of the lands in those provinces was occupied by favorite eunuchs, who, from time to time, had been rewarded by the court. Deeply was he offended to see the worthless and indolent creatures thus promoted above the brave captains of the army. He openly expressed his contempt for the possessors of the Syrian estates. "Is it for these," said he, "that we have fought and conquered? Is it for these that we shed our blood and exhaust the treasures of our people?" On returning to Constantinople the Emperor continued to question the righteousness of heaping honors on the most worthless parasites of the court. But the agitation cost him his life. He died under the suspicion of poison.

In the mean time the two lawful Emperors, Basil II. and Constantine IX., sons of Romanus II. and Theophano, had grown to manhood. For some time, however, they were held from the rightful assumption of authority by the minister to whose hands their education had been intrusted. He would fain persuade them that the proper life for youth was the life of pleasure, and that the burdens of state rested properly in the rugged hands of the middle-aged and the veteran. The elder prince, however, was less susceptible to these blandishments, and resolved to assert his authority. The officious minister was disposed of and BASIL II. proclaimed. The new sovereign at once entered upon an ambitious career. In several expeditions against the Saracens—though he had little experience in the science

or practice of war—he gained repeated victories and maintained the boundaries of the Empire. Still more decided were his successes on the north-eastern frontier. There the Bulgarians, once again in arms, were decisively overthrown and their kingdom subverted—an event which Gibbon reckons the most important triumph of the Roman arms since the days of Belisarius.

The conquests of Basil, however, were, according to the judgment of his countrymen, robbed of their glory by the rapacity and avarice of the victor. The faults of his early education appeared in his conduct, and his reputation was clouded by the imputation of meanness. It had been the folly of his teachers to leave him uninstructed in those great arts and sciences which humanize mankind. He was ignorant of the laws and usages of the Empire to the extent that law-makers and law-breakers were about equally respected.

Like Nicephorus Phocas, Basil made up in religious zeal what he lacked in culture. The chief aim of the minister who had had him in training in boyhood was to give his pupil an abnormal charge of piety at the expense of intelligence. So when Basil grew to maturity and became Emperor, he put the monastic habit of hair-cloth under his robes and armor, and did penance like a hermit. He imposed on himself the vow of continence, and for the sake of his irritable conscience denied himself of meat and wine. In his old age his religious fervor led him to undertake a crusade against the Saracens of Sicily, but present decrepitude and imminent death prevented the execution of the purpose. He died in the year 1025, and left the imperial diadem to his brother, CONSTANTINE IX. The latter had already held the title of Augustus for sixty-six years, and now the dignity of Emperor was added for three years longer. The two brothers together occupied the throne for three-score and six years, but the epoch is obscure, and the records of their reign present fewer points of interest than do those of any other equally extensive period in the history of the Empire.

CHAPTER LXX.—AGE OF THE COMNENI.



WITH the death of Constantine IX., in the year 1028, the Macedonian dynasty ended. Neither of the last two rulers left a son. Of the three daughters of Constantine the eldest, named Endocia, took the veil. Theodora, the youngest, refused the joys of marriage; and Zoë, the second, became, at the age of forty-eight, the wife of ROMANUS III., surnamed *Argyros*, who ascended the throne in 1028, and reigned for six years. Like the mother of Hamlet, Zoë had not become discreet with age. She became infatuated of a certain Paphlagonian named Michael, with whom she presently plotted to destroy her husband. Romanus was poisoned to make room for a scandalous marriage between his murderers. Nevertheless the people submitted to the outrage, and the husband took the throne under the title of MICHAEL IV.

The new sovereign was haunted by the recollection of his crime. He was a victim of epilepsy, and his conscience and his disease soon combined to destroy his mind. Not so, however, with his brother JOHN. This insensate criminal had been a participant in the assassination of Romanus III., and after that event had become the power behind the throne, in which relation he enjoyed with secret satisfaction the fruits of his deeds. When his brother's intelligence expired, he himself came in to direct the affairs of state. He induced the Empress Zoë to adopt his son, and the latter was presently, through the same influence, raised to the rank of Emperor, with the title of MICHAEL V. The Empress was driven into exile—a thing, at the first, not ungrateful to the people; but very soon a reaction set in against the usurper of the throne, and not only Zoë but also Theodora—the latter from her monastery—was recalled. Michael was dethroned, and the two aged sisters were given the seat and dignity of Imperial dominion.

After two months, however, Theodora again retired from the world and Zoë, now at the age of sixty, was married to CONSTANTINE X., surnamed *Monomachus*, a dissolute personage afflicted with the gout. However, he tottered on in the Imperial masquerade until the Empress died and left him to settle the succession. The friends of the old Macedonian family again put forward the claims of Theodora, and after the death of Monomachus that venerable maiden princess was a second time promoted to the throne. After a peaceable reign of nineteen months she was persuaded by her ministers to name as her successor a certain decrepit general, who in 1056 succeeded her, with the title of MICHAEL VI. and the surname of *Stratioticus*. He reigned but a single year and ended without an achievement. In the course of the preceding twenty-eight years no fewer than twelve sovereigns had occupied the Imperial seat, and the disgraces of the Empire had far outnumbered its rulers.

The choice of the half-crazy old man, Michael VI., to the Imperial office was bitterly resented by the army. To see an ancient saintly spinster, assisted by a company of imbecile eunuchs, bestowing the Imperial crown on an epileptic grasshopper in whom desire had failed, was more than actual soldiers could be expected to bear. They mutinied. They gathered secretly in the Church of St. Sophia and chose ISAAC COMNENUS as their chief. They then retired to the army in Phrygia to maintain his cause in honorable battle. By a single defeat the forces of Michael were annihilated and himself reconverted into a monk. In the year 1057 Comnenus was raised to the throne with universal applause and the title of Isaac I.

The accession of this Emperor marks an epoch of revival in the Eastern Empire. The new sovereign, however, was a man of feeble health, and after attempting for two years to bear the burden of the government he resigned the crown to his brother John, but the refusal

of the latter to accept the supreme authority frustrated the Emperor's plans, and the choice of a successor fell upon CONSTANTINE DUCAS, an adherent of the Comnenian dynasty. In 1059 Isaac retired to a monastery, and there passed the few remaining months of his life.

Constantine XI. began his reign by having his three sons, Michael VII., Adronicus I., and Constantine XII. all equally honored with the title of Augustus. After a few years the father died and the Empress Eudocia assumed the government in the interest of her sons. But she also, within the year, chose a second husband, who was raised to the throne with the name of ROMANUS DIOGENES. His reign occupied a period of four years (1067-1071) and was not uneventful.

Now it was that the Turcoman iron-forgers of the Altai began to press against the Empire which they were destined ultimately to subvert. To beat back these terrible warriors Diogenes undertook three great campaigns in the East. The Turks were forced to retire beyond the Euphrates. The Emperor's next work was the deliverance of Armenia from Turcoman domination. Here, however, fortune turned against him. ALP ARSLAN, the Turkish sultan, bore down on the Greek army with forty thousand of his fierce horsemen. Romanus was taken prisoner, but was given his liberty on condition of paying an enormous ransom. The Emperor then returned to his own borders, where he learned that his authority had been renounced and the terms of his capitulation disclaimed by the government at Constantinople. With great difficulty he collected a small part of the indemnity which had been promised to Alp Arslan, and this sum was faithfully transmitted. The Turcoman, however, disdained the tribute, and determined to punish, not Diogenes, indeed, but those who had refused to ratify the terms granted to and by an Emperor of Rome.

Vainly did Diogenes now seek a restoration to power. His wife had been sent to a monastery. John Comnenus, who had once refused the crown for himself, reappeared on the scene, and induced the Senate to proclaim his three nephews joint sovereigns. Romanus undertook to support his claims by force, but was de-

feated, taken, robbed of his eyes, left to die. Then MICHAEL VII. reigned for a brief season, but his character and conduct were such as to induce a mutiny in the army, headed by two generals, both named Nicephorus. Michael was obliged to resign, and the scepter passed into the family of John Comnenus.

This able and ambitious prince had a household of eight children. The sons most distinguished were Isaac and Alexius. They were valiant soldiers, as well as princes among the Comneni. As long as Michael retained the throne they were his supporters. When the Nicephori came into power the young princes were intrusted with the army; but learning that they were under ban of suspicion, they raised the standard of revolt. The elder brother invested the younger with the purple, and marched against the capital. The guards were won over. Michael found refuge in a monastery, and ALEXIUS ascended the throne.

The time had now come when the history of the Western Empire was about to be repeated, or at least paralleled, in the East. On every side the borders of the Byzantine dominion began to be broken in by extraneous assault. From Persia to the Hellespont, all around the eastern horizon, the victorious Turcomans hung in a dense cloud, which blazed with the continuous lightning of religious frenzy. The outline of the Crescent already lay like a huge and ominous shadow across Asia Minor and the Ægean.

Out of the ominous West another glare of light shot up angrily from the camp-fires of the Normans, and the low mutterings of disquieted barbarism rolled along the frontier of the Danube. Then of a sudden the very sea-beds of Western Europe were shaken, and the Crusaders rose from the earth! The fiery host rolled away to the east, and Constantinople lay in its pathway. Such was the condition of the estate which Alexis inherited.

In the midst of great perplexities and dangers the Emperor showed himself a sovereign. The administration was purified; the discipline of the army improved; new leaders thrown to the front; new statesmen called to the council. Notwithstanding the first shocks and agitations to which the Empire was subjected,

the fabric stood fast, and was improved. Art and science flourished more than since the days of Justinian. Even while the restless, half-barbarous Crusaders were pouring through the capital, devouring like locusts whatever they could reach, the Emperor outwitted the leaders, playing the part of Reynard in the Kingdom of the Beasts.

Rarely, indeed, has a ruler had a more difficult task to perform than that imposed on Alexius by the Crusaders. The great horde of savage fanatics, wrought to the highest pitch of frenzy, must be conducted through the city, entertained, and dismissed without offense or manifest resentment. Alexius carried the turbulent host through his elegant capital as one might bear a populous hornet's-nest through an assembly of guests, and deposited his charge safely in Asia Minor. There his *friends* and the Turcomans might fight it out!

For thirty-seven years Alexius held the throne of the Eastern Empire. He warded off his foreign foes, and quelled or pacified domestic enemies. Not for generations had the palace yielded so healthful a moral odor. In the Emperor's household art and science flourished. His daughter Anna became the brilliant biographer of her father, and was recognized as an equal by the philosophers of the city. The reputation of the Comnenian House was established in favor, insomuch that the hereditary principle was again cheerfully recognized as the law of the succession.

In the year 1118 Alexius died, in the honorable esteem of his countrymen. It was the purpose of the Empress Irene to confer the sovereignty on her daughter Anna, above mentioned, to the exclusion of her brother JOHN. Notwithstanding the favor in which the princess was held, the public sentiment against the rule of woman was so strong as to demand the elevation of the male heir. Nor was the candidate for Imperial honors—albeit diminutive in stature and of ungainly person—unworthy in ability and ambition to sit in the seat of the Cæsars. The gentle satire of the people was appeased when they had conferred on the Emperor the name of Calo-Joannes, or the *Handsome John*. In mental

qualities, at least, the epithet was as appropriate as it was ironical when referring to his person.

To the shame of the Princess Anna she yielded herself to be the tool of a conspiracy which aimed as high as her brother's life. Detected in her treason, and disgraced by it, she was spared by the injured sovereign, who by this act of clemency still more endeared himself to his subjects. Nor was his amiability more conspicuous than his courage. In several campaigns he drove back the aggressive Turcomans from the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, and gave to Asia Minor a period of repose from the violence of the Mohammedans. He also interested himself in promoting the crusades, and thereby gained a great name among the Latins and other Western races generally. A strange accident was that which, after a reign of a quarter of a century brought to a close the career of John II. Engaging in a boar-hunt in the valley of Anazarbus, he was accidentally and fatally wounded with a poisoned arrow from his own quiver. He died in the year 1143, and was succeeded by his son, MANUEL I.

The new Emperor, the younger of the two sons of John the Handsome, added to his father's virtues and talents a pleasing address, a magnificent person, and popular manner. He occupied the Imperial throne for thirty-seven years, and did as much as an able sovereign might to stay the ravages of those blind forces which were consuming the remnants of ancient civilization. Around nearly the whole frontier of the Empire—in the region of the Taurus in Hungary, in Italy, Egypt, and Greece, as well as on the Mediterranean—Manuel stood up like a hero against the elements which gathered and broke upon his borders. Though bred in the luxury of the court, the Emperor became inured to the hardships of the camp and the field. Such were his bodily strength, his iron nerve, and invulnerable constitution, that like the great Crusaders he became a personal terror to the foe. He was the *Cœur de Lion* of the East, wielding a lance and wearing a buckler that the degenerate could not lift. Raymond of Toulouse, surnamed the Hercules, acknowledged the superior strength of Manuel.

The victories of the Imperial arms in the age of the Comneni partook of the nature of personal triumphs. They resulted more from individual prowess than from strategic skill. It was the peculiarity of the crusading times that man struggled with man. The fanatic, unable to generalize, makes a personal enemy of his foe. The Emperors of the Comnenian dynasty, and notably Manuel I., imbibed something of the adventurous and heroic spirit of the times, even to the extent perhaps of neglecting to gather the political fruits of victories won in the field. After gaining so many successes over the Turks as to entitle him to the name of conqueror, the Emperor finally lost all in a great disaster which befell his arms in the mountains of Pisidia. His army was ruined, and himself a prisoner was obliged to accept the gift of his life at the merciful hands of the Sultan of the Turks.

It has been remarked by the profound Gibbon that the character of Manuel I. presents in its military and civil aspects one of the strangest contrasts in history. While in the field he made war with all the vehement ferocity of Godfrey of Bouillon or the Lionheart of England. He seemed unmindful alike of the cares of state and the beauties of peace. But when his campaigns were ended, and he had returned to Constantinople, one might discover in his bearing no further trace of the military hero. He then devoted himself with assiduity to the business of the government and the smaller cares of life in the palace. He even indulged in refined luxuries and pleasures, giving his winter hours to games, and his summer days to the delightful relaxations of his villa on one of the isles of the Propontis. In the year 1181, he died after a successful and glorious reign, and the crown descended to his son ALEXIUS II., then a youth but ten years of age.

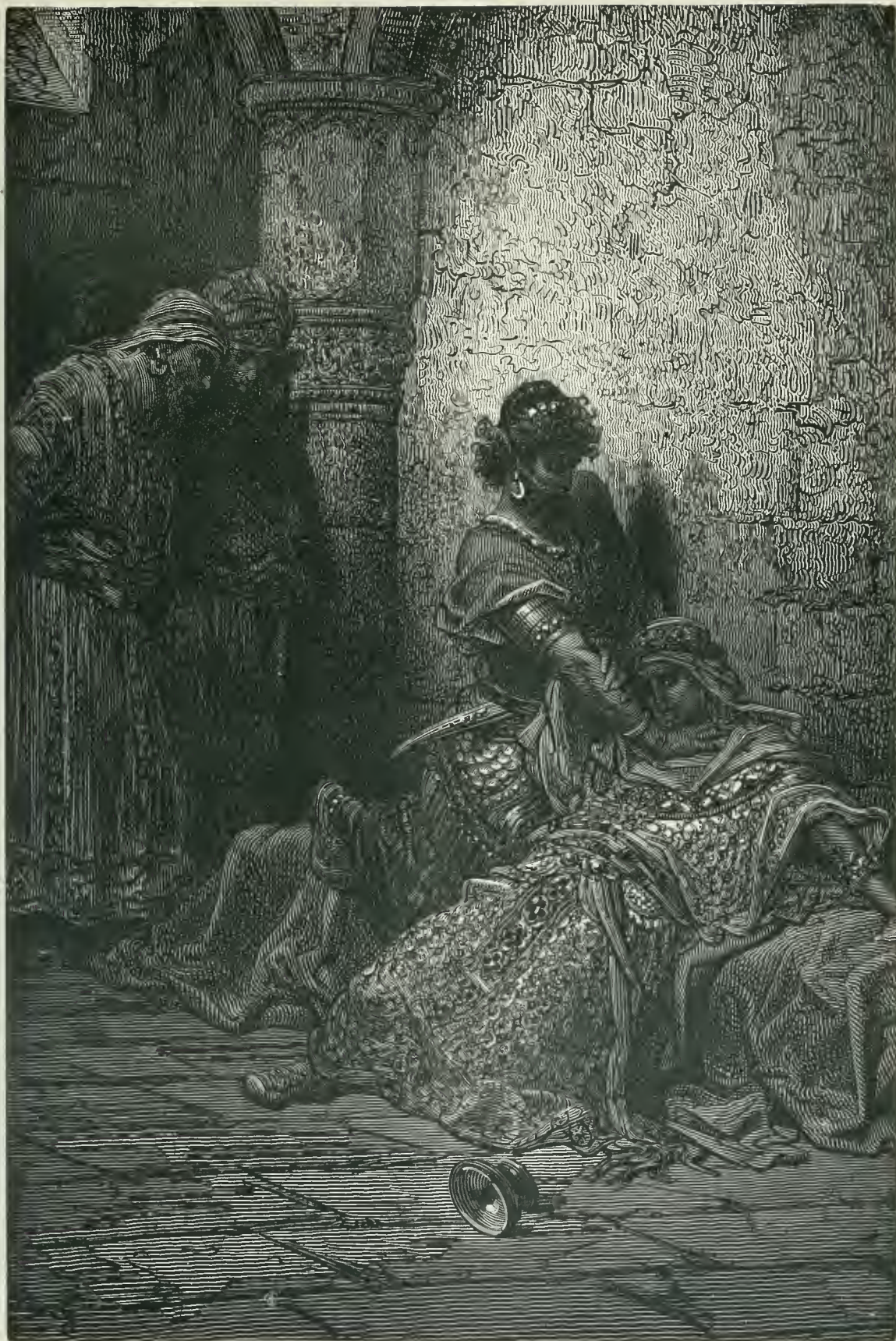
In less than two years the government of this stripling was overthrown by Andronicus, son of Isaac Comnenus, whose previous life had been filled with romance and adventure. During the reign of Manuel he had been imprisoned for twelve years under suspicion of disloyalty. He had lived as an exile, both at the palace of the sultan and the court of the

Duke of Russia. When Manuel died, the youth and inexperience of his successor, and the disorders which immediately ensued in the government, gave excellent opportunities to the ambitious Andronicus to lay hold on the scepter. An insurrection opened the gates of the city; the people were clamorous for a change from the foolish boy who occupied the throne, and ANDRONICUS was crowned in the midst of acclamations. Alexius was degraded and presently strangled with a bow-string, while his mother Maria was executed on a charge of treason.

The government of the new Emperor was a compound of vicious vigor and virtuous energy. The spites and animosities which had been nursed during his exile found free vent on his accession to power. The assassination of Alexius was followed by the murder of his adherents. Many of the nobles fled into distant parts, and scattered the seeds of insurrection. In the third year of the reign of Andronicus, his government was subverted by ISAAC ANGELUS, descended from the great Alexius through the female line. The people gladly espoused his claims, and in 1185 he was seated on the throne. The miserable Andronicus was abandoned by his friends, seized by his enemies, suspended by his feet between two pillars, and brutally beaten and stabbed to death by the infuriated multitude.

The change of sovereigns was hardly for the better. Isaac, *the Angel*, would have been more appropriately surnamed from one of the other worlds. His government proved to be as weak as his character was despicable. He was precisely the kind of a prince to accelerate the ruin of the Empire. On all sides the evidences of disintegration became alarmingly evident. The island of Cyprus was seized by a kinsman of the Emperor, and was recovered by Richard Cœur de Lion, only to be bestowed on the House of Lusignan. The Bulgarians and Wallachians rose in revolt and achieved their independence. A Bulgarian prince named Joannices obtained the throne of the new kingdom and was recognized by Pope Innocent III.

In the year 1195 Isaac Angelus was deposed by his brother, ALEXIUS, also surnamed Angelus. Fraternal affection put out the eyes



Drawn by Gustave Dore.

MOURZOUFLE SEIZING THE YOUNG ALEXIUS

(Page 373.)

of the dethroned monarch and sent him away to live on bread and water in the solitude of a tower. The youthful son of Isaac, however, was spared by Alexius, and was presently borne away in an Italian ship to the island of Sicily. The youthful exile was received with favor by Pope Innocent and Philip of Suabia, king of the Romans. Nor were hopes wanting in the breast of the young Alexius that the western chivalry, then gathering at Venice for another crusade, would espouse his cause and restore him to the throne of the usurper Angelus. To them he accordingly promised that in case of their replacing the scepter of the Eastern Empire in his hands he would heal the schism between the Greek and Latin churches, and that the former should acknowledge the primacy of the pope of Rome.

The proposals were cordially accepted by a majority of the crusaders, and a considerable army of French and Venetians was transported to Constantinople. The city was besieged by land and sea. In a fierce assault the banner of the republic of Venice was planted on the rampart of the capital of the East. During the night following the first assault the Emperor, having collected ten thousand pounds of gold, ignominiously fled from the capital and sought refuge in Thrace. On the morrow the nobles, learning of the sovereign's flight, went hastily to the tower where the blind Isaac was confined and humbly besought his favor. The persecuted old man was restored to his throne and the embraces of his son.

Under the auspices of the Latin warriors Alexius was crowned with his father in the church of Saint Sophia. The suburbs of Galata and Pera were assigned as the quarters of the French and Venetian armies. A large sum was paid to the soldiers for their services in restoring the rightful monarch. Alexius employed the Marquis of Montferrat to lead him in pursuit of the fugitive Angelus. The city was intrusted to Baldwin, Count of Flanders, who with his own army and a French contingent was to maintain the existing order during the absence of Alexius.

In a short time, however, the zeal of the French pilgrims led them to set fire to a synagogue, which they incidentally discovered.

A great fire broke out, and more than fifteen thousand persons had to fly for their lives. A breach was thus opened between the Constantinopolitans and their allies, and when Alexius returned to the city he hardly knew whether the French crusaders or his enemies in the capital were to be more dreaded. The Latin leaders in the mean time became arrogant, and demanded that the Emperor should fulfill his promises. When he would gladly have done so he could not; for the religious prejudices of the Greeks were now thoroughly aroused, and they resented tumultuously every symptom of subordinating the Eastern to the Western church. As the head of the anti-Roman party in the city appeared a certain DUCAS, nicknamed *Mourzoufle*, on account of his shaggy eyebrows. He, having gained the confidence of Alexius, seized his person, and put him to death.

Notwithstanding the fact that the deposition and murder of the Emperor had been accomplished in the interest of the crusaders, the latter, unused to such business as the elevation of assassins to the throne, hotly resented the bloody deed, and resolved to dethrone the murderer. They accordingly began a second siege of the city. Finding the land defenses to be impregnable, they made a final and successful assault from the side of the harbor. The rampart was taken. A disastrous fire broke out, reducing to ashes all the structures in a large part of the city. The rest was pillaged; for nothing could restrain the avarice of the fierce soldiers of the West, liberated among the treasures of the luxurious capital. A procession of the people bearing crosses and images came out to supplicate the forbearance of the conquerors, and to tender the submission of the Empire to the crusaders.

It now remained for the victors to dispose of the dominions which had fallen into their hands. To this end a commission of twelve members, six from the West and six from the East, was appointed, and with this body was lodged the choice of an Emperor. It was agreed that the Byzantine Empire should be divided into four parts, over one of which the Emperor should reign, while the other three should be assigned to the Venetian doge and

the barons of France. The feudal principle was introduced, and it was stipulated that the Venetians and the French lords should do homage as vassals to the sovereign of the East, who was still to be regarded as the head of Christendom. A further item in the settlement was that which required that the Emperor and the patriarch of Constantinople should not both be chosen from the same nation.

On the meeting of the electors the choice of Emperor fell on **BALDWIN**, count of Flanders. He was accordingly, in the year 1204, solemnly invested with the Imperial insignia and raised to the throne of Constantine. In pursuance of the plan of settlement, the election of patriarch went to the Venetians, and Thomas Morsini was raised to the highest dignity in the church of the East.

CHAPTER LXXI.—THE LATIN DYNASTY.



SUCH was the establishment of the Latin dynasty in Constantinople. The Empire was narrowed to one-fourth of the limits which it had at least nominally maintained for centuries.

The better portion of the remainder fell to the Venetians, whose commercial enterprise was at once revealed along the whole coast from Ragusa to the Bosphorus. Macedonia was assigned to Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, who established his capital at Thessalonica. The leading crusaders were rewarded with various provinces, which were distributed to them by lot, and mutually exchanged until most were satisfied.

In the mean time Mourzoufle and Alexins, both fugitives from the revolution, made common cause in the futile scheme of recovering what they had lost. The latter was presently taken and sent into Italy, while Mourzoufle was caught by the Latins and hurled down headlong from the summit of the column of Theodosius. Fortunately for Alexius and for his posterity, his daughter had been married to a military hero named Theodore Lascaris, who after the capture of Constantinople had fled to Anatolia. He made his head-quarters at Nice, asserted his authority as a prince of the Empire, called around him an army of adventurous spirits, and overran a considerable portion of Asia Minor. On the Euxine a second principality was established by another Alexius, a lineal descendant of the house of Comnenus, who

fixed his capital at Trebizond. A third provincial empire was organized out of Epirus, Ætolia, and Thessaly by a certain Michael, who reigned over their principality as a military chieftain.

The Greeks chafed not a little under the Latin dynasty. Ere long the opportunity came for a revolt. John, king of the Bulgarians, himself an ardent Romanist, sent an embassy to Constantinople to congratulate Baldwin I. on the success of the Latin cause and the consequent renovation of the Eastern world. The envoys were surprised to find the Flemish Emperor reigning after the manner of his predecessors. They were instructed to say to King John that he must himself touch with his forehead the footstool of the throne if he would be at peace.

The Bulgarian brooded over the insult. He conspired with the Greek malcontents to overthrow the government. When the Imperial army had been conducted into Asia Minor by Count Henry, the Emperor's brother, an insurrection broke out with sudden violence. A Bulgarian army marched rapidly to the aid of the insurgents. Baldwin went forth with his forces to besiege the rebels in Adrianople. On the way thither he was attacked by the Cuman nomads, who defeated the Latins and took the Emperor prisoner. He was carried away into Bulgaria.

After a year, Count **HENRY**, brother of the captive sovereign, was raised to the throne. Gradually the knights of the West, who had constituted the chief prop of the Empire since

the establishment of the Latin dynasty, dropped away, leaving the new Emperor to his own resources. He proved not unequal to the tasks imposed on the imperiled crown. In the mean time the conduct of King John, of Bulgaria, had led the Greeks again to prefer a refined despot to a zealous savage. They supplicated the Emperor's favor, and being forgiven, left their barbarous ally to retire in disgrace towards his own kingdom. He was presently stabbed in his tent, and the Empire was freed from the menace of his sword.

In the year 1216, Henry died, and was succeeded by his sister YOLANDE, wife of the Count of Auxerre. Her husband sailed to the East to join her at the coronation, but he was seized by the Epirotes, and died in prison. While the proclamation was suspended awaiting his arrival, a son was born to the Empress, who received the name of Baldwin. But to avoid a long minority, an elder son of Yolande, named ROBERT, was called to the throne, who from 1221 to 1228 supported as well as he might the tottering fabric of the Empire. It was during his reign that the remaining Asiatic provinces of the Imperial dominions were swept away by the conquests of John Vataces, the successor of Theodore Lascaris.

When the Emperor Robert died, Baldwin was as yet but seven years of age. The Latin barons considered it unsafe to intrust the scepter to hands so feeble, and called upon the distinguished crusader, JOHN OF BRIENNE, to assume the government. It was provided, however, that his second daughter should be married to Baldwin, and that the latter should, on reaching his majority, be raised to the throne.

Soon after the settlement of the government an alliance was made between Vataces and Azan, the king of Bulgaria, with a view to the capture of Constantinople. They attacked the city by land and sea, but the Emperor John went forth and scattered their forces. In 1236, the sovereign who had so ably supported the Latin dynasty died, and his son-in-

law came to the throne with the title of BALDWIN II.

On all sides the limits of the Empire were narrowed and narrowing. Between Vataces on the east and Azan on the west it appeared that the Imperial dominions would be crushed out of existence. During the twenty-five years in which the throne was held by Baldwin II. the menaces of the neighboring states were constant and angry. In 1255 Vataces was succeeded by his son Theodore, who, after a busy reign of four years, left his boyish heir, the Prince John, to the care of MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS as regent. The latter was one of the most able and far-sighted statesman of his times, a Greek by birth, and in rank a nobleman. It was agreed by the council of the late king that both John and Michael should be proclaimed; but on the day of coronation the first place was given to the latter, while the former was reduced to a subordinate relation, with Palæologus as his guardian.

The new sovereign, as soon as he found himself in possession of ample power, began to mature his plans for the capture of Constantinople and the restoration of the Greeks to their lost dominion. In the spring of 1261 a division of troops under command of Alexius Strategopulus was sent across the Hellespont into Thrace to attack the Latins. The people of the country, sympathizing with the invader, joined his standard until the army was swelled to twenty-five thousand men. With a chosen body of troops Alexius pressed on to Constantinople, reached the capital in the night, gained possession of the Golden Gate, and before the Latins were aware of the danger, rose in the midst of the city. Baldwin fled to the sea-shore and boarded a Venetian galley. The Latin Empire perished more suddenly than it had arisen. Within twenty days Michael Palæologus entered the city. The Frankish barons followed in the flight of Baldwin, but the great mass of the Latins remained in the city and were undisturbed.

CHAPTER LXXII.—THE PALÆOLOGI.



Y this revolution the capital of the East again fell to the Greeks. The change was hailed by that people as an event most glorious; by the Eastern powers, as the greatest disaster. PA-

LÆOLOGUS set diligently at work to reorganize the Empire and to establish his family in the succession. To this end he associated with himself his son ANDRONICUS, who for nine years bore the title of Augustus jointly with his father, and then for the long period of forty-six years reigned alone.

No sooner was the expulsion of Baldwin II. known in the West than the cause of the fallen monarch was espoused by Pope Urban IV., who advised a crusade against the Greeks. The same policy was pursued by his successor, Pope Gregory X., and so formidable a front was set against Palæologus that he determined to be reconciled with the church of Rome. He accordingly sent ambassadors to Italy to tender his compliance with the demands of the Holy Father in all matters at issue between the East and the West. Then did the pope grow tender towards the returning prodigal of Constantinople. To that city were soon despatched the pope's nuncios to further the work of union, but their presence there excited the animosity of the Greeks, who never consented to the primacy of the Western Church. The rebellious ecclesiastics were accordingly excommunicated by the irate pope, and the sword of Michael suspended over their heads. But neither could the Emperor coerce his subjects, nor would the papal power be satisfied with less. Finally, Martin IV., tired of what he considered the lukewarmness of Michael, added *him* to the list of the excluded, and when the Emperor died his son ANDRONICUS, in extraordinary zeal for the Eastern revival, denied him the rites of Christian burial.

The Turcomans now became once more ag-

gressive and terrible. The armies of the Empire had, in the mean time, been recruited from the Western provinces of the ancient dominions of Rome, and were commanded by Roger de Flor. He with his Catalans and Portuguese confronted the Turks, and inflicted on them two decisive defeats. The rough soldiers, however, became as terrible to the Greeks for whom they battled as to the Turks against whom they fought. Roger was enticed to Adrianople, and assassinated in the presence of the Empress. His followers then rallied on the Hellespont, and Andronicus pleaded eagerly for peace. Time and again his forces were defeated; nor is it likely that he could have maintained himself much longer but for the quarrels which broke out among the Catalan chiefs and led to their abandonment of the country of the Propontis.

Following the example of his father, Andronicus associated with himself in the government a son destined to be his successor. This was the prince MICHAEL. The latter in like manner had *his* son, named ANDRONICUS, after the grandfather, recognized as Cæsar; so that for once there were three Augusti, representing as many generations, reigning as contemporaries. Of the three the father, Michael, was the first to die; and for once the Empire presented the scene of an aspiring stripling contending with a superfluous grandfather for the throne. The period from 1321 to 1328 was occupied with the civil wars between the elder and the younger Andronicus, in which at the last the youth triumphed, and by the capture of Constantinople became sole sovereign of the now contracted dominions of the East. The grandfather gave over the struggle and was converted into the good old monk Anthony.

Meanwhile on the ruins of the great Mongul dynasty of Asia, founded in the twelfth century by Genghis Khan, and by him extended until it surpassed in geographical area any other political dominion ever established

by man, had arisen, after the death of Kublai Khan, the empire of the Corasmin or Ottoman Turks. These brave and warlike Asiatics had made their way from the north-east into Western Asia, and the more adventurous chieftains pressed forward into Syria, where they fell upon the Moslems and captured the Holy Sepulcher. Some of the invaders then entered the service of Aladin, sultan of Iconium, and out of this branch of the race sprang the Ottoman line of sovereigns. The head-quarters of the Turks were established at Surgüt, on the river Sangar. Here they were ruled for fifty-two years by Orthogrul, who left his dominions to his son OSMAN, or OTHMAN, founder of the Ottoman Empire. He added to the genius of a soldier the skill of a statesman. The circumstances of his situation favored the establishment of a great political power in Western Asia. The Seljukian dynasty of Turcomans had perished. The ruins of the Greek Empire lay scattered through Asia Minor. Othman had the zeal of a new convert to Mohammedanism, and the fire of conquest was kindled on the altar from the torch of the Koran.

In the year 1299, Othman began his career as a conqueror by an invasion of Nicomedia. His wars were continued almost incessantly for twenty-seven years, and it was only in the last year of his reign that his son Orchan succeeded in the capture of Prusa, the more modern Bursa, thereby establishing on a firm basis the Ottoman succession. Prusa became the capital of the rising empire. A mosque, a college, and a hospital were founded, and the head of Orchan appeared on the coins of the new kingdom.

It was during the struggles, already narrated, between the elder and the younger Andronicus that Orchan was enabled, almost without opposition, to possess himself of the province of Bithynia. The Turkish dominion was thus, between the years 1326 and 1339, spread out to the Bosphorus and the Hellespont. Owing to the political relations then existing between the Greeks and the Turks, the latter—being the extinguishers of opposition in Asia Minor—were regarded in a friendly light by the former. Soliman, the

son of Orchan, was invited into Europe with a body of ten thousand horseman to assist the Emperor in the Bulgarian war. It was easier, however, to procure such aid than to dismiss it when the service was ended. The Turks were little disposed to retire. They established a colony in the Chersonesus, and continued to hold a fortress in Thrace. The friendly relations between the two races were broken off; but hostilities were for a while suspended. The warrior Soliman was killed by a fall from his horse, and his father, the sultan, is said to have died of grief on the tomb of his son.

In the year 1360, the Turkish throne was occupied by Soliman's brother, Amurath I., who reigned for twenty-nine years. He continued the aggressive policy of his father and grandfather. The Turkish banners were carried triumphantly through Thrace as far as Mount Hæmus. Adrianople became the European capital of the Ottomans, and the walls of Constantinople were already in sight. The great Empire of Constantine had narrowed almost to a span. The capital city stood like an island in an ocean of hostility. The Emperor, JOHN PALÆOLOGUS, trembled in the presence of the sultan, and frequently obeyed his summons.

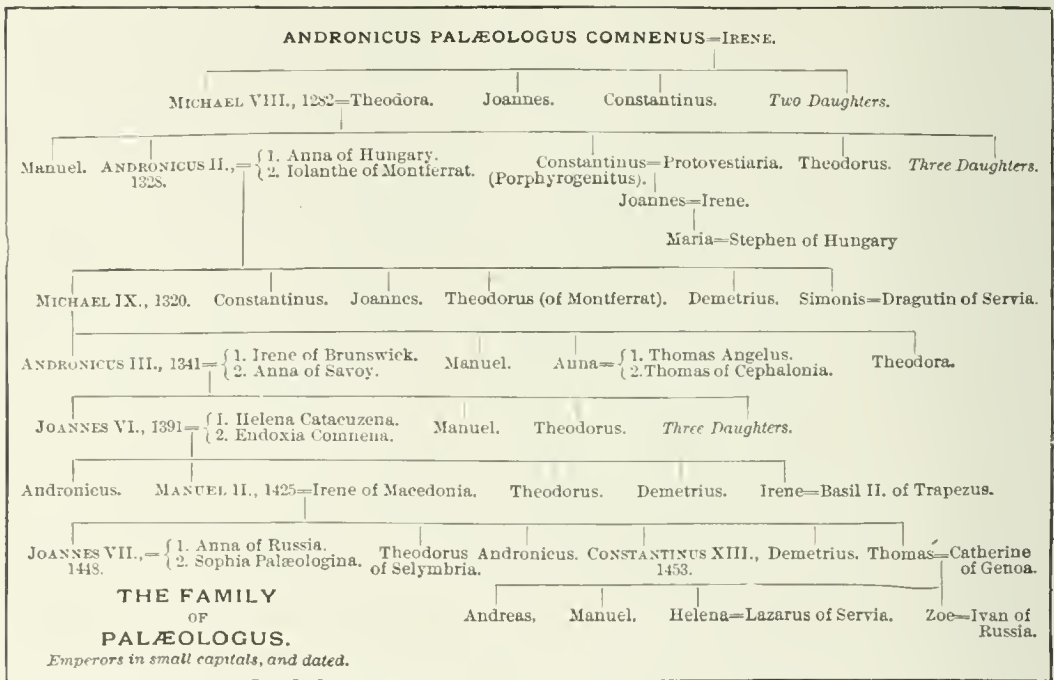
It was at this epoch that that famous body of soldiery, known as the JANIZARIES, was organized. Amurath demanded as a recompense for his services to the Emperor that the latter should contribute a division of troops for the defense of the straits between Europe and Asia. A band of Christian youth, educated in religion and disciplined in the camp, was selected for this purpose. They received the name of *Yengi Cheri*, or new soldiers, the appellation being easily corrupted into Janizaries. Such was the origin of that celebrated body of guards which, like the prætorians of Rome, was destined to become the terror of all Eastern Europe.

In the year 1389 Amurath I. died and was succeeded by his son BAJAZET, surnamed the Lightning. His reign of fourteen years was almost wholly occupied with military expeditions. Such were the successes of his arms that the Ottoman dominions were extended from Angora to Erzeroum. Anatolia was sub-

duced and added to the Empire. Having imposed tribute on the Servians and Bulgarians, he crossed the Danube and penetrated Moldavia. Nearly all the remaining territory of the Eastern Empire was stripped away. Carrying his banners into Hungary, the kingdom of Sigismund was shaken to its borders. The knights of France and Germany rallied for the defense of Europe. An army of a hundred thousand men, resembling a host of crusaders, was gathered at Nicopolis. Such was their fiery valor that they declared themselves able to uphold the falling sky on their lances.

John. The successor of Constantine did as he was bidden.

The reign of Palæologus terminated with his life in the year 1391. The crown of the alleged Greek Empire descended to his son MANUEL, who occupied the throne until 1425. The Ottoman now looked from every side over the walls of Constantinople. The dominions of the Emperors of the East were contracted to the walls of the city. In the vain hope of recovering a portion of his lost dignity, Manuel, hard pressed by the Turks, who now demanded that the blind JOHN should reign in-



Nevertheless they were beaten into the earth by Bajazet and his Turks.

All this while, for a period of thirty-six years, the Emperor, John Palæologus, looked on and saw the ruin of his dominion. As though conquest were not sufficiently calamitous, the Emperor's eldest son, Andronicus, became a traitor and conspired with Sauzes, the son of Amurath, to overthrow the governments of their fathers. The sultan, however, discovered the plot and punished Sauzes by putting out his eyes. He then demanded that Palæologus should inflict a like retribution on both Andronicus and his boy, the infant prince

stead of his brother, yielded the throne for the time to the sightless prince and repaired to the court of France. There he besought supplies of men and money wherewith to restore his fortunes. Such efforts, however, were fruitless. The sultan was little satisfied with his puppet, the Emperor John, and demanded that Constantinople should be surrendered to himself. Nor is it doubtful that the final catastrophe would then and there have been precipitated but for the apparition in Asia of another conqueror before whose mighty wind Bajazet himself was only as a shaken reed.

For now came the great Mongol warrior

TIMOUR, or TAMERLANE. He was a descendant of Zenghis Khan, born near Samarcand, where his fathers had ruled a tribe of ten thousand nomads. Early in life he became a captain, and after successfully defending and extending the borders of his country he was made an Emperor of the Tartar race, and began his career of foreign conquest. In a series of thirty-five victorious campaigns he placed on his head no fewer than twenty-seven crowns. Far and wide through Persia, Tartary, India, and the West he carried his triumphant banners until he came in contact with the Ottoman Empire of Bajazet. At this time the forces of Timour are said to have numbered eight hundred thousand men, while the army of the sultan was four hundred thousand strong. The Tartar came on through Armenia and laid siege to Angora. Bajazet, who had gone forth to meet his foe on the border of his dominion, returned to the relief of the city, and in 1402 a terrible battle was fought before the walls. Timour triumphed. Bajazet fled, was captured, put into an iron cage—so runs the tradition—and borne about, a spectacle of the victory. The kingdom of Anatolia was subverted. The whole country from the Ganges to the Ægean was subjugated by the great Tartar Emperor.

Thus it was that by the impact of a greater force upon the Empire of the Ottomans the downfall of Constantinople was postponed for half a century. The overthrow of Bajazet was the signal for the return of Manuel to his capital and the deposition and banishment of the blind John. The Emperor adopted the policy of aiding in the restoration of the Ottoman power to a certain degree of influence. To this end he gave encouragement to Mohammed, the son of Bajazet, who, in his turn, forbore to disturb the dominions of his friend; but after the accession of AMURATH II. the project of capturing Constantinople was vigorously renewed. In the year 1422 an enormous army of Turks was sent against the city. A siege of two months ensued, but the ramparts proved to be impregnable, and Amurath was presently recalled to Boursa to suppress a revolt that had broken out in his own capital, instigated by the Greeks. By his retirement

another respite was gained for the lingering ghost of the Eastern Empire. The Emperor Manuel died in 1425 and was succeeded by JOHN PALÆOLOGUS II.

The influence of the Turk was now so predominant that he was able to exact of the new sovereign an annual tribute. It was only a question of time when the force of Greek sovereignty would be brought to an end. Meanwhile the papal power in the West still sought to reunite the divided members of the church. The pope Eugenius IV., dissatisfied with the proceedings of the Council of Basle, sought to distract that body from its purposes by sending an invitation to John Palæologus II. to visit Italy, to which country the council was to be removed. In 1438, the Emperor, accompanied by Joseph, patriarch of Constantinople, visited Ferrara, where the council was in session. For a season the project of a reunion between the Eastern and Western churches was retarded; but finally, in a new convention of the prelates at Florence, the work was consummated, and on the 6th of July, 1438, in the cathedral of Florence the Act of Union was promulgated. The joy of Western Christendom was great; but Constantinople was not thereby delivered from the tightening clutches of the Turk.

It was believed by the zealots that the influence of Rome would now be sufficient to secure a general rally for the salvation of the city of Constantine from the menace of the infidels. But any results that might have been reached by this influence were paralyzed by the conduct of the Greeks themselves. When John Palæologus and his attendants returned to the Eastern capital, they were received with aversion and disgust. Self-interest, which had dictated his visit to Italy, and had led him to accept the primacy of the Western church, now required an abatement of his zeal in the presence of his angered subjects. Amurath II., the Turkish sultan, was deeply offended at the religious union of the Greeks and Latins; for he could but see that the whole scheme was intended as a bulwark against himself and the holy book Al Koran.

Twice did this distinguished sultan resign the Ottoman scepter. In the first instance he

retired to his residence in Magnesia and left the government to his son Mohammed II. In 1444, a rebellious crusade broke out in Hungary, and the general voice demanded that Amurath should return to the throne and take command of the armies. Mohammed himself seconded the popular demand, and the aged sultan again wore the crown. As soon, however, as the Hungarians were reduced to submission, Amurath a second time abdicated, and in 1451 MOHAMMED resumed his seat and scepter.

The time has at last arrived when the

reer for which a strange mixture of savagery and scholarship had so admirably fitted his character. He was capable of deeds great and small, honorable and perfidious. In the year of his accession he solemnly engaged to maintain the peace with the Emperor of Constantinople, but at the same time plotted for his destruction. While swearing to refrain from war, he ordered his engineers to cross to the European side of the Bosphorus and construct a fortress within sight of the towers of the Eastern capital. Vain were the solemn protests of Constantine. Recriminations followed, and then preparations for the impending war.

In the early spring of 1453 a large Turkish army was conveyed across the strait, and the villages and towns in the neighborhood of Constantinople were destroyed. Every thing beyond the gates was swept away by the vengeful Ottomans. In the beginning of April the siege of the city began. The investing army numbered more than two hundred and fifty thousand men; the inhabitants of the city, about one hundred thousand. But most of the people thus pent within the walls were non-combatants—mechanics, priests, scholars, scions of an attenuated nobility, women.

The entire force of soldiers that the Emperor was able to muster against the host outside did not exceed eight thousand men; and of these two thousand were Genoese. With this scanty force a rampart of nearly sixteen miles in extent

was to be defended against the assaults of a quarter of a million of the followers of the Prophet. The moving legions of Belisarius had dwindled to the masquerade of a handful of quarreling puppets. For the Greeks of Constantinople, in the day of her destruction, still found time to dispute over the *iota* in the word *homoiousios*!

Constantine in his despair made a last appeal to Rome for an army, promising in return the faithful obedience of his people to the mother church. Rome sent him a legate and a company of priests! This valuable acquisition, with a like company of valuables from



MOHAMMED II.

throne of the Eastern Cæsars is to be subverted. The Empire no longer has a territorial dominion. The vast area of the Theodosian estate is reduced to the ramparts of a single city. John Pakeologus died in 1448, and was succeeded by his brother, CONSTANTINE XIII. This prince during the last three years of the reign of Amurath II. occupied himself with the ignoble cares of a municipal empire, and was then brought face to face with the rival by whom he was destined to destruction. In 1451 Mohammed II., as already narrated, succeeded to the Ottoman throne, and immediately began that bloody ca-

the city, went together to the church of St. Sophia, again ratified the Act of Union adopted by the Council of Florence, and communed at the same altar. But the great majority of the Greeks took nor part nor interest in this superficial amalgamation.

During the month of April the siege of the city was pressed with ever-increasing severity. Still the walls seemed impregnable; and the harbor could not be reached by the assailants. The Greeks had stretched a chain

their cannon¹ to operate against the weaker parts of the ramparts.

The chief defender of the doomed city proved to be John Justiniani, the general of the Genoese. He became the right arm of the Emperor; and when at last he fell, pierced by a bullet, a wail went up from soldier and citizen. As he was borne away, the breaches made in the walls by the Turkish artillery were left undefended by the despairing garrison. The Ottomans swarmed on the walls and



ENTRY OF MOHAMMED II. INTO CONSTANTINOPLE.

Drawn by Konrad Ermisch.

across the entrance, and the space beyond was well defended by a well-equipped squadron of nearly thirty sail.

Finally, however, Mohammed had these vessels drawn over a sort of tramway along the shore and thus delivered into the open waters beyond the chain. The Turks thus gained access to the weaker parts of the walls next the harbor. The sultan ordered the construction of what in modern warfare would be called floating batteries, which were sent with

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in the towers. It was the day, the hour of fate. The victorious Turks poured through the gaps in the ramparts, and the brief work of destruction began and ended in blood.

The city was in the hands of the infidel.

¹ It is curiously noted by Gibbon that the siege of Constantinople marks the epoch of the transformation of the old weaponry into the new. Against the walls of the city the cannon, the battering ram and the catapult were used side by side, and the smoke of gunpowder mingled with the fumes of Greek fire.

The thinned ranks of the Greeks were hewn down by the merciless cimeters of the victors. Constantine, surrounded by his guard, fought bravely to the last, and did all that dying valor could accomplish to redeem the forfeited fame of his race. He threw away his purple

As his spirit went forth with a wail the poor ghost of Imperial Power disappeared through the smoke; the last pulse of the Old Civilization of mankind broke with a feeble flutter from the dying heart of the East, and the great drama of the Roman Empire was at an

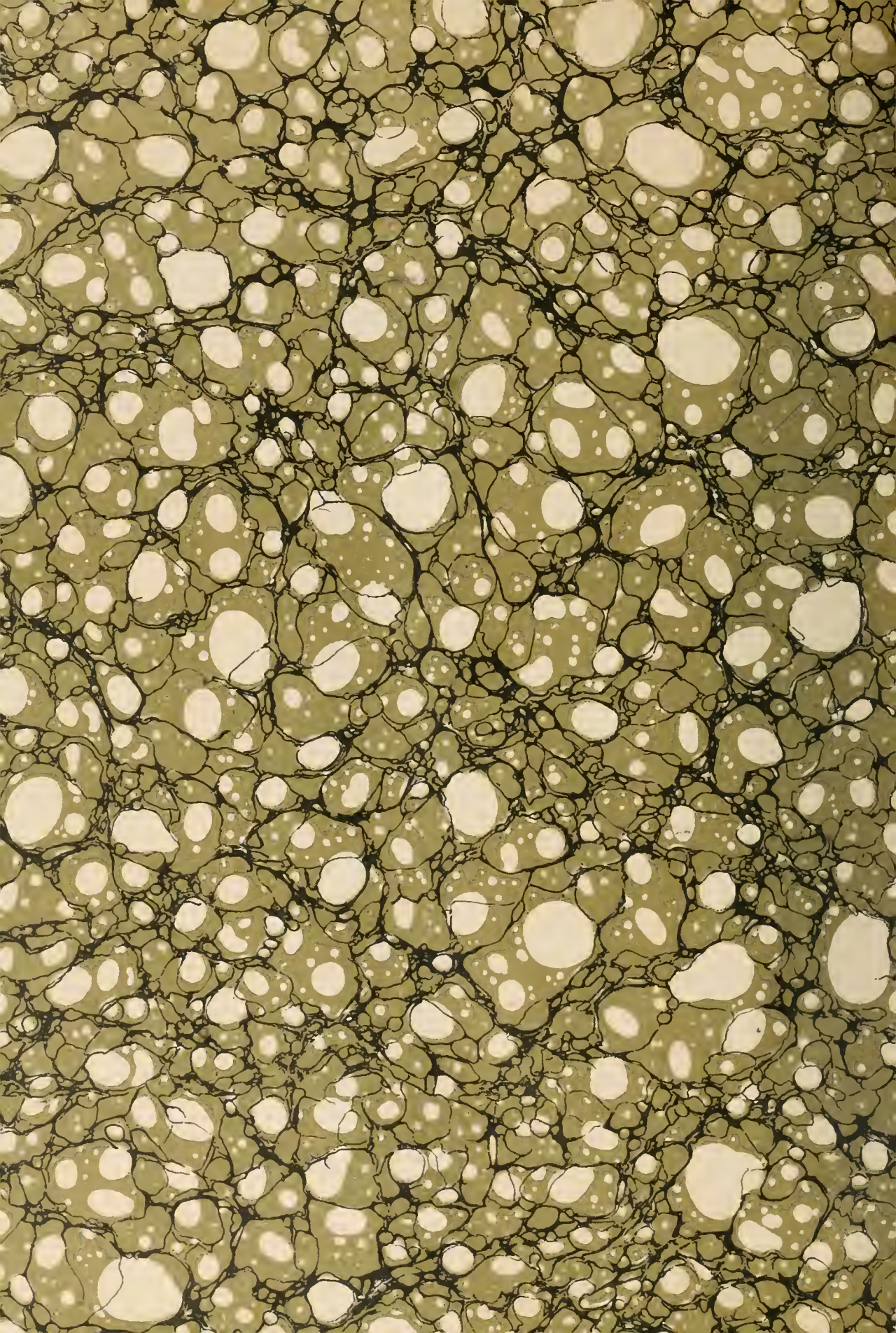


ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE.

robe in order more surely to find a soldier's death. In his despair he cried out: "Can no Christian be found to cut off my head?" He fell at last by an unknown hand, and was trampled in the blood and dust of the streets.

end. With the morning light the smoke cleared away from the ruined city, and the golden crescent of the Arabian Prophet was seen lifted on high above the gilded dome of St. Sophia.





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